

ORIGINES ECCLESIASTICÆ;
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
AND
OTHER WORKS,

OF THE
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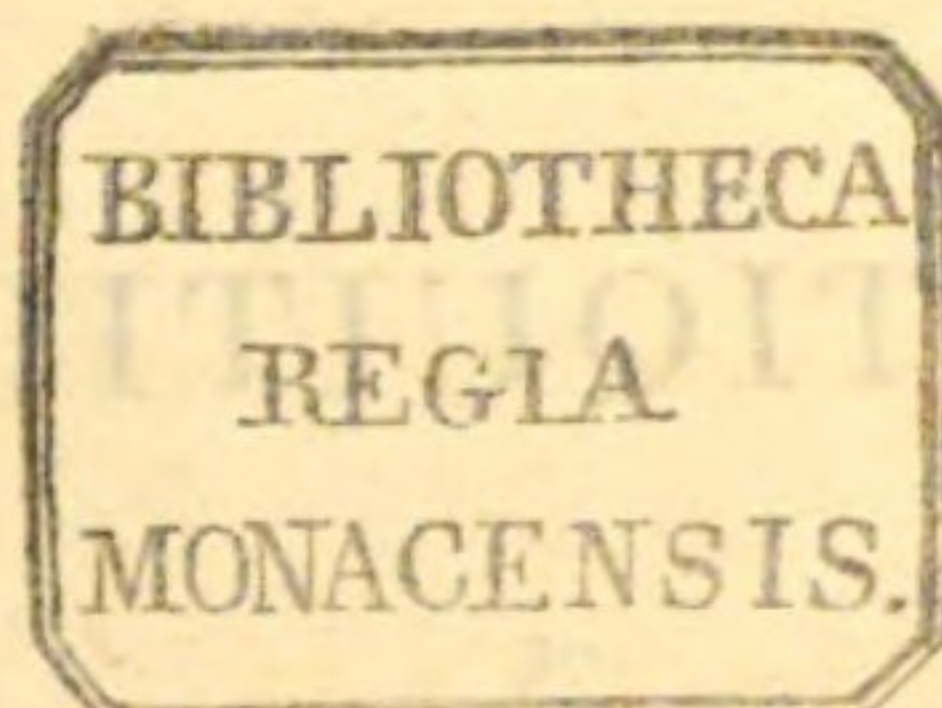
WITH THE QUOTATIONS AT LENGTH, IN THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGES,
AND A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR.

IN NINE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR WILLIAM STRAKER,
ADELAIDE STREET, WEST STRAND.

MDCCCXLIII.



LONDON :

GILBERT & RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

TO THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

WILLIAM,

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND AND METROPOLITAN,

THIS EDITION OF THE WORKS OF

JOSEPH BINGHAM

IS

(WITH HIS GRACE'S CONDESCENDING PERMISSION)

MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS DUTIFUL SERVANT,

JOHN ROGERS PITMAN.

“Opus ipsum *Binghami* tam egregium est, ut merito inter libros, quibus Antiquitates Ecclesiasticæ universæ enarratæ sunt, principatum teneat, sive ad rerum copiam atque apparatus, sive ad earum explanationem, animum advertere velimus. Commendat illud se accuratiori ordine, argumentis solidis; sive testimoniis, quæ ex ipsis fontibus hausta ac diligenter adducta sunt, perspicuitate, atque aliis virtutibus. Ac quamvis auctor, iis addictus qui in Anglia pro episcoporum auctoritate pugnant, ad horum sententias veteris ecclesiæ instituta trahat; animi tamen moderationem, quum in his rebus versatur, ostendit; ac si quæ corrigenda sunt, facile fieri potest emendatio.”—WALCHII *Bibliotheca Theologica*, vol. iii. p. 671.

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TO THE
RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
JONATHAN,
LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

AND PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

MY LORD,
HAVING once determined with myself to make these collections public, I needed no long time to consider to whom I should first address and present them. They are, my Lord, the first-fruits of my labour under your Lordship's government and inspection: and I was willing to think, and do presume I did not think amiss, that your Lordship had a sort of title to the first-fruits of any of your clergy's labour; especially if the subject on which they were employed was suitable to their calling, and had any direct tendency to promote Christian knowledge in the world. The subject of the present discourse being an essay upon the ancient usages and customs of the primitive Church; and a particular account of the state of her clergy is such, as being considered barely in its own nature, I know cannot but be approved by a person of your Lordship's character; whose care is concerned not only in preserving the purity of the primitive faith, but also in reviving the spirit of the ancient discipline and primitive prac-

tice ; and were the management any ways answerable to the greatness of the subject, that would doubly recommend it to your Lordship's favour ; since apples of gold are something the more beautiful for being set in pictures of silver. But I am sensible the subject is too sublime and copious, too nice and difficult, to have justice done it from any single hand, much less from mine : all therefore I can pretend to hope for from your Lordship, is, that your candour and goodness will make just allowances for the failings, which your sagacity and quickness will easily perceive to be in this performance. I am not, I confess, without hopes, that as well the abstruseness and difficulty of the subject itself, as my own difficult circumstances, under which I was forced to labour, for want of proper assistance or abundance of books, may be some apology for the defects of the work : and if I can but so far obtain your Lordship's good opinion, as to be thought to have designed well ; as I am already conscious of my own good intentions to consecrate all my labours to the public service of the Church ; that will inspire me with fresh vigour, notwithstanding these difficulties, to proceed with cheerfulness and alacrity in the remaining parts of this work, which are yet behind, and which I shall be the more willing to set about, if I can perceive that it has your Lordship's approbation. The countenance and encouragement of such a judge may perhaps have a more universal influence to excite the zeal of many others, who have greater abilities to serve the Church : and I know not how better to congratulate your Lordship upon your happy accession to the episcopal throne of this diocese, than by wishing you the blessing and satisfaction of such a clergy,

whose learning and industry, and piety and religion, influenced by the wisdom of your conduct, and animated by the example of your zeal and perseverance, even to imprisonment in times of greatest difficulty, may so qualify them to discharge every office of their function, as may make your diocese one of the shining glories of the present Church, and a provoking example to the future: which is the hearty prayer and desire of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful

And obedient Servant,

J. BINGHAM.

whose learning and industry, and piety and religion, influenced by the wisdom of your counsel, and animated by the example of your zeal and perseverance, even to imprisonment in times of greatest difficulty, may so greatly them to discharge every office of their function, as may make your choice one of the shining glories of the present Church, and a prevailing example to the future: which is the hearty prayer and desire of

My Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful

And obedient servant,

J. HANCOCK.

THE

P R E F A C E.

THIS volume, which is now published, being only a part of a larger work, the reader, I presume, will expect I should give him some little account of the whole design, and the reasons which engaged me upon this undertaking. The design which I have formed to myself, is to give such a methodical account of the Antiquities of the Christian Church, as others have done of the Greek, and Roman, and Jewish Antiquities; not by writing an historical or continued chronological account of all transactions as they happened in the Church, (of which kind of books there is no great want,) but by reducing the ancient customs, usages, and practices of the Church under certain proper heads, whereby the reader may take a view at once of any particular usage or custom of Christians, for four or five of the first centuries, to which I have generally confined my inquiries in this discourse. I cannot but own I was moved with a sort of emulation (not an unholy one, I hope) to see so many learned men with so much zeal employed in collecting and publishing the antiquities of Greece and Rome; whilst in the meantime we had nothing (so far as I was able to learn) that could be called a complete collection of the antiquities of the Church, in the method that is now proposed. The compilers of Church history, indeed, have taken notice of many things of this kind, as they pass along in the course of their history, as Baronius, and the Centuriators, and several others; but then the things lie scattered in so many places in large

volumes, that there are few readers of those few that enter upon reading those books, that will be at the pains to collect their accounts of things into one view, or digest and methodize their scattered observations. There are a great many other authors who have written several excellent discourses upon particular subjects of Church antiquity, out of which perhaps a Gronovius or a Grævius might make a more noble collection of antiquities than any yet extant in the world: but as no one has yet attempted such a work, so neither when it was effected would it be for the purchase or perusal of every ordinary reader, for whose use chiefly my own collections are intended. There are a third sort of writers, who have also done very good service in explaining and illustrating several parts of Church antiquity in their occasional notes and observations upon many of the ancient writers; of which kind are the curious observations of Alaspinaeus, Justellus, Petavius, Valesius, Cotelierius, Baluzius, Sirmondus, Gothofred, Fabrotus, Bishop Beveridge, and many others, who have published the works of the ancient Fathers, and canons of the councils, with very excellent and judicious remarks upon them. But these, again, lie scattered in so many and so large volumes, without any other order, than as the authors on whom they commented would admit of, that they are not to be reckoned upon, or used as any methodized or digested collection of Church antiquities, even by those who have ability to purchase, or opportunity to read them. Besides these, there are another sort of writers, who have purposely undertaken to give an account of the ancient usages of the Church, in treatises written particularly upon that subject; such as Gavantus, Casalius, Durantus, and several others of the Roman communion. But these writers do by no means satisfy a judicious and inquisitive reader, for several reasons: 1. Because their accounts are very imperfect, being confined chiefly to the liturgical part of Church antiquity, beside which there are a great many other things necessary to be explained, which they do not so much as touch upon, or once mention. 2. Because,

in treating of that part they build much upon the collections of Gratian, and such modern writers, and use the authority of the spurious epistles of the ancient popes, which have been exploded long ago, as having no pretence to antiquity in the judgment of all candid and judicious writers. But chiefly their accounts are unsatisfactory, because, 3. Their whole design is to varnish over the novel practices of the Romish Church, and put a face of antiquity upon them: to which purpose they many times represent ancient customs in disguise, to make them look like the practices of the present age, and offer them to the reader's view not in their own native dress, but in the similitude and resemblance of modern customs. Cardinal Bona himself could not forbear making this reflection upon some such writers as these, whom he justly censures, as deserving very ill¹ of the sacred rites of the Church, and their venerable antiquity, who measure all ancient customs by the practice of the present times, and judge of the primitive discipline only by the rule and customs of the age they live in; being deceived by a false persuasion, that the practice of the Church never differed in any point from the customs which they learned from their forefathers and teachers, and which they have been inured to from their tender years; whereas we retain many words in common with the ancient Fathers, but in a sense as different from theirs, as our times are remote from the first ages after Christ; as will appear (says he) when we come to discourse of the oblation, communion, and other parts of divine service. This is an ingenuous confession, and withal a just reflection upon the partiality of the writers of his own Church; and a good reason, in my opinion, why we are not to expect any exact accounts of antiquity from any writers of that communion; though some are less tainted with her errors than others, and can allow themselves to be a little more liberal and free upon some occasions than the rest of their brethren: yet even Bona

¹ Bona, *Rerum Liturgic.* lib. i. c. xviii. n. i.

himself, after the reflection he has made upon others, runs into the very same error, and falls under his own censure: and Habertus,—though otherwise a very learned and ingenuous person, who has written about the Greek liturgies, as Bona has of the Latin,—is often, through prejudice, carried away with the common failing of the writers of that side, whose talents are chiefly employed in palliating the faults of the communion and cause they are engaged in. So that if we are to expect any exact account of Church antiquities, it must be from some Protestant authors, who can write with greater freedom and less prejudice concerning the usages and customs of the primitive Church. But among these there are very few that have travelled very far in this way; the generality of our writers contenting themselves to collect and explain so much of Church antiquity, as was necessary to show the errors and novelties of popery; but not descending to any more minute and particular consideration of things which did not come within the compass of the controversy they had with the Romish Church. Hospinian, indeed, in the beginning of the Reformation, wrote several large volumes of the origin of temples, festivals, monachism, with the history of the Eucharist. But as these take in but very few subjects, so they are too full of modern relations; which make them something tedious to an ordinary reader, and no complete account of primitive customs neither. Spalatensis, in his books ‘De Republica Ecclesiastica,’ has gone a little further; yet he generally confines himself to the popish controversy, and has much out of Gratian and the canon law, which indeed served him as good argument *ad hominem* against those whom he had to deal with, but it will not pass for authentic history in other cases. Suicerus’ ‘Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus’ is abundantly more particular, and indeed the best treasure of this sort of learning, that has yet been published: but his collections are chiefly out of the Greek Fathers; and only in the method of a vocabulary or lexicon, explaining words and things precisely in the order of the alphabet. The most

methodical account of things of this kind, that I have yet seen, is that of our learned countryman Dr. Cave, in his excellent book of 'Primitive Christianity;' wherein he has given a succinct but clear account of many ancient customs and practices, not ordinarily to be met with elsewhere. But his design being chiefly to recommend the moral part of primitive Christianity to the observation and practice of men, he was not obliged to be very particular in explaining many other things, which, though useful in themselves, yet might be looked upon as foreign to his design; and for that reason, I presume, he industriously omitted them. There are some other books, which I have not yet seen, but only guess by the titles that they may be of this kind; such as Bebelius's 'Antiquitates Ecclesiasticæ,' Martinay 'de Ritibus Ecclesiæ,' Hendecius 'de Antiquitatibus Ecclesiasticis,' Quenstedt 'Antiquitates Biblicæ et Ecclesiasticæ:' but I presume, whatever they are, they will not forestall my design, which is chiefly to gratify the English reader with an entire collection of church antiquities in our own language, of which this volume is published as a specimen. And if this proves useful to the public, and finds a favourable acceptance, it will be followed with the remaining parts of the work (as my time and occasions will give me leave) according to the scheme here laid down, or with as little variation as may be. I shall next treat of the inferior orders of the Clergy, as I have here done of the superior: then of the elections and ordinations of the Clergy, and the several qualifications of those that were to be ordained: of the privileges, immunities, and revenues of the clergy, and the several laws and rules which particularly respected their function. To which I shall subjoin an account of the ancient ascetics, monks, virgins, and widows, who were a sort of retainers to the Church. After this shall follow an account of the ancient Churches, and their several parts, utensils, consecrations, immunities, together with a notitia of the ancient division of the Church into provinces, dioceses, parishes, and the original of these. After which I shall speak of the service of the Church, beginning with the

institution and instruction of the Catechumens, and describing their several stages before baptism; then speak of Baptism itself, and its ordinary concomitant, confirmation. Then proceed to the other solemn services of psalmody, reading of the Scripture, and preaching, which were the first part of the ancient Church-service: then speak of their prayers, and the several rites and customs observed therein; whereof the use of liturgies and the Lord's Prayer; and of the prayers of catechumens, energumens, and penitents; all which part of the service thus far was commonly called by the name of the 'Missa Catechumenorum;' then of the 'Missa Fidelium,' or communion-service; whereof the manner of their oblations and celebration of the eucharist, which was always the close of the ordinary Church-service. After this I shall proceed to give a particular account of their fasts and festivals, their marriage rites and funeral rites, and the exercise of ancient Church-discipline; their manner of holding councils and synods, provincial, patriarchal, œcumenical; the power of Christian princes in councils, and out of them: the manner and use of their 'Literæ formatæ,' and the several sorts of them: their different ways of computation of time: to which I shall add an account of their schools, libraries, and methods of educating and training up persons for the ministry, and say something of the several translations of the Bible in use among them, and several other miscellaneous rites and things, which would properly come under none of the forementioned heads; such as their manner of taking oaths, their abstinence from blood, their frequent use of the sign of the cross, their several sorts of public charities, the honours which they paid to their martyrs, together with an account of their sufferings, and the several instruments of cruelty used by the heathen to harass and torment them. In treating of all which, or any such like matters, as shall offer themselves, I shall observe the same method that I have done in this volume; illustrating the ancient customs from the original records of antiquity, and joining the opinions of the best modern authors that I can have opportunity to peruse, for

unfolding points of greatest difficulty. I confess, indeed, this work will suffer something in my hands, for want of several books, which I have no opportunity to see, nor ability to purchase; but that perhaps may tempt some others, who are at the fountains of learning, and have all manner of books at command, to add to my labours, and improve this essay to a much greater perfection; since it is a subject that will never be exhausted, but still be capable of additions and improvement. The chief assistance I have hitherto had, is from the noble benefaction of one, who “being dead, yet speaketh;” I mean the renowned Bishop Morley, whose memory will for ever remain fresh in the hearts of the learned and the good; who, among many other eminent works of charity and generosity, becoming his great soul, and high station in the Church;—such as the augmentation of several small benefices, and provision of a decent habitation and maintenance for the widows of poor clergymen in his diocese, &c.—has also bequeathed a very valuable collection of books to the Church of Winchester, for the advancement of learning among the parochial clergy: and I reckon it none of the least part of my happiness, that providence removing me early from the University, (where the best supplies of learning are to be had,) placed me by the hands of a generous benefactor², without any importunity or seeking of my own, in such a station, as gives me liberty and opportunity to make use of so good a library, though not so perfect as I could wish. But the very mentioning this, as it is but a just debt to the memory of that great prelate, so perhaps it may provoke some other generous spirit, of like abilities and fortune with him, to add new supplies of modern books published since his death, to augment and complete his benefaction: which would be an addition of new succours and auxiliaries to myself, and others in my circumstances, and better enable us to serve the public. In the mean time, the reader may with ease enjoy, what with no small pains and industry I have collected and

² Dr. Radcliffe.

put together ; and he may make additions from his own reading and observation, as I have done upon several authors, whom I have had occasion to peruse and mention. From some of which, and those of great fame and learning, I have sometimes thought myself obliged to dissent upon some nice and peculiar questions : but I have never done it without giving my reasons, and treating them with that decency and respect which is due to their great learning and character. If in any thing I have made mistakes of my own, (as I cannot be so vain as to think I have made none,) every intelligent reader may make himself judge, and correct them with ingenuity and candour. All I can say is, that I have been as careful to avoid mistakes as I could, in so critical and curious a subject ; and I hope there will not be found so many, but that this essay may prove useful both to the learned and unlearned ; to instruct the one who cannot read these things in their originals : and refresh the memories of the other who may know many things, that they cannot always readily have recourse to. Or, if it be of no use to greater proficients, it may at least be some help to young students and new beginners, and both provoke them to the study of ancient learning, and a little prepare them for their entrance upon it. Besides, I considered there were some who might have a good inclination toward the study of these things, who yet have neither ability to purchase, nor time and opportunity to read over many ancient Fathers and Councils : and to such, a work of this nature, composed ready to their hands, might be of considerable use, to acquaint them with the state and practice of the primitive Church, when they have no better opportunities to be informed about it. If in any of these respects, these collections (which were designed for the honour of the ancient Church, and the benefit of the present,) may prove serviceable toward those ends, I shall not think my time and pains ill bestowed.

THE ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK I.

OF THE SEVERAL NAMES AND ORDERS OF MEN IN THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE SEVERAL TITLES AND APPELLATIONS OF CHRIS-
TIAN, WHICH THEY OWNED AND DISTINGUISHED THEM-
SELVES BY.

SECT. I.—*Christians at first called ‘Jesseans,’ and ‘Thera-
peutæ,’* πιστοὶ, ἐκλεκτοὶ, &c.

WHEN Christianity was first planted in the world, they who embraced it were commonly known among themselves by the names of Disciples, Believers, Elect, Saints, and Brethren; before they assumed the title and appellation of Christians. Epiphanius^a says they were also called Ἰεσσαῖοι, ‘Jesseans;’ either from Jesse the father of David; or, which is more probable, from the name of the Lord Jesus. He adds, that Philo speaks of them under this appellation, in his book περὶ Ἰεσσαίων: whom he affirms to be no other but Christians, who went by that name in Egypt, whilst St. Mark preached the

^a Epiphan. Hæres. xxxix. n. iv. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 120. A 2.) Ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐλήλυθα, εἰπεῖν δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν Ἰεσσαῖοι ἐκαλοῦντο, πρὶν τοῦ καλεῖσθαι Χριστιανοὶ οἱ εἰς Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότες, τούτου ἕνεκα ἔφημεν, ὅτι ὁ Ἰεσσαὶ πατὴρ γίνεται τοῦ Δαβίδ. Καὶ ἦτοι τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, ἦτοι ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐπεκλήθησαν Ἰεσσαῖοι, διὰ τὸ ἐξ Ἰησοῦ ὁρμαῖσθαι μαθηταὶ ὄντες αὐτοῦ, ἢ διὰ τὸ τῆς ἐτυμολογίας τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Κυρίου.

Gospel at Alexandria. This book of Philo's is now extant under another title; *περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ*, 'Of the Contemplative Life:' and so it is cited by Eusebius^b; who is also of opinion that it is nothing but a description of the Christians in Egypt, whom he calls 'Therapeutæ;' which signifies either worshippers of the true God, or spiritual physicians who undertook to cure men's minds of all vicious and corrupt affections. But whether this name was invented by Philo, as most proper to express their way of living, or was then the common name of believers in Egypt, before the name 'Christian' was spread over all the world, Eusebius does not undertake to determine. However, he concludes it was a name given to the Christians; and St. Jerome^c is so positive in it, that for this reason he gives Philo a place in his catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers; telling us, that he wrote a book concerning the first Church of St. Mark at Alexandria.

Some learned critics of the last age call this whole matter^d into question: but their arguments are answered by others^e as learned; and therefore I shall enter no further into this dispute, but refer the reader that is curious thither for satisfaction. That which I here take notice of further, is only

^b Euseb. H. E. lib. ii. c. xvii. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 436.) *Πρῶτον γέτοι τὸ μηδὲν πέρα τῆς ἀληθείας οἰκοθέν τε καὶ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ προσθήσειν, ἐν οἷς ἱστορήσειν ἔμελλεν ἀπισχυρισάμενος (ὁ Φίλων), ἐν ᾧ ἐπέγραψε λόγῳ βίου θεωρητικοῦ ἢ ἱκετῶν, θεραπευτὰς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς σὺν αὐτοῖς γυναῖκας θεραπευτρίδας ἀποκαλεῖσθαι φησι, τὰς αἰτίας ἐπειπὼν τῆς τοιαύσδε προσθήσεως· ἦτοι παρὰ τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν προσιόντων αὐτοῖς, τῶν ἀπὸ κακίας παθῶν, ἰατρῶν δίκην ἀπαλλάττοντας ἀκεῖσθαι καὶ θεραπεύειν· ἢ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον καθαρᾶς καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς θεραπείας τε καὶ θρησκείας ἕνεκα. Εἴτ' οὖν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθεται τὴν προσηγορίαν, οἰκείως ἐπιγράψας τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῦνομα, εἴτε δὲ ὄντως τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν καταρχὰς οἱ πρῶτοι, μηδαμῶς τῆς Χριστιανῶν πῶ προσθήσεως ἀνὰ πάντα τόπον ἐπιπεφημισμένης, οὔτι πῶ διατείνεσθαι ἀναγκαῖον.*

^c Hieron. de Scriptor. Eccles. c. xi. (Venet. 1769. vol. ii. p. 847.) Philo Judæus, natione Alexandrinus, de genere sacerdotum, idcirco a nobis inter scriptores ecclesiasticos ponitur, quia librum de prima Marci Evangelistæ apud Alexandriam scribens ecclesia, in nostrorum laude versatus est, etc.

^d Valesius (in Euseb. lib. ii. c. xvii. Amstel. p. 30. C.): Scaliger (in lib. vi. de Emendat. Tempor.) Essenos illos fuisse contendit: et Eusebium graviter reprehendit, qui Christianos illos fuisse adfirmaverit.—Dallæus de Jejun. et Quadrages. lib. ii. c. iv.

^e Bevereg. Cod. Can. Vind. lib. iii. c. v. n. 4. p. 322. fin. seqq.

this; that these names, 'Therapeutæ' and 'Jessæi,' were scarce ever used in after ages; but the other names, ἅγιοι, πιστοὶ, ἐκλεκτοὶ, Saints, Believers, Elect, &c., occur frequently in ecclesiastical writers; and signify not any select number of Christians (as now the words 'Saints' and 'Elect' are often used to signify only the predestinate); but all Christians in general, who were entered into the communion of the Church by the waters of baptism. For so Theodoret^f and others explain the word ἅγιοι, saints, to be such as were vouchsafed the honour and privilege of baptism.

SECT. II.—*Of the Technical Names, ΙΧΘΥΣ and Pisciculi.*

And upon this account, because the Christian life took its original from the waters of baptism, and depended upon the observance of the covenant made therein, the Christians were wont to please themselves with the artificial name 'Pisciculi,' Fishes; to denote, as Tertullian^g words it, "that they were regenerate, or born again into Christ's religion by water, and could not be saved but by continuing therein." And this name was the rather chosen by them, because the initial letters of our Saviour's names and titles in Greek, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Saviour, technically put together, make up the name ΙΧΘΥΣ, which signifies a fish, and is alluded to both by Tertullian and Optatus^h.

SECT. III.—*Christians, why called Gnostici.*

Sometimes Christians also style themselves by the name of 'Gnostics,' Γνωστικοὶ, men of understanding and knowledge;

^f Theodoret. (tom. iii. p. 323, edit. Paris.) Comm. in Phil. i. 1. Ἀγίους τοὺς τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀξιοθέντας ὠνόμασεν. (Hal. 1771. vol. iii. p. 445.)

^g Tertull. de Bapt. c. i. (Paris. 1664. p. 224. A 8.) Nos pisciculi secundum ἰχθῦν nostrum Jesum Christum in aqua nascimur: nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salvi sumus.

^h Optat. contr. Parmen. (Antwerp. 1702.) lib. iii. p. 52. Hic est Piscis, qui in baptismo per invocationem fontalibus undis inseritur; ut quæ aqua fuerat, a pisce etiam piscina vocitetur. Cujus Piscis nomen, secundum appellationem Græcam, in uno nomine per singulas litteras turbam sanctorum nominum continet, ἰχθὺς, quod est Latinum, Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator.

because the Christian religion was the truest wisdom, and the knowledge of the most divine and heavenly things. This name was aped and abused by a perverse sort of heretics, who are commonly known and distinguished by the name of Gnostics, because of their great pretences to knowledge and science falsely so called. Yet this did not hinder but that the Christians sometimes laid claim to it, as having indeed the only just and proper right to make use of it. For which reason, Clemens Alexandrinusⁱ, in all his writings, gives the Christian philosopher the appellation of Γνωστικός. Athanasius^k calls the ascetics of Egypt, who were of the contemplative life, by the same name, Γνωστικοί: and Socrates tells us, Evagrius Ponticus wrote a book for the use of these ascetics, which he entitled, 'the Gnostic,' i. e. rules for the contemplative life; some fragments of which are yet extant in Socrates^l, and some others published by Cotelierius, in his Monuments of the Greek Church. In one of these fragments, there is mention made of a monk, who is styled μοναχὸς τῆς Παρεμβολῆς, τῶν Γνωστικῶν ὁ δοκιμώτατος which the first translators of Socrates not understanding, render, 'a monk of great renown, of the sect of the Gnostics;' as if he had been one of the Gnostic heretics; whereas, it means no more than a monk of the contemplative life, who inhabited a village called the Parembole, not far from Alexandria; being one of those ascetics, whom Evagrius and all the rest call by the then known

ⁱ Clemens Alex. Strom. i. p. 294. (345. line 10, Oxon. 1715.) Ἀρκεῖ τῷ γνωστικῷ καὶ εἰς μόνος ἀκροατῆς εὐρεθῇ. Strom. ii. p. 383. (457. line 8.) Εἰ ὁ Κύριος ἀλήθεια καὶ σοφία καὶ δύναμις Θεοῦ, ὥσπερ οὖν ἐστὶ, δειχθεῖη ὅτι τῷ ὄντι γνωστικός, ὁ τοῦτον ἐγνωκὼς, καὶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν αὐτοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ. —Strom. vi. p. 665. (791. line 8.) Εὐχεται ὁ γνωστικός καὶ κατὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν πᾶσαν τὴν ὥραν δι' ἀγάπης οἰκειούμενος τῷ Θεῷ. Strom. vii. p. 78. (881. line 36.) Δι' αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι γνωστικὸν, αὐτὸς ἐργάζεται τὴν εὐποιάν, ὄργανον γενόμενος τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγαθότητος.

^k Athan. apud Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. xxiii. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 194. C. 9.) Τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὁ ἅγιος φωστήρ Ἀθανάσιος, τὴν τράπεζαν, φησὶ, Μωϋσῆς εἰς τὸ βόρειον μέρος στῆσαι προστάσσεται. Γινωσκέτωσαν οἱ γνωστικοί, τίς ὁ πνέων ἐστὶ κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντα πειρασμὸν γενναίως ὑπομενέτωσαν.

^l Socrat. ibid. (p. 192. C 9.) Τούτῳ (Εὐαγρίῳ) βιβλία ἄγαν σπουδαῖα συγγέγραπται ὧν τὸ μὲν, Μοναχὸς ἢ περὶ πρακτικῆς ἐπιγέγραπται τὸ δὲ, Γνωστικός ἢ πρὸς τὸν καταξιωθέντα γνώσεως.

name of 'Christian Gnostics.' See Valesius's note upon Socrates.

SECT. IV.—*Sometimes called Theophori and Christophori.*

Another name which frequently occurs in the writings of the ancients, is that of Θεοφόροι, which signifies 'temples of God,' and is as old as Ignatius, who usually gave himself this title; as appears, both from the inscriptions of his epistles, each of which begins, Ἰγνάτιος ὁ καὶ θεοφόρος: as also from the ancient Acts of his martyrdom, where^m the reason of the name is explained in his dialogue with Trajan; who hearing him style himself 'Theophorus,' asked what that name meant. To which Ignatius replied, that it meant one 'that carried Christ in his heart.' 'Dost thou then,' said Trajan, 'carry him that was crucified, in thy heart?' Ignatius answered, 'Yes: for it is written, 'I will dwell in them, and walk in them.'" Anastasius Bibliothécarius indeed gives another reason, why Ignatius was called 'Theophorus;' because he was the child whom our Saviour took, and set in the midst of his disciples, laying his hands upon him; and therefore the apostles would never presume to ordain him again by imposition of hands after Christ. But as bishop Pearsonⁿ and others have observed, this was a mere invention of the modern Greeks, from whom Anastasius took it without further inquiry. Much more ridiculous and absurd is the reason, which is assigned by Vincentius^o Bellovacensis and some others; that Ignatius was so called, because the name of Jesus Christ was found written in golden letters in his heart. Both these fancies are sufficiently refuted by the genuine Acts of his martyrdom; which give a more rational account of the name, and such as plainly intimates that it was

^m Acta Ignat. ap. Grabium Spicil. (Oxon. 1714. tom. ii. p. 10.) Τραϊανὸς εἶπεν, Καὶ τίς ἐστὶν θεοφόρος; Ἰγνάτιος ἀπεκρίνατο, Ὁ Χριστὸν ἔχων ἐν στέρνοις. . . . σὺ οὖν ἐν σεαυτῷ φέρεις τὸν σταυρωθέντα; Ἰγνάτιος εἶπεν, Ναί· γέγραπται γὰρ, Ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω.

ⁿ Pearson. Vind. Ignat. Par. ii. c. xii. p. 397. Cave's Life of Ignatius.—Grab. Spicil. tom. ii. p. 2.

^o Vincent. Specul. lib. x. c. vii. Hujus cor quum minutatim divisum esset, nomen Domini Jesu Christi litteris aureis inscriptum (ut legitur) in singulis partibus inventum est. Dixerat enim se habere Christum in corde.

no peculiar title of Ignatius, but common to him with all other Christians: as indeed bishop Pearson does abundantly prove from several passages of Clemens Alexandrinus, Gregory Nazianzen, Palladius, Eulogius, Theodoret, Cyril of Alexandria, Photius, Maximus, and others. Particularly Clemens^p assigns the same reason of the name, as Ignatius does; that the Christian is therefore called *θεοφορῶν* and *θεοφορούμενος*, 'because,' as the Apostle says, 'he is the temple of God.' We sometimes also meet with the name Christophori in the same sense; as in the epistle of Phileas, bishop of Thmuis, recorded by Eusebius; where speaking of the martyrs of his own time, he gives them the title of *χριστοφόροι μάρτυρες*^q, because they were temples of Christ, and acted by his Holy Spirit.

SECT. V.—*And sometimes, but very rarely, Christi.*

St. Ambrose, in one place, gives them the name of 'Christi,' in a qualified sense; alluding to the signification of the word 'Christus' in Scripture; where it sometimes signifies any one that is anointed with oil, or receives any commission from God by a spiritual unction. In which sense, every Christian is the Lord's anointed. And "therefore (he says,) it is no injury^r for the servant to bear the character of his lord, nor for the soldier to be called by the name of his general; forasmuch as God himself hath said, Touch not mine anointed," or my Christs; 'Christos meos,' as now the vulgar translation reads it (Psalm cv. 15). And St. Jerome also, who in his notes upon the place^s observes, that all men are called 'Christs,' who are

^p Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vii. p. 748. (882. line 7.) *Θεῖος ἄρα ὁ γνωστικός, καὶ ἡδὴ ἅγιος, θεοφορῶν καὶ θεοφορούμενος.*

^q Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. viii. c. x. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 247. C 9.) *Διὸ καὶ ζηλώσαντες τὰ μείζονα χαρίσματα οἱ χριστοφόροι μάρτυρες, πάντα μὲν πόνον καὶ παντοίας αἰκισμῶν ἐπινοίας οὐκ εἰσάπαξ, ἀλλ' ἡδὴ καὶ δεύτερον τινὲς ὑπέμειναν.*

^r Ambrosius de Obit. Valentin. tom. iii. p. 12. (Paris. 1836. vol. iv. p. 186.) *Nec injuriam putes: caractere Domini inscribuntur et servuli, et nomine imperatoris signantur milites. Denique et ipse Dominus dixit, 'Nolite tangere unctos [seu Christos] meos.'*

^s Hieron. Comm. in Psalm. civ. (Venet. 1769. vol. vii. p. 383.) *Ecce ante legem Patriarchæ non uncti regali unguento, Christi dicuntur. Christi autem sunt, qui Spiritu Sancto unguuntur.*

anointed with the Holy Ghost; as the ancient patriarchs before the law, who had no other unction. Yet we do not find that the Christians generally took this name upon them, but rather reserved it to their Lord, as his peculiar name and title.

SECT. VI.—*Christians great enemies to all Party-names and Human Appellations.*

Yet it is very observable, that in all the names they chose, there was still some peculiar relation to Christ and God, from whom they would be named, and not from any mortal man, how great or eminent soever. Party-names, and human appellations, they ever professed to abhor. “We take not our denomination from men,” says Chrysostom^t; “we have no leaders, as the followers of Marcion, or Manichæus, or Arius.” “No,” says Epiphanius^u, “the Church was never called so much as by the name of any apostle: we never heard of Petrians, or Paulians, or Bartholomæans, or Thaddeans; but only of Christians, from Christ.” “I honour Peter,” says another Father^v, “but I am not called a Petrian; I honour Paul, but I am not called a Paulian: I cannot bear to be named from any man, who am the creature of God.” They observe, that this was only the property of sects and heresies, to take party-names, and denominate themselves from their leaders. The great and venerable name of Christians was neglected by them, whilst they profanely divided themselves

^t Chrysostom. Hom. xxxiv. in Acta. (Paris. 1731. vol. ix. p. 260.) Μὴ γὰρ ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπων καλούμεθα· μὴ γὰρ προηγούμενος ἡμῶν τις ἐστίν, ὥσπερ τῷ μὲν Μαρκίῳ, τῷ δὲ Μανιχαῖος, τῷ δὲ Ἀρειος, τῷ δὲ ἄλλος τις αἰρέσεως ἀρχηγός.

^u Epiph. Hæer. xlii. Marcion. Colon. (1682. vol. i. p. 366. D 7.) Οὐκ ἐν αἵρεσις οὐδὲ ἐκκλησία εἰς ὄνομα Ἀποστόλων ἀνηγορευμένη· οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἠκούσαμεν ἢ Πετρίους, ἢ Παυλίους, ἢ Βαρθολομαίους, ἢ Θαδδαίους· ἀλλὰ ἀπαρχῆς ἐν κήρυγμα πάντων τῶν Ἀποστόλων, οὐκ αὐτοὺς κηρύσσειν, ἀλλὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν Κύριον. Διὸ καὶ ὄνομα τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἱ πάντες ἔθεντο ἐν, οὐχ ἐαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας ἀρξαμένων Χριστιανῶν καλεῖσθαι.

^v Gregor. Nazianzen. Orat. xxxi. (Colon. 1690. p. 506. C 4.) Πέτρον τιμῶ, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀκούω Πετριανός· καὶ Παῦλον, Παυλιανός δὲ οὐκ ἤκουσα. Οὐδέχομαι παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ὀνομάζεσθαι, παρὰ Θεοῦ γεγωνός. See also Athan. Orat. ii. c. Arian.—Gregor. Nyssen. de Perfect. Christ. tom. iii. p. 276.

into human appellations; as Gregory Nyssen^x and Nazianzen complain. Thus Basil observes^y how the Marcionites and Valentinians rejected the name of Christians, to be called after the names of Marcion and Valentinus, their leaders. Optatus^z and St. Austin^a bring the same charge against the Donatists. Optatus says, it was the usual question of Donatus to all foreigners; 'Quid apud vos agitur de parte mea?' 'How go the affairs of my party among you?' And the bishops who were his followers, were used to subscribe themselves, 'Ex parte Donati.' Epiphanius observes the same of the Audians^b, Colluthians, and Arians: and he tells us more particularly of Meletius and his followers^c, that having formed a schism, they left the old name of the Catholic Church, and styled themselves by a distinguishing character, 'the Church of the Martyrs;' with an invidious design to cast a reproach upon all others that were not of their party. In like manner as the Arians

^x Nyssen. contr. Apollin. tom. iii. p. 261, edit. Paris. 1638. (Paris. 1615. vol. ii. p. 677. C 4.) Σιγᾶται τὸ μέγα καὶ σεβάσμιον ὄνομα τῶν Χριστιανῶν, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας προσηγορίας ἡ ἐκκλησία καταμερίζεται.

^y Basil. Comm. in Psalm. xlviii. (Paris. 1638. vol. i. p. 245. C 3.) Κἂν ἰδῇς δὲ τινὰ τῶν ἐπὶ ψευδωνύμῳ γνῶσει μεγαλοφρονούντων, καὶ προσνεμόντων ἑαυτοὺς πονηρῶν τινῶν δογμάτων συγκαταθέσεισι, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἀφ' ἑνὸς τινος τῶν αἵρεσιάρχῃσάντων ἑαυτοὺς ὀνομάζοντας, Μαρκίωνος, κ. τ. λ.

^z Optat. lib. iii. Ad singulos quosque venientes hæc erant verba: 'Quid apud vos agitur de parte mea?' Quasi jam vere populum cum Deo diviserat, ut intrepide suam diceret partem. Nam et a temporibus ejus, et usque in hodiernum, si quando de rebus ecclesiasticis in judiciis publicis aliqua celebrata est actio: interrogati singuli, sic apud Acta locuti sunt, ut dicerent se de parte esse Donati: de Christo tacuerunt. (Antverp. 1702. p. 58.)

^a Aug. Epist. lxviii. ad Januarium. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 161.)

^b Epiph. Hær. lxx. Audian. n. xv. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 827. C 6.) Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ φοβερὸν, τὸ παραλλάξαι ὄνομα Χριστιανῶν τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας, τῆς μὴ ἐχούσης ἐπίθετον ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὄνομα Χριστοῦ, καὶ Χριστιανῶν, εἰς ὄνομα Αὐδίου καλεῖσθαι, συνθέσθαι τε καὶ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι σύνθημα ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως.—Id. Hæres. lxi. Arian. n. ii. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 728. D 4.) 'Ὡς ἐξηγεῖτο ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἄλλος ἄλλο τι, καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλο, ἐκ τῆς προσκλήσεως καὶ ἐπαίνου δὲ τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν Κολλουθιανοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ὠνόμασαν, ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀρειανούς.

^c Epiph. Hær. lxviii. Melet. n. iii. 'Επέγραφον δὲ ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πέτρου διαδεξάμενοι ἔχοντες τὰς οὖσας ἀρχαίας Ἐκκλησίας, ὅτι Ἐκκλησία Καθολική· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Μελητίου, Ἐκκλησία Μαρτύρων. (p. 719. B 2.)

styled themselves Lucianists^d and Conlucianists, pretending to follow the doctrine of Lucian the martyr.

But the Church of Christ still kept to the name of 'Christian.' This was the name they gloried in, as most expressive of their unity and relation to Christ. Eusebius^e records a memorable story out of the epistle of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne, in France, concerning one Sanctus a deacon of the Church of Vienne, who suffered in the persecution under Antonine; that being put to the rack, and examined by the magistrates concerning his name, his country, his city, his quality, whether he were bond or free, his answer to all their questions was, "I am a Christian:" this, he said, was to him both name and city, and kindred, and every thing. Nor could the heathen with all their skill extort any other answer from him. St. Chrysostom^f gives the like account of the behaviour of Lucian the martyr, before his persecutors; and there are some other instances of the same nature, by which we may judge how great a veneration they had for the name of Christian.

SECT. VII.—*Of the name Catholic and its Antiquity.*

The importunity of heretics made them add another name to this, viz. that of Catholic; which was as it were their surname, or characteristic, to distinguish them from all sects, who though they had party-names, yet sometimes sheltered themselves under the common name of Christians. This we learn from Pacian's epistle^g to Sempronian the Novatian heretic,

^d Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. iv. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 20. B 3.) ex Epistola Arii ad Eusebium: 'Εὐχόμεθα σε ἐν Κυρίῳ εὐχομαι, μεμνημένον τῶν θλίψεων ἡμῶν, Συλλουκιανιστὰ ἀληθῶς Εὐσέβιε. Conf. Epiph. Hæres. Ixix. Arian. n. vii. ubi eadem verba habentur.

^e Euseb. lib. v. c. i. (Amstel. Vales. 1625. p. 128. C.) Πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἐπερωτώμενα ἀπεκρίνατο τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ, Χριστιανός εἰμι. Τοῦτο καὶ ἀντὶ ὀνόματος, καὶ ἀντὶ πόλεως, καὶ ἀντὶ γένους, καὶ ἀντὶ παντὸς ἐπαλλήλως ὁμολογῇ. ἄλλην δὲ φωνὴν οὐκ ἤκουσαν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔθνη.

^f Chrysostom. Hom. xlv. in Lucian. (Paris. 1609. tom. i. p. 602. B 2.) (tom. i. p. 532, edit. Francof. tom. v. p. 532, edit. Eton.) 'Ο δὲ πρὸς ἐκάστην πεῦσιν ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι Χριστιανός εἰμι μόνον, καὶ λέγοντος τοῦ δημίου, ποίας εἶ πατρίδος; Χριστιανός εἰμί, φησι· τί ἔχεις ἐπιτήδευμα; Χριστιανός εἰμι· τίνας προγόνους; ὁ δὲ πρὸς πάντα ἔλεγεν, ὅτι Χριστιανός εἰμι.

^g Pacian. Epist. i. ad Sempronianum. Christianus mihi nomen est, Catholicus cognomen: illud me nuncupat, istud ostendit.

who demanding of him the reason why Christians called themselves Catholics; he answers, that it was to discern them from heretics, who went by the name of Christians. "Christian is my name," says he, "and Catholic my surname: the one is my title, the other my character or mark of distinction." Heretics commonly confined religion, either to a particular region, or some select party of men, and therefore had no pretence to style themselves Catholics: but the Church of Christ had a just title to this name, being called Catholic (as Optatus^h observes) because it was universally diffused over all the world. And in this sense the name is as ancient almost as the Church itself. For we meet with it in the passion of Polycarpⁱ in Eusebius, in Clemens^k Alexandrinus, and Ignatius^l. And so great a regard had they for this name, that they would own none to be Christians, who did not profess themselves to be of the Catholic Church. As we may see in the^m Acts of Pionius the martyr, who being asked by Polemo the judge, "of what Church he was?" answered, "I am of the Catholic Church: for Christ has no other."

SECT. VIII.—*In what sense the name, Ecclesiastics, given to all Christians.*

I must here observe further, that the name of 'Ecclesiastics' was sometimes attributed to all Christians in general. For though this was a peculiar name of the clergy, as contradistinct from the laity in the Christian Church; yet when Christians in general are spoken of, in opposition to Jews, infidels, and heretics, then they have all the name of Ecclesiastics, or men of the Church; as being neither of the Jewish Synagogues,

^h Optat. lib. ii. p. 46. Cum inde dicta sit Catholica, quod sit rationalis et ubique diffusa.

ⁱ Euseb. lib. iv. c. xv. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 104. C 1.) Πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ἀγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίαις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, κ. τ. λ.

^k Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vii. p. 765. (Oxon. 1715. p. 899: line 12.) Κατὰ τε οὖν ὑπόστασιν, κατὰ τε ἐπίνοιαν, κατὰ τε ἀρχὴν, κατὰ τε ἐξοχὴν, μόνην εἶναι φαμέν τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κ. τ. λ.

^l Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. viii. "Οπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. (Oxon. 1709. p. 5, at top.)

^m Acta Pionii apud Baron. an. ecliv. n. ix. Catholicæ: nulla enim est alia apud Christum.

nor of the heathen temples, nor heretical conventicles, but members of the Church of Christ. In this sense *ἄνδρες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ* is often used by Eusebiusⁿ and Cyril^o of Jerusalem. And Valesius^p observes the same in Origen, Epiphanius, St. Jerome, and others.

SECT. IX.—*The Christian religion called Δόγμα, and Christians οἱ τοῦ δόγματος.*

Sometimes also we find the word Δόγμα put absolutely to signify the Christian religion; as Chrysostom^q and Theodoret^r say, St. Paul himself uses the word in his Epistle to the Ephesians, ii. 15. And Estius^s assures us it was the common interpretation of all ancient expositors, both Greek and Latin, upon that place. And hence it was that Christians were called sometimes οἱ τοῦ δόγματος, men of the faith,—meaning the faith of Christ. As in the rescript of Aurelian the emperor against Paulus Samosatensis, recorded by Eusebius^t, the

ⁿ Euseb. lib. iv. c. vii. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 97. A 4.) Πλείστων οὖν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνδρῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπεραγωνιζομένων, κ. τ. λ. —Id. lib. v. c. xxvii. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 158.) Πλεῖστα μὲν οὖν παρὰ πολλοῖς εἰσέτι νῦν τῶν τότε σώζεται παλαιῶν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐναρέτου σπουδῆς ὑπομνήματα.

^o Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. xv. n. iv. (p. 208, edit. Oxon. 1703.) (Paris. 1609. p. 365. line 3 from bottom.) Ἀλλὰ ζητοῦμεν τῆς παρουσίας ἡμέτερον σημεῖον, ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ζητοῦμεν οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικοί.

^p Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. ii. c. xxv. p. 37, Amstel. 1695. Tribus modis dicitur ecclesiasticus. Interdum enim accipitur pro Christiano, et opponitur Gentili Interdum vero designat Catholicum, et opponitur hæretico Denique interdum denotat eum, qui in clero est constitutus; et opponitur sæculari seu laico.

^q Chrysostom. in Ephes. c. ii. 15. hom. v. p. 700. (edit. Francof.) Ἡ τὴν πίστιν οὖν φησι, δόγμα αὐτὴν καλῶν, ἡ, κ. τ. λ. (Paris. 1636. vol. vi. p. 1062. line 15.)

^r Theodor. Comm. in Ephes. ii. 15. tom. iii. p. 301. edit. Paris.) Δόγματα δὲ τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐκάλεσεν. (Hal. 1771. vol. iii. p. 414.)

^s Est. Comm. in Eph. ii. 4. Edicta, seu decreta, seu dogmata hoc loco tam Græci quam Latini commentatores magno consensu interpretantur præcepta Novi Testamenti, quæ sunt de fide, caritate, et moribus, quæ nimirum Christus in Evangelio tradidit.

^t Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. Βασιλεὺς ἐντευχθεὶς Αὐρηλιανὸς αἰσιώτατα περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου διείληφε· τούτοις νεῖμαι προστάττων τὸν οἶκον, οἷς ἂν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐπίσκοποι τοῦ δόγματος ἐπιστέλλοιεν. (Vales. Amstel. p. 231. A 4.)

bishops of Italy and Rome are styled ἐπίσκοποι τοῦ δόγματος, Bishops of the Faith, that is, the Christian faith.

SECT. X.—*Christians called Jews by the Heathen.*

The heathens also were used to confound the names of Jews and Christians together: whence in heathen authors the name of Jews by mistake is often given to the Christians. Thus Dio in the life of Domitian^u speaking of Acilius Glabrio, a man of consular dignity, says he was accused of atheism, and put to death for turning to the Jews' religion: which, as Baronius^v and others observe, must mean the Christian religion, for which he was a martyr. So when Suetonius^x says, that Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome, because they grew tumultuous by the instigations of Chrestus; it is generally concluded by learned^y men, that under the name of Jews he also comprehends the Christians. In like manner when Spartian^z says of Caracalla's playfellow, that he was of the Jewish religion, he doubtless means the Christian: forasmuch as Tertullian^a tells us that Caracalla himself was nursed by a Christian.

SECT. XI.—*Christ by the Heathens commonly called Chrestus, and Christians, Chrestians.*

The heathens committed another mistake in the pronunciation of our Saviour's name, whom they generally called

^u Dio in Domit. Κάν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Φάβιον Κλήμεντα ὑπατεύοντα, καίπερ ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα, καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ αὐτὴν συγγενῇ ἑαυτοῦ Φλαβίαν Δομιτίλλαν ἔχοντα, κατέσφαξεν ὁ Δομιτιανός. Ἐπηνέχθη δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἔγκλημα ἀθεότητος ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦθη ἐξοκέλοντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν... Τὸν δὲ δὴ Γλαβρίωνα τὸν μετὰ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἄρξοντα, κατηγορηθέντα τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ οἷα οἱ πολλοὶ, καὶ ὅτι καὶ θηρίους ἐμάχετο, ἀπέκτεινεν.

^v Baron. ann. xciv. n. i. (Antverp. 1612. vol. i. p. 724.) Quod spectat ad Glabrimonem; scribit Dio eum una cum nonnullis aliis, illato crimine ἀθεότητος, quod ad Judæorum mores transisset (sic enim, ut sæpius dictum est, quod ex Judæis descenderent, Christianos Ethnici appellabant), etc.

^x Sueton. Claud. c. xxvi.

^y Hotting. Histor. Eccles. tom. i. p. 37. Basnagii Exerc. in Baron. p. 139. Selden. de Synedr. lib. i. c. viii. who cites Lipsius, Petavius, and many others.

^z Spartian. in Caracall. i. Cum collusorem suum puerum ob Judaicam religionem gravius verberatum audisset, etc.

^a Tertull. ad Scap. c. iv. (Paris. 1634. p. 71. A 9.) Lacte Christiano educatus.

‘Chrestus’ instead of ‘Christus ;’ and his followers ‘Chrestians’ for ‘Christians :’ which is taken notice of by Justin Martyr^b, Tertullian^c, Lactantius^d, and some others : who correct their mistake, though they have no great quarrel with them upon this account ; for both names are of good signification. ‘Christus’ is the same with the Hebrew Messiah ; and signifies a person anointed to be a priest or king ; and ‘Chrestus,’ being the same with the Greek *χρηστός*, implies sweetness and goodness. Whence Tertullian^e tells them, that “they were unpardonable for prosecuting Christians merely for their name, because both names were innocent, and of excellent signification.”

The Christians, therefore, did not wholly reject this name, though it was none of their own imposing. As neither did they refuse to be called ‘Jews,’ in that sense as the Scripture uses the word, to distinguish the people of God from ‘the synagogue of Satan,’ Rev. ii. 9. Though to avoid the subtleties of the Ebionites and Nazarenes, who were for blending the ceremonies of the law with the faith of the Gospel, they rather chose to avoid that name, and stuck to the name of Christians.

^b Justin. Martyr. Apol. ii. p. 54. (edit. Paris. 1636.) “Ὅσον τε ἐκ τοῦ κατηγορουμένου ἡμῶν ὀνόματος, χρηστότατοι ὑπάρχομεν.

^c See note (e) below.

^d Lactant. lib. iv. c. vii. Exponenda hujus nominis (Christi) ratio est propter ignorantium errorem ; qui eum immutata littera Chrestum solent dicere. (Paris. 1784. vol. i. p. 287.)

^e Tertull. Apol. c. iii. (Paris. 1664. p. 4. last line.) Christianus, quantum interpretatio est, de unctione deducitur. Sed et cum perperam Christianus pronuntiatur a vobis (nam nec nominis certa est notitia penes vos) de suavitate, vel benignitate compositum est. Oditur itaque in hominibus innocuis etiam nomen innocuum.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE NAMES OF REPROACH WHICH THE JEWS, INFIDELS,
AND HERETICS CAST UPON THE CHRISTIANS.

SECT. I.—*Christians called Nazarenes by the Jews and Heathens.*

BESIDES the names already spoken of, there were some other reproachful names cast upon them by their adversaries, which it will not be improper here to mention. The first of these was 'Nazarenes;' a name of reproach given them first by the Jews, by whom they are styled the sect of the Nazarenes, Acts xxiv. 5. There was indeed a particular heresy, who called themselves Ναζωραῖοι: and Epiphanius^f thinks the Jews had a more especial spite at them, because they were a sort of Jewish apostates, who kept circumcision and the Mosaical rites together with the Christian religion: and therefore, he says, "they were used to curse and anathematize them three times a day, morning, noon, and evening, when they met in their synagogues to pray, in this direful form of execration, ἐπικαταράσαι ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς Ναζωραίους, Send thy curse, O God, upon the Nazarenes." But St. Jerome^g says this was levelled at Christians in general, whom they thus anathematized under the name of Nazarenes. And this seems most probable, be-

^f Epiph. Hær. xxix. n. ix. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 124. C.) Οὐ μόνον γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων παῖδες πρὸς τοὺτους κέκτηνται μῖσος, ἀλλὰ ἀνιστάμενοι ἔωθεν καὶ μέσης ἡμέρας, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν, τρεῖς τῆς ἡμέρας ὅτε εὐχὰς ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν συναγωγαῖς, ἐπαρῶνται αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀναθεματίζουσι φάσκοντες, ὅτι ἐπικαταράσαι ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς Ναζωραίους.

^g Hieron. Comment. in Esa. xlix. tom. v. 178. (p. 151, edit. Francof.) (Venet. 1767. vol. iv. p. 565. D 5.) Ipse (Christus) bonus pastor posuit animam pro ovibus suis, et contempsit eam, qui abominationi est genti Judæorum, cui ter per singulos dies sub nomine Nazarenorum maledicunt in synagogis suis.

cause as both St. Jerome^h and Epiphanius himself¹ observes, the Jews termed all Christians by way of reproach ‘Nazarenes.’ And the Gentiles took it from the Jews, as appears from that of Datianus the prætor in Prudentius^k, where, speaking to the Christians, he gives them the name of ‘Nazarenes.’ Some^l think the Christians at first were very free to own this name, and esteemed it no reproach, till such time as the heresy of the Nazarenes broke out, and then in detestation of that heresy they forsook that name, and called themselves Christians, Acts xi. 26. But whether this be said according to the exact rules of chronology, I leave those that are better skilled to determine.

SECT. II.—*And Galileans.*

Another name of reproach was that of ‘Galileans,’ which was Julian’s ordinary style, whenever he spake of Christ or Christians. Thus in his dialogue with old Maris, a blind Christian bishop, mentioned by Sozomen^m, he told him by way of scoff, “Thy Galilæan God will not cure thee.” And again, in his epistleⁿ to Arsacius high-priest of Galatia, “The Gali-

^h Id. de Loc. Hebr. tom. iii. p. 188. b. Nos apud veteres quasi opprobrio Nazaræi dicebamur, quos nunc Christianos vocant.

ⁱ Epiph. l. c. n. i. Πάντες δὲ Χριστιανοὶ Ναζωραῖοι τότε ἐκαλοῦντο.

^k Prudent. περὶ στεφάνων, carm. v. de S. Vincentio, v. 25, 26. p. 139, edit. Cellar.

Vos, Nazareni, adsistite,

Rudemque ritum spernite. (Valpy, p. 243.)

Id. Hymn. x. de Romano Martyre, v. 41. seq. edit. Cell. p. 184. (Valpy, p. 309.)

Præfectus istis imminens negotiis

Asclepiades, ire mandat milites

Ecclesiasten usque de sacrariis

Raptare plebem, mancipandam vinculis,

Ni disciplinam Nazarenam respuat.

^l Jun. Parall. lib. i. c. viii. Quod impium dogma quum Antiochiæ primum invaluerit, fortasse occasionem Antiochenæ ecclesiæ dedit, ut viri boni se non amplius Nazaræos aut Nazarenos, sed Christianos potius appellarent. Act. xi. 26. Vide etiam Godwin, Moses and Aaron, lib. i. c. viii.

^m Sozom. lib. v. c. iv. (Amstel. Vales. 1700. p. 487. D 2.) Οὐδὲ ὁ Γαλιλαῖος σου Θεὸς θεραπεύσει σε.

ⁿ Apud Sozom. lib. v. c. xvi. (Amstel. Vales. 1700. p. 503. D 4.) Αἰσχρὸν γάρ· εἰ τῶν μὲν Ἰουδαίων οὐδεὶς μεταίτεῖ, τρέφουσι δὲ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλιλαῖοι πρὸς τοῖς ἑαυτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους.

læans maintain their own poor and ours also." The like may be observed in Socrates^o, Theodoret^p, Chrysostom^q, and Gregory Nazianzen^r, who adds, that "he not only called them Galilæans himself, but made a law that no one should call them by any other name; thinking thereby to abolish the name of Christians."

SECT. III.—*Also Atheists.*

They also called them 'Atheists,' and their religion the Atheism or impiety, because they derided the worship of the heathen gods. Dio^s says, Acilius Glabrio was put to death for 'atheism,' meaning the Christian religion. And the Christian apologists, Athenagoras^t, Justin Martyr^u, Arnobius^v, and others, reckon this among the crimes which the heathens usually lay to their charge. Eusebius says^x the name was become so common, that when the persecuting magistrates would oblige a Christian to renounce his religion, they bade him abjure it in this form, by saying among other things, αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους, 'Confusion to the atheists; away with the impious;' meaning the Christians.

^o Socrat. lib. iii. c. xii. (Amstel. Vales. 1700. p. 150. D. 8.) Γαλιλαῖον εἰώθει ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς καλεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς Γαλιλαίους.

^p Theodor. lib. iii. c. iv. Ἀπηγόρευσε τῶν Γαλιλαίων τοὺς παῖδας, οὕτω γὰρ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θιασώτας ὠνόμαζε, ποιητικῶν καὶ ῥητορικῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων μεταλαγχάνειν λόγων.—Id. ibid. c. xxi. Νενίκηκας, Γαλιλαῖε.

^q Chrysost. Hom. lxiii. tom. v. p. 439, edit. Eton. (tom. i. Francof. p. 640.) Καὶ οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα τῆς μανίας ἴστατο, ἀλλ' ἐκ μέσης ἀναρπάσασθαι τῆς οἴκου- μένης τὸ τῶν Γαλιλαίων ἔθνος ἐπηγγέλλετο, καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἡμᾶς εἰώθει καλεῖν.

^r Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. iii. (Paris. 1690. vol. i. p. 81. B 1.) .. Καινοτομεῖ περὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν, Γαλιλαίους ἀντὶ Χριστιανῶν ὀνομάσας τε καὶ καλεῖσθαι νομοθετήσας.

^s Dio in Domit. vid. supra cap. i. § x. not. (u) p. 12.

^t Athenag. Legat. pro Christ. p. 4. Τρία ἐπιφημίζουσιν ἡμῖν ἐγκλήματα, ἀθεότης, Θυέστεια δεῖπνα, Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις.

^u Justin. Mart. Apol. i. p. 47. Ὅς γε περὶ ἡμῶν ἂ μὴ ἐπίσταται, δημοσίᾳ καταμαρτυρεῖ, ὡς ἀθίων καὶ ἀσεβῶν Χριστιανῶν.

^v Arnob. Exterminati sunt Dii longe Efficietur profecto rationum consequentium copulatu, ut non impii nos magis, sed illi ipsi reperiantur criminis istius rei, qui se numinum profitentur esse cultores, atque inveteratis religionibus deditos. (Lips. 1816. vol. i. p. 4, at top.)

^x Euseb. lib. iv. c. xv. ubi Proconsul, Polycarpum monens ut Christum abneget, inter alia dicit: Μετανόησον· εἶπον, αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους. (Vales. Amstel. p. 106. D 5.)

SECT. IV.—*And Greeks and Impostors.*

To this they added the name of ‘Greeks and Impostors:’ which is noted by St. Jerome^y who says, wheresoever they saw a Christian, they would presently cry out, ὁ Γραικὸς ἐπιθέτης, ‘Behold a Grecian impostor!’ This was the character which the Jews gave our Saviour, ὁ πλάνος, ‘that deceiver,’ Matt. xxvii. 63. And Justin^z Martyr says, they endeavoured to propagate it to posterity, sending their apostles or emissaries from Jerusalem to all the synagogues in the world, to bid them beware of a certain impious, lawless sect, lately risen up under one Jesus, a Galilæan impostor.—Hence Lucian^a took occasion in his blasphemous raillery, to style him ‘the crucified Sophister.’ And Celsus^b commonly gives him and his followers the name of γοηταί, ‘deceivers.’ So Asclepiades the judge, in Prudentius^c, compliments them with the appellation of ‘Sophisters;’ and Ulpian^d proscribes them in a law by the name of ‘Impostors.’

The reason why they added the name of Greeks to that of Impostors, was (as learned men^e conjecture) because many of

^y Hieron. Ep. x. ad Furiam. (Venet. 1766. vol. i. p. 284. C 7.) Ubicumque viderint Christianum, statim illud de trivio, ὁ Γραικὸς, ὁ ἐπιθέτης.

^z Justin. Dial. c. Tryph. p. 335. Οὐ μόνον οὐ μετενοήσατε, μαθόντες αὐτὸν ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀλλ’ ἄνδρας χειροτονήσαντες ἐκλεκτοὺς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπέμψατε, κηρύσσοντας ὅτι αἱρεσίς τις ἄθεος καὶ ἄνομος ἐγήγερται ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ τινος Γαλιλαίου πλάνου, κ. τ. λ. (Paris. 1742. p. 202. B 7.)

^a Luc. de Morte Peregr. tom. iv. Opp. p. 277, edit. Basil. 8. (Bipont. vol. viii. p. 280.) Ἐπειδὴν ἅπαξ παραβάντες (οἱ Χριστιανοὶ) θεοὺς μὲν τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς ἀπαρνήσονται, τὸν δὲ ἀνεσκολοπισμένον ἐκεῖνον σοφιστὴν αὐτῶν προσκυνῶσι, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνου νόμους βιώσι.

^b Cels. ap. Orig. lib. i. p. 20. (Cambr. 1677.) Λεγέτω ὁ ἐπαγγελλόμενος εἰδέναι τὰ Χριστιανῶν καὶ Ἰουδαίων. Πῶς δὲ καὶ γοητεία παρὰ τοῖς παραδεξαμένοις τὸν Μωϋσέως νόμον ἐστίν, κ. τ. λ.—Ibid. p. 55. Εἰτά φησι λοιδορούμενος τῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ταῦτα θεομισοῦς ἦν τινος καὶ μοχθηροῦ γόητος.

^c Prud. περὶ Στεφάνων, Carm. x. de Romano Mart. v. 404. p. 202, edit. Cellar. (Valpy, p. 339.)

Quis hos Sophistas error invexit novus,

Qui non colendos esse divos disputent?

^d Digest. lib. l. tit. xiii. c. l. Si incantavit, si imprecatus est, si (ut vulgari verbo impostorum utar) exorcizavit.

^e Kortholt. de Moribus Christian. c. iii. p. 22, 23, ubi citat locum ex Epist. xix. Hieron. ad Marcellam: ‘Si tunica non canduerit, statim illud e trivio, Impostor et Græcus est.’ Item ex Epist. x. ad Furiam supra in textu (y) allegata,

the Christian philosophers took upon them the Grecian or philosophic habit, which was the περιβόλαιον or 'pallium:' whence the Greeks were called 'palliati,' as the Romans were called 'togati,' or 'gens togata,' from their proper habit, which was the toga. Now it being some offence to the Romans to see the Christians quit the Roman gown, to wear the Grecian cloak, they thence took occasion to mock and deride them with the scurrilous names of Greeks, and Grecian impostors. Tertullian's book 'De Pallio' was written to show the spiteful malice of this foolish objection.

SECT. V.—*Magicians.*

But the heathens went one step further in their malice: and because our Saviour and his followers did many miracles, which they imputed to evil arts and the power of magic; they therefore generally declaimed against them as Magicians, and under that character exposed them to the fury of the vulgar. Celsus^f and others pretended that our Saviour studied magic in Egypt: and St. Austin^g says, it was generally believed among the hea-

et addit: Quæ loca ut recte intelligantur, sciendum Romanorum habitum proprie fuisse togam, sicut Græcorum pallium.... Hinc Romani dicti sunt 'gens togata' . . . Contra Greci 'palliati.' . . Quia proinde Græcorum pallio etiam vestiebantur Christiani (quamquam non omnes, sed soli ascetæ) hinc communi scommate audiebant 'Græci,' et ab injectione pallii, quod tunicæ superimponebant, etiam ἐπιτίθεται, hoc est (ut ita dixerim) 'Imponentes.' Id simpliciter accipiebat indoctum vulgus ob pallii superimpositionem: cæterum litterati figuratum morsum intelligebant in vocabulo ἐπιτίτης, quo fieret ad 'impostoris' nomen apud Latinos faceta allusio, hoc est, deceptoris et hominis sanctitatem mentientis.—Baron. an. lvi. n. xi. Quod ait (Ulpianus) verbum exorcizare esse 'impostorum,' haud dubium est sugillare voluisse Christianos.

^f Origen. contra Cels. lib. i. p. 30. (Cambr. 1677.) Φησὶν, αὐτὸν σκότιον τραφέντα, μισθαργήσαντα, εἰς Αἴγυπτον, δυνάμεων τινῶν πειρασθέντα, ἐκεῖθεν ἐπανελθεῖν, Θεὸν δὲ ἐκείνας τὰς δυνάμεις ἐαυτὸν ἀναγορεύοντα.—Arnob. lib. i. p. 15, edit. Hamburg. 1610. Magus fuit, clandestinis artibus omnia illa perfecit, Ægyptiorum ex adytis angelorum potentium nomina et remotas furatus est disciplinas.

^g August. de Consensu Evang. lib. i. cap. ix. (Bened. 1700. vol. iii. part ii. p. 6. A 6.) Ita vero isti desipiunt, ut illis libris, quos eum scripsisse existimant, dicant contineri eas artes, quibus eum putant illa fecisse miracula, etc. cap. x. Quid? quod etiam divino judicio sic errant quidam eorum, qui talia Christum scripsisse vel credunt, vel credi volunt, ut eosdem libros ad Petrum et Paulum dicant, tamquam epistolari titulo prænotatos.

then, that he wrote some books about magic too, which he delivered to Peter and Paul for the use of his disciples. Hence it was that Suetonius^h, speaking in the language of his party, calls the Christians, “genus hominum superstitionis maleficæ,” the men of the magical superstition. As Asclepiades the judge in Prudentiusⁱ styles St. Romanus the martyr, ‘arch-magician.’ And St. Ambrose observes in the passion of St. Agnes^k how the people cried out against her, “Away with the sorceress! Away with the enchanter!” Nothing being more common, than to term all Christians, especially such as wrought miracles^l, by the odious name of ‘sorcerers and magicians.’

SECT. VI.—*The New Superstition.*

The ‘New Superstition’ was another name of reproach for the Christian religion. Suetonius gives it that title^m, and Pliny and Tacitus add to itⁿ the opprobrious terms of “wicked and unreasonable superstition.” By which name also Nero triumphed over it, in his trophies which he set up at Rome, when he had harassed the Christians with a most severe persecution. He gloried that “he had purged the country of robbers, and those that obtruded and inculcated the new superstition^o upon mankind.” By this, there can be no doubt he meant the Christians, whose religion is called ‘the superstition’ in other inscriptions of the like nature. See that of Diocletian cited in Baronius, an. 304, from Occo. “Superstitione Christianorum ubique deleta,” &c.

Not much unlike this was that other name which Porphyry^p

^h Sueton. Neron. c. xvi. (Crusius, vol. ii. p. 105.) Adflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ.

ⁱ Prudent. *περί Στεφάνων*, Hymn. x. de S. Romano, v. 868. p. 221, edit. Cellar. Quo usque tandem summus hic nobis magus illudet? (Valpy, 368.)

^k Ambros. Serm. xc. in S. Agnen. Tolle Magam! Tolle Maleficam!

^l Vide Kortholt. de Moribus Christian. c. iv. tot.

^m Sueton. Nero, c. xvi. See note (h).

ⁿ Plin. lib. x. Epist. xcvii. Nihil aliud inveni, quam superstitionem pravam et immodicam. Tacit. Annal. xv. c. xlv. Exitiabilis superstitio.

^o Inscript. Antiq. ad calcem Sueton. Oxon. NERONI. CLAVD. CAIS. AVG. PONT. MAX. OB. PROVINC. LATRONIB. ET. HIS. QVI. NOVAM. GENERI. HVM. SVPERSTITION. INCVLCA. PVRGAT.

^p Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. c. xix. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 179. A 9.)

and some others give it, when they call it the 'barbarous, new, and strange religion.' In the acts of the famous martyrs of Lyons, who suffered under Antoninus Pius, the heathens scornfully insult it with this character. For having burnt the martyrs to ashes, and scattered their remains into the river Rhone, they said, they did it to cut off their hopes of a resurrection, upon the strength of which they sought to obtrude^q 'the new and strange religion' upon mankind. 'But now let us see whether they will rise again, and whether their God can help and deliver them out of our hands.'

SECT. VII.—*Christians why called Sibyllists.*

Celsus gives them the name of Sibyllists^r, because the Christians in their disputes with the heathens, sometimes made use of the authority of Sibylla their own prophetess against them; whose writings they urged with so much advantage to the Christian cause, and prejudice to the heathen, that Justin Martyr^s says, the Roman governors made it death for any one to read them, or Hystaspes, or the writings of the prophets.

SECT. VIII.—*Biathanati.*

They also reproached them with the appellation of βιαθάνατοι, 'self-murderers;' because they readily offered themselves up to martyrdom, and cheerfully underwent any violent death, which the heathens could inflict upon them. With what eagerness they courted death, we learn not only from the Christian^t writers themselves, but from the testimonies of the

Ὁριγένης δὲ "Ελληνα ἐν Ἑλλησι παιδευθεὶς λόγοις, πρὸς τὸ βάρβαρον ἐξώκειλε τόλμημα.

^q Act. Mart. Lugd. apud Euseb. lib. v. c. i. p. 134. D: Ξένην τινὰ καὶ καινὴν ἡμῖν εἰσάγουσι θρησκείαν.

^r Origen. contra Cels. lib. v. p. 272. (Cambr. 1677.) Εἶπε δὲ τινὰς εἶναι καὶ Σιβυλλιστάς· τάχα παρακούσας τινῶν ἐγκαλούντων τοῖς οἰομένοις προφητῇτιν γεγονέναι τὴν Σιβύλλαν, καὶ Σιβυλλιστάς τοὺς τοιούτους καλεσάντων.

^s Justin. Apol. i. p. 82. Κατ' ἐνέργειαν τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων, θάνατος ὤρίσθη κατὰ τῶν τὰς Ὑστάσπου, ἢ Σιβύλλης, ἢ τῶν προφητῶν βίβλους ἀναγινωσκόντων. (Paris. 1742. p. 70. C.)

^t See these collected in Pearson. Vind. Ignat. part ii. c. ix. p. 384.

heathens^u concerning them. Lucian^v says they not only despised death, but many of them voluntarily offered themselves to it, out of a persuasion that they should be made immortal, and live for ever. This he reckons folly, and therefore gives them the name of *κακοδαίμονες*, the miserable wretches that threw away their lives. In which sense Porphyry^x also styles the Christian religion, *βάρβαρον τόλμημα*, 'the barbarous boldness.' As Arrius Antoninus^y terms the professors of it, *ὧ δειλοὶ*, 'the stupid wretches,' that had such a mind to die; and the heathen in Minutius^z, 'homines deploratæ ac desperatæ factionis,' the men of the forlorn and desperate faction. All which agrees with the name *Biathanati*, or *Biæothanati*, as Baronius^a understands it. Though it may signify not only 'self-murderers,' but (as a learned critic^b notes) men that expect to live after death. In which sense the heathens probably might use it likewise to ridicule the Christian doctrine of the resurrection; on which, they knew, all their fearless and undaunted courage was founded. For so the same heathen in Minutius endeavours to expose at once both their resolution and their belief: "O strange folly^{bb}, and incredible madness!" says he; "they despise all present torments, and yet fear those that are future and uncertain: they are afraid of dying after death, but in the mean time do not fear to die. So vainly do

^u Arrius Antonin. apud Tertull. ad Scap. c. iv. (Paris. 1664. p. 71. C 4.) Tiberian. in Jo. Malela Chronic.

^v Lucian. de Mort. Peregr. tom. iv. p. 277. (edit. Basil. 8.) (Bipont. vol. viii. p. 280.) Πεινέκασι αὐτοὺς οἱ κακοδαίμονες τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἀθάνατοι ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ βιώσεσθαι τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον· παρ' ὃ καὶ καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ ἐκόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπιιδόασιν οἱ πολλοί.

^x Porphy. ap. Euseb. H. E. lib. vi. c. xix. See note (p), page 19.

^y Tertull. *ibid.*

^z Minut. Octav. c. viii. p. 26. (edit. Cellar. Hal.) Quid? homines . . . homines, inquam, deploratæ, illicitæ, ac desperatæ factionis grassari in deos, non ingemiscendum est? (Vesont. 1838. p. 433.)

^a Baron. an. cxxxviii. num. v. Vox Græca in Latinitatem transiit, a *βιαιίῳ θανάτῳ*, i. e. violenta morte. (Antverp. 1597. vol. ii. p. 96.)

^b Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. tom. i. p. 690. Quasi vivos-mortuos, propterea quod per mortem ad immortalitatem se perventuros crederent.

^{bb} Minutius Felix. Proh! mira stultitia et incredibilis audacia! spernunt tormenta præsentia, dum incerta metuunt et futura: et dum mori post mortem timent, interim mori non timent: ita illis pavor et fallax spes solatia rediviva blanditur. (Vesont. 1838. p. 433.)

they flatter themselves, and allay their fears with the hopes of some reviving comforts after death." For one of these reasons then they gave them the name of Biothanati, which word expressly occurs in some of the acts of the ancient martyrs. Baronius observes^c out of Bede's Martyrology, that when the seven sons of Symphorosa were martyred under Hadrian, their bodies were all cast into one pit together, which the temple-priests named from them, 'ad septem Biothanatos,' the grave of the seven Biothanati.

SECT. IX.—*Parabolarii, and Desperati.*

For the same reason they gave them the names of 'Parabolarii' and 'Desperati,' the bold and desperate men. The 'Parabolarii,' or 'Parabolani,' among the Romans, were those bold adventurous men, who hired out themselves to fight with wild beasts upon the stage or amphitheatre, whence they had also the name of 'Bestiarii,' and 'Confectores.' Now because the Christians were put to fight for their lives in the same manner, and they rather chose to do it than deny their religion, they therefore got the name of 'Paraboli,' and 'Parabolani:' which though it was intended as a name of reproach and mockery, yet the Christians were not unwilling to take it to themselves, being one of the truest characters that the heathens ever gave them. And therefore they sometimes gave themselves this name by way of allusion to the Roman Paraboli. As in the Passion^{cc} of Abdo and Senne in the time of Valerian, the martyrs who were exposed to be devoured by wild beasts in the amphitheatre, are said to enter, 'ut audacissimi Parabolani,' as most resolute champions, that despised their own lives for their religion's sake. But the other name of 'Desperati' they rejected as a calumny, retorting it back upon their adversaries, who more justly deserved it. "Those," says Lactantius^d,

^c Baron. an. cxxxviii. n. v. See preceding note (a).

^{cc} Acta Abdonis et Sennes apud Suicerum. (Amstel. 1728. p. 566.) Ut audacissimi parabolani.

^d Lact. Instit. lib. v. c. ix. Qui magni aestimaverint fidem, cultoresque se Dei non abnegaverint, in eos vero totis carnificinae suae viribus, veluti sanguinem sitiant, incumbunt; et desperatos vocant, quia corpori suo minime parcunt: quasi quidquam desperatius esse possit, quam torquere ac dilaniare eum, quem scias esse innocentem. (Vesont. 1838. p. 139.)

“ who set a value upon their faith, and will not deny their God, they first torment and butcher them with all their might, and then call them desperadoes, because they will not spare their own bodies : as if any thing could be more desperate, than to torture and tear in pieces those whom you cannot but know to be innocent.”

SECT. X.—*Sarmentitii, and Semaxii.*

Tertullian mentions another name, which was likewise occasioned by their sufferings. The martyrs which were burnt alive, were usually tied to a board or stake of about six foot long, which the Romans called ‘ Semaxis ;’ and then they were surrounded or covered with fagots of small wood, which they called ‘ Sarmenta.’ From this their punishment, the heathen, who turned every thing into mockery, gave all Christians the despiteful name of ‘ Sarmentitii’ and ‘ Semaxii^e.’

SECT. XI.—*Lucifugax Natio.*

The heathen in Minutius^f takes occasion also to reproach them under the name of ‘ the skulking generation,’ or the men that loved to prate in corners and the dark. The ground of which scurrilous reflection was only this, that they were forced to hold their religious assemblies in the night, to avoid the fury of the persecutions. Which Celsus^g himself owns, though otherwise prone enough to load them with hard names and odious reflections.

SECT. XII.—*Plautina Prosapia, and Pistores.*

The same heathen in Minutius gives them one scurrilous name more, which it is not very easy to guess the meaning of. He calls them ‘ Plautinians^h,’ ‘ homines Plautinæ prosapiæ.’

^e Tertul. Apol. cap. i. (Paris. 1664. p. 39. C 5.) Licet nunc Sarmenticios et Semaxios appelletis, quia ad stipitem dimidii axis revincti, sarmentorum ambitu exurimur.

^f Minut. Octav. c. viii. p. 27. Latebrosa et lucifugax natio, in publicum muta, in angulis garrula. (Vesont. 1838. p. 433.)

^g Origen. contra Cels. (Cambr. 1677.) lib. i. p. 5. line 10 from bottom. Μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ κρύφα Χριστιανοὺς τὰ ἀρέσκοντα ἑαυτοῖς ποιεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν εἰπὼν, καὶ ὅτι οὐ μάτην τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, ἅτε διωθόμενοι τὴν ἐπηρτημένην αὐτοῖς δίκην τοῦ θανάτου, κ. τ. λ.

^h Minut. Fel. Octav. c. xiv. p. 42, edit. Cellar. Hal. Homines Plautinæ prosapiæ.

Rigaltiusⁱ takes it for a ridicule upon the poverty and simplicity of the Christians, whom the heathens commonly represented as a company of poor ignorant mechanics, bakers, tailors, and the like ; men of the same quality with Plautus, who, as St. Jerome^k observes, was so poor, that in a time of famine he was forced to hire out himself to a baker to grind at his mill, during which time he wrote three of his plays in the intervals of his labour. Such sort of men Cæcilius says the Christians were ; and therefore he styles Octavius in the dialogue, ‘ homo Plautinæ prosapiæ, et pistorum præcipuus,’ a Plautinian, a chief man among the illiterate bakers, but no philosopher. The same reflection is often made by Celsus. “ You shall see,” says he^l, “ weavers, tailors, fullers, and the most illiterate and rustic fellows, who dare not speak a word before wise men, when they can get a company of children and silly women together, set up to teach strange paradoxes amongst them. This is one of their rules, (says he again^m,) Let no man that is learned, wise, or prudent, come among us ; but if any be unlearned, or a child, or an idiot, let him freely come : so they openly declare, that none but fools and sots, and such as want sense, slaves, women, and children, are fit disciples for the God they worship.”

SECT. XIII.—*With what names the Heretics reproach the Orthodox Christians.*

Nor was it only the heathens that thus reviled them, but commonly every perverse sect among the Christians had some reproachful name to cast upon them. The Novatian party

ⁱ Rigalt. in h. loc.

^k Hieron. Chronic. an. I. Olymp. p. 145.

^l Origen. contra Cels. lib. iii. (Cambr. 1677. p. 144.) ‘ Ὁρῶμεν δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἰδίᾳς οἰκίας ἐριουργοὺς, καὶ σκυτοτόμους, καὶ κναφεῖς, καὶ τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους τε καὶ ἀγροικοτάτους, ἐναντίον μὲν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ φρονιμωτέρων δεσποτῶν οὐδὲν φθέγγεσθαι τολμῶντας· ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῶν παίδων ἰδίᾳ λάβωνται, καὶ γυναιῶν τινῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀνοήτων, θαυμασιότατα διεξιόντας, κ. τ. λ.’

^m Ibid. p. 137. Τοιαῦτα ὑπ’ αὐτῶν προστάσσεσθαι μηδεὶς προσίτω πεπαιδευμένος, μηδεὶς σοφὸς, μηδεὶς φρόνιμος, (κακὰ γὰρ ταῦτα νομίζεται παρ’ ἡμῖν) ἀλλ’ εἴ τις ἀμαθής, εἴ τις ἀνόητος, εἴ τις νήπιος, θαρρῶν ἡκέτω· τούτους γὰρ ἀξίους τοῦ σφετέρου Θεοῦ αὐτόθεν ὁμολογοῦντες, δῆλοί εἰσιν, ὅτι μόνους τοὺς ἡλιθίους, καὶ ἀγενεῖς, καὶ ἀναισθήτους, καὶ ἀνδράποδα, καὶ γυναῖα, καὶ παιδάρια, πείθειν ἐθέλουσί τε καὶ δύνανται.

called them ‘Cornelians^o,’ because they communicated with Cornelius bishop of Rome, rather than with Novatianus, his antagonist. They also termed them ‘Apostatics, Capitolins, Synedrians,’ because^p they charitably decreed in their synods to receive apostates, and such as went to the Capitol to sacrifice, into their communion again upon their sincere repentance. The Nestorians^q termed the orthodox, Cyrillians; and the Arians^r called them Eustathians and Paulinians, from Eustathius and Paulinus bishops of Antioch. As also ‘Homousians,’ because they kept to the doctrine of the *ὁμοούσιον*, which declared the Son of God to be of the same substance with the Father. The author of the *Opus Imperfectum* on St. Matthew, under the name of Chrysostom^s, styles them expressly, ‘*hæresis Homousianorum*,’ the heresy of the Homousians. And so Serapion, in his conflict with Arnobust^t, calls them Homousianates, which the printed copy reads corruptly Homuncionates, which was a name for the Nestorians.

SECT. XIV.—*Christians called Psychici by the Montanists.*

The Cataphrygians or Montanists, commonly called the orthodox *ψυχικοὺς*, ‘carnal;’ because they rejected the prophecies and pretended inspirations of Montanus, and would not receive his rigid laws about fasting, nor abstain from second marriages, and observe four Lents in a year, &c. This was Tertullian’s ordinary compliment to the Christians in all his

^o Eulog. ap. Photium, Cod. cclxxx. p. 1622. (edit. Rothomag.) Καθαροὺς μὲν τοὺς, ὅσοι αὐτῷ ἐπλήρουν τὸ κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὀνομάσας σύνταγμα. Κορνηλιανοὺς δὲ τοὺς τὴν αὐτοῦ βδελυξαμένους φιλαρχίαν, καὶ κατὰ τῶν μετανοούντων ἀπόνοιαν.

^p Pacian. Ep. ii. ad Sempronian.

^q Epist. Legat. Schismat. ad suos in Epheso: in Act. Concil. Ephes. See Labbe, vol. iii. p. 746. A 9.

^r Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxi. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 540. A 2.) Πλειόνων μὲν ὄντων τῶν τὰ Ἀρείου φρονούντων, καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἔχόντων· οὐκ ὀλίγων δὲ ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς καθόλου ἐκκλησίας, οὓς Εὐσταθιανοὺς καὶ Παυλιανοὺς ὠνόμαζον.

^s *Opus Imperf. Hom.* xlviii. apud Chrysostom. (Paris. 1636. tom. i. in Nov. Test. p. 948. B.) *Hæresis Homousianorum non solum Christi Ecclesiæ adversatur, sed et omnibus hæresibus non similiter sapientibus.*

^t *Conflictus Arnob. et Serap. ad calcem Irenæi*, p. 519. Serapion dixit: Antequam ad hoc veniamus, quod vos Homuncionates arguamus, etc.

books^u written after he was fallen into the errors of Montanus. He calls his own party 'the spiritual;' and the orthodox the 'carnal:' and some of his books^v are expressly entitled 'adversus Psychicos.' Clemens Alexandrinus^x observes, the same reproach was also used by other heretics beside the Montanists. And it appears from Irenæus, that this was an ancient calumny of the Valentinians, who styled themselves 'the spiritual and the perfect,' and the orthodox, 'the secular and carnal^y,' who had need of abstinence and good works, which were not necessary for them that were perfect.

SECT. XV.—*Allegorists by the Millenaries.*

The Millenaries styled them 'Allegorists,' because they expounded the prophecy of the saints reigning a thousand years with Christ, Rev. xx. 4, to a mystical and allegorical sense. Whence Eusebius^z observes of Nepos the Egyptian bishop, who wrote for the millennium, that he entitled his book, ἔλεγχος ἀλληγοριστῶν, 'a Confutation of the Allegorists.'

SECT. XVI.—*Chronitæ, by the Aëtians; Simplices, by the Manichees; Anthropolatræ, by the Apollinarians.*

Aëtius the Arian gives them the abusive name of Χρονίται: by which he seems to intimate, that their religion was but temporary, and would shortly have an end; when as the character was much more applicable to the Arians themselves, whose faith was so lately sprung up in the world; as the

^u Tertull. adv. Prax. c. i. (Paris. 1664. p. 501. A 11.) Nos quidem agnitio Paracleti disjunxit a Psychicis. Id. de Monogam. c. i. Hæretici nuptias auferunt, Psychici ingerunt. Vide etiam c. xi. et xvi.

^v De Jejuniis, adversus Psychicos. De Pudicitia, etc.

^x Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. iv. p. 511. (604, edit. Oxon.) Μὴ τοίνυν ψυχικοὺς ἐν ὀνειδούς μέρει λεγόντων ἡμᾶς οἱ προειρημένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Φρύγες.

^y Iren. lib. i. c. xl. p. 29. (edit. Oxon.) Ἐπαιδεύθησαν τὰ ψυχικά οἱ ψυχικοὶ ἄνθρωποι, οἱ δὲ ἔργων καὶ πίστεως ψιλῆς βεβαιούμενοι, καὶ μὴ τὴν τελείαν γνῶσιν ἔχοντες· εἶναι δὲ τούτους ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμᾶς λέγουσι· διὸ καὶ ἡμῖν μὲν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν ἀγαθὴν πράξιν ἀποφαίνονται· ἄλλως γὰρ ἀδύνατον σωθῆναι· αὐτοὺς δὲ μὴ διὰ πράξεως, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φύσει πνευματικοὺς εἶναι, πάντα τε καὶ πάντως σωθήσεσθαι δογματίζουσιν.

^z Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxiv. Ἐλεγχον ἀλληγοριστῶν λόγον τινὰ περὶ τούτου συντάξας ἐπέγραψε. (Vales. 1695. p. 221. B 7.)

author of the dialogues ‘De Trinitate,’ under the name of Athanasius, who confutes Aëtius^a, justly retorts upon him.

The Manichees, as they gave themselves the most glorious names of ‘Electi, Macarii, Catharistæ,’ mentioned by^b St. Austin; so they reproached the Catholics with the most contemptible name of ‘Simplices,’ idiots; which is the term that Manichæus himself used in his dispute^c with Archelaus the Mesopotamian bishop, styling the Christian teachers, ‘simpliciorum magistros,’ guides of the simple; because they could not relish his execrable doctrine concerning two principles of good and evil.

The Apollinarians were no less injurious to the Catholics, in fixing on them the odious name of ‘Anthropolatræ,’ man-worshippers; because they maintained that Christ was a perfect man, and had a reasonable soul and body, of the same nature with ours; which Apollinarius denied. Gregory Nazianzen^d takes notice of this abuse, and sharply replies to it; telling the Apollinarians, that they themselves much better deserved the name of ‘Sarcolatræ,’ flesh-worshippers: for if Christ had no human soul, they must be concluded to worship his flesh only.

SECT. XVII.—*Philosarcæ and Pelusiotæ, &c. by the Origenians.*

The Origenians, who denied the truth of the resurrection, and asserted that men should have only aerial and spiritual bodies in the next world, made jests upon the Catholics, be-

^a Athan. Dial. ii. de Trinit. tom. ii. p. 495. (Colon. 1686. vol. ii. p. 193. A 8.) *Τίνας δὲ λέγεις Χρονίτας; τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων μέχρι καὶ σήμερον αἰνοῦντας Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα; ἢ τοὺς ἀπὸ σοῦ τοὺς χθές καὶ σήμερον φανέντας; κ. τ. λ.*

^b Aug. de Hæres. c. xlvi. (Bened. 1700. vol. viii. p. 11. B 9.) His duabus professionibus, hoc est Electorum et Auditorum, ecclesiam suam constare voluerunt. . . Quorum unus nomine Viator, eos qui ista faciunt, proprie Catharistas [id est, mundatores, vel purgatores] vocari dicens, cum alias ejusdem Manichææ sectæ partes in Matt(c)arios, et specialiter Manichæos, distribui perhiberet; etc.

^c Archel. Disp. adv. Manichæos, ad calcem Sozomen. Vales. 1700. p. 159, at bottom. Ut ne indiscretos animos geras, sicut simpliciorum magistri docent, etc.

^d Gregor. Naz. Orat. li. (Colon. 1690. tom. i. p. 742. B 7.) *Σὺ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ἀτιμάζεις, ὧ βέλτιστε, τὸν ἐμὸν νοῦν, ὡς σαρκολάτρης, εἴπερ ἀνθρωπολάτρης ἐγὼ, κ. τ. λ.*

cause they maintained the contrary, that our bodies should be the same individual bodies, and of the same nature that they are now, with flesh and bones, and all the members in the same form and structure, only altered in quality, not in substance. For this they gave them the opprobrious names of 'Simplices' and 'Philosarcæ^e,' idiots, and lovers of the flesh; 'carnei, animales, jumenta,' carnal, sensual, animals; 'lutei,' earthy; 'Pelusiotæ^f,' which is a term of the same importance, from the Greek word *πηλός* 'lutum,' as St. Jerome himself explains it. So that though Baronius from some copies reads this name, 'Pilositæ,' yet the true reading is 'Pelusiotæ,' as the passage, cited in the margin, plainly evinces.

[*.* Note from the folio edition of Bingham's Works, p. xxxii.]

After these collections were printed off, I had occasion to make one remark upon a word used in the first book, ch. ii. § 17; which because I have no opportunity to mention elsewhere, the reader may please to take it in this place. The name Pilositæ, which I say the Origenians used as a term of reproach for the Catholics, ought rather to be read Pelusiotæ, from *πηλός*, 'lutum;' in which sense it signifies earthly, sensual, carnally-minded men; which were the names the Origenians bestowed upon the orthodox, because they had not the same apprehensions of spiritual and heavenly bodies as they had. St. Jerome gives this explication in express terms, in a passage which has lately occurred to my observation, where he uses the Greek word *πηλουσιώτας*, which explains his meaning in other places, and puts the matter beyond all dispute. So that though Baronius from some copies reads it Pilositæ, yet the true reading is Pelusiotæ, as the passage cited^{ff} plainly evinces.]

SECT. XVIII.—*The Synagogue of Antichrist and Satan, by the Luciferians.*

But of all others the Luciferians gave the Church the rudest language; styling her the brothel-house, and synagogue of Antichrist and Satan; because she allowed those bishops to

^e Hieron. Epist. lxi. ad Pammach. tom. ii. p. 171. Nos simplices et Philosarcas dicere, quod eadem ossa et sanguis et caro, id est, vultus et membra totiusque compago corporis resurgat in novissima die.

^f Epist. 84. (Venet. Vallars. p. 531. A 7.) Pelusiotas nos appellant, et luteos animalesque et carneos, quod non recipiamus ea, quæ spiritus sunt.

^{ff} Hieron. Comment. in Jer. xxix. p. 407. (tom. v. edit. Francof. p. 280.) (Venet. Vallars. vol. iv. p. 1047. B.) Quæ quum audiunt discipuli ejus (Origenis) et Grunnianæ familiæ stercora, putant se divina audire mysteria. Nosque qui ista contemnimus, quasi pro brutis habent animantibus, et vocant Πηλουσιώτας, eo quod in luto istius corporis constituti non possimus sentire cœlestia. [N.B. In this passage, Vallarsius reads Πηλωσιώτας.]

retain their honour and places, who were cajoled by the Arians to subscribe the fraudulent confession of the Council of Ariminum. The Luciferian in St. Jerome runs out in this manner against the Church; and St. Jerome says, he spake but the sense of the whole party, for this was the ordinary style^g and language of all the rest.

These are some of those reproachful names, which heretics, concurring with Jews and infidels, endeavoured to fasten upon the Christian Church; which I should not so much as have mentioned, but that they serve to give some light to antiquity, and therefore were not wholly to be passed over in a treatise of this nature.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SEVERAL ORDERS OF MEN IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*Three sorts of members of the Christian Church, the ἡγούμενοι, πιστοὶ, and κατηχούμενοι.*

HAVING given an account of the several names of Christians, I proceed now to speak of the persons, and several orders of men in the Christian Church. Some divide them into three ranks, others into four, others into five; which yet come much to the same account, when they are compared together. Eusebius reckons but three orders, viz. the ἡγούμενοι, πιστοὶ, and κατηχούμενοι: Rulers, Believers, and Catechumens. “There are in every Church,” says he, “three orders of men^h, one of the Rulers or guides, and two of those that are subject to them: for the people are divided into two classes; the πιστοὶ, Believers,

^g Hieron. Dial. adv. Lucifer. tom. i. p. 135. (Venet. 1769. vol. ii. p. 171. A 5.) Adserebat, universum mundum esse diaboli: et, ut jam familiare est eis dicere, factum de Ecclesia lupanar. . . . Quod Antichristi magis Synagoga, quam Ecclesia Christi debeat nuncupari.

^h Euseb. Demonstr. Evangel. lib. vii. c. ii. p. 323. Τρία καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν τάγματα, ἓν μὲν τὸ τῶν ἡγουμένων, δύο δὲ τὰ τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων, τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς δύο τάγματα διηρημένου, εἰς τε τὸ μὲν πιστῶν καὶ τῶν μὲν μηδέπω τῆς διὰ λούτρον παλιγγενεσίας ἡξιωμένων.

and the unbaptized," by whom he means the catechumens. St. Jeromeⁱ makes five orders; but then he divides the clergy into three orders, to make up the number; reckoning them thus, bishops, presbyters, deacons, believers, and catechumens. In which account he follows Origen, who^k makes five degrees subordinate to one another in the Church; saying, "Every one shall be punished according to the difference of his degree. If a bishop or president of the Church sins, he shall have the greater punishment. A catechumen will deserve mercy, in comparison of a believer; and a layman, in comparison of a deacon; and a deacon in comparison of a presbyter." Here are plainly St. Jerome's five orders; first bishops, under the name of Presidents of the Church; then presbyters; after them, deacons; then believers or laymen; and last of all, the catechumens.

SECT. II.—*Believers here strictly taken for the Laity that were baptized.*

In all which accounts, these four things are proper to be remarked. 1. That the name, believers, *πιστοὶ*, and Fideles, is here taken in a more strict sense only for one order of Christians, the believing or baptized laity, in contradistinction to the clergy and the catechumens, the two other orders of men in the Church. And in this sense, the words *πιστοὶ* and Fideles are commonly used in the ancient liturgies^l and canons, to distinguish those that were baptized, and allowed to partake of

ⁱ Hieron. in Ies. xix. p. 64. (tom. v. p. 56, edit. Francof.) Quinque Ecclesiæ ordines, Episcopus, Presbyteros, Diaconos, Fideles, Catechumenos.

^k Origen. Hom. v. in Ezech. Pro modo graduum, unusquisque torquebitur. Majorem poenam habet, qui Ecclesiæ præsidet, et delinquit. Annon magis misericordiam promeretur, ad comparationem Fidelis, Catechumenus? Non magis venia dignus est Laicus, si ad Diaconum conferatur? Et rursus, comparatione Presbyteri, Diaconus veniam plus meretur.

^l Concil. Nic. can. xi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 33.) "Ὅσοι γνησίως μεταμέλονται, τρία ἔτη ἐν ἀκρωμένοις ποιήσουσιν οἱ πιστοὶ, καὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη ὑποπείσονται.—Concil. Illiberritan. can. xii. Labbe, vol. i. Concil. p. 272. Mater, vel parens, vel quælibet fidelis, si lenocinium exercuerit, etc.—Can. xlv. Si quis fidelis apostata, per infinita tempora, ad ecclesiam non accesserit.—Can. l. Si vero quis clericus vel fidelis cum Judæis cibum sumserit.—Constitut. Apost. (lib. viii. c. xxxiv. vol. i. p. 499.) Πιστὸς μετὰ κατηχουμένου μήτε κατ' οἶκον προσευχέσθω.—Cyrill. Hierosol. Præf. Catech. n. ii. (p. 2, edit. Oxon.) (Paris. 1609. p. 5. line 6.) Ἄφες, ἰδῶμεν τί ποιοῦσιν οἱ πιστοί.

the holy mysteries, from the catechumens. Whence came that ancient distinction of the service of the Church, into the ‘missa catechumenorum,’ and ‘missa^m fidelium;’ of which more in its proper place.

SECT. III.—*Catechumens owned as imperfect members of the Church.*

2dly. We may hence observe, that the catechumens, though but imperfect Christians, were in some measure owned to be within the pale of the Church. Forasmuch as Eusebius, Origen, and St. Jerome, reckon them one of the three orders of the Church. And the Councils of Eliberisⁿ and Constantinople^o give them expressly the name of Christians. Though as St. Austin^p says, “they were not yet sons, but servants:” they belonged to the house of God, but were not yet admitted to all the privileges of it: being only Christians at large, and not in the most strict and proper acceptation.

SECT. IV.—*Heretics not reckoned among Christians.*

And yet this is more than can be said of heretics properly so called. For we may observe, 3dly, that in the forementioned division, heretics come into no account among Christians. They were not esteemed of, either as catechumens, or believers, but as mere Jews, or pagans; neither having the true faith, nor being willing to learn it. Tertullian^q says in

^m Conc. Carthagin. IV. can. lxxxiv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1206) Ut Episcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi ecclesiam, et audire verbum Dei, sive Gentilem, sive hæreticum, sive Judæum, usque ad missam catechumenorum.—Conc. Valent. Hispan. tom. iv. Conc. p. 1617. cap. i. Quatenus salutaria præcepti Domini nostri Jesu Christi, vel sermonem sacerdotis, non solum fideles, sed etiam catechumeni, ac pœnitentes, et omnes qui ex diverso sunt, audire licitum habeant.

ⁿ Conc. Illiberrit. can. xxxix. Gentiles, si in infirmitate desideraverint sibi manum imponi, si fuerit eorum ex aliqua parte honesta vita, placuit eis manum imponi et fieri Christianos. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 965.)

^o Conc. Constant. I. can. vii. tom. ii. Conc. p. 951. C 8. Καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν ποιοῦμεν αὐτοὺς Χριστιανούς, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν κατηχουμένους· εἶτα τὴν τρίτην ἐξορκίζομεν αὐτοὺς, κ. τ. λ.

^p August. Tract. xi. in Joh. tom. ix. p. 41. (Bened. 1700. vol. iii. par. ii. p. 274. D.) Quod signum crucis in fronte habent catechumeni, jam de domo magna sunt; sed fiant ex servis filii. Non enim nihil sunt, qui jam ad domum magnam pertinent.

^q Tertull. de Præscript. c. xxxvii. (Paris. 1664. p. 215. C 2.) Si hæretici sunt, Christiani esse non possunt.

general, "if they be heretics, they cannot be Christians." And St. Jerome^r disputing with a Luciferian, says the same in express terms, "that heretics are no Christians; nor to be spoken of, but as we would do of heathens." Lactantius^s specifies in the Montanists, Novatians, Valentinians, Marcionites, Anthropians, Arians, saying, "that they are no Christians, who forsaking the name of Christ, call themselves by other denominations." Athanasius^t and Hilary^u say the same of the Arians, "that they are not Christians." Constantine^v therefore enacted it into a law, that they should not be called 'Christians,' but 'Porphyrians;' from Porphyry that infamous heathen, whose practice they so much resembled in their impious blasphemies and reproaches of Christ and the Christian religion. And in imitation of this, Theodosius^x Junior made another law to the same effect, against Nestorius and his followers; that they should not abuse the name of Christians; but be called 'Simonians,' from Simon Magus the arch-heretic. To which we may add that decree of the general Council of Sardica, in their synodical epistle^y against the Arians; where

^r Hieron. Dial. c. Lucifer. tom. ii. p. 135. (Venet. vol. ii. p. 172.) Hæretici Christiani non sunt. Igitur fixum inter nos habemus, de hæretico sic loquendum, sicut de Gentili.

^s Lactant. Instit. lib. iv. c. xxx. Montanistas, Novatianos, Valentinianos, Marcionitas, Anthropianos, et Arianos designat, dicitque, non esse eos Christianos, qui nomine Christi repudiato aliis denominationibus utantur. Dufresnoy (vol. i. p. 353.) reads thus: Cum enim Phryges, aut Novatiani, aut Valentiniani, aut Marcionitæ, aut Anthropiani (aut Auriani) seu quilibet alii nominantur, Christiani esse desierunt, qui Christi nomine amisso, humana et externa vocabula induerunt.

^t Athan. Orat. ii. adv. Arianos, tom. i. part ii. p. 419, edit. Paris. Ἀρειανοὶ ὄντες οὐκ εἰσὶ Χριστιανοί.

^u Hilar. ad Const. lib. 98. Christianus sum, non Arianus.

^v Constant. Jun. Ep. ad Episc. ap. Socrat. lib. i. c. ix. Ἐδοξεν Ἀρειόν τε καὶ τοὺς Ἀρείου ὁμογνώμονας Πορφυριανοὺς μὲν καλεῖσθαι, ἵν' ὦν τοὺς τρόπους μεμίμηνται, τούτων ἔχωσι καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν. (Vales. 1700. p. 27. B 3.)

^x Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. v. de Hæret. c. lxvi. (tom. vi. p. 190. Lugd. 1665.) Damnato portentosæ superstitionis auctore Nestorio, nota congrui nominis ejus inuratur gregalibus, ne Christianorum appellatione abutantur: sed quemadmodum Ariani, lege divæ memoriæ Constantini, ob similitudinem impietatis, Porphyriani a Porphyrio nuncupantur; sic ubique participes nefariæ sectæ Nestorii, Simoniani vocentur. Vide illud ipsum etiam in Actis Concil. Gen. Ephes. part iii. c. xlv. tom. iii. Conc. p. 1209.

^y Concil. Sardic. Ep. Synod. apud Theod. lib. ii. c. vi. p. 594, edit. Paris. 1642.

they require all catholics not only to deny the Arian bishops the title of bishops, but even that of Christians. All which evidently proves, that the ancients put a manifest difference betwixt those who were apostates from the faith, and those who as yet had never made any solemn profession of their faith in baptism: they allowed the catechumens the name of Christians, because they were candidates of heaven; but they judged heretics unworthy of that name, because they corrupted the common faith of Christians, and denied the Lord by whose name they were called.

SECT. V.—*Penitents and Energumens ranked in the same class with Catechumens.*

4thly. We may observe, in the last place, that there were no Christians, but what might be reduced to some one or other of the three forementioned orders: for the penitents, and energumens, as they called those that were possessed with evil spirits, may be ranked among the catechumens, being commonly treated and disciplined by the Church in the same manner as they were, and placed in the same class with them; and the monks and other ascetics may be ranked under the common head of believers, though they had some peculiar marks of distinction in the Church. Yet I shall not confine myself to speak of all those precisely in this order, and under these heads, but give each a distinct and proper place in this discourse; speaking here only of believers in general, as they stood distinguished from the catechumens and the clergy of the Church, and treating of the rest as occasion shall require in the following parts of this discourse.

Τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας αὐτῶν ἐπελθόντας δίκην λύκων, Γρηγόριον τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, Βασίλειον τὸν ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ, καὶ Κυντιανὸν τὸν ἐν Γάζῃ, τούτους μὴδὲ ἐπισκόπους ὀνομάζειν μὴδὲ Χριστιανοὺς, κ. τ. λ.

CHAPTER IV.

A MORE PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE *πιστοὶ*, OR BELIEVERS; THEIR TITLES OF HONOUR AND PRIVILEGES ABOVE THE CATECHUMENS.

SECT. I.—*Believers otherwise called φωτιζόμενοι, the Illuminate.*

THE *πιστοὶ*, or ‘Fideles,’ being such as were baptized, and thereby made complete and perfect Christians, were upon that account dignified with several titles of honour and marks of distinction above the catechumens. They were hence called *φωτιζόμενοι*, ‘the illuminate:’ so the Council of Laodicea^z terms those that were newly baptized, *πρόσφατον φωτισθέντας*. And Jobius^a in Photius, *οἱ φωτιζόμενοι*. As St. Paul himself in the Epistle to the Hebrews twice uses the word ‘illuminate’ for ‘baptized,’ in the opinion of most^b interpreters. The reason of the name is given by Justin Martyr, who says^c, “They were so called, because their understandings were enlightened by the knowledge that was consequent to baptism. For all the mysteries of religion were unveiled to the baptized,” which were kept secret from the catechumens: and sometimes

^z Concil. Laodic. can. iii. (Labbe, tom. i. Conc. p. 1496.) *Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν πρόσφατον φωτισθέντας προσάγεσθαι ἐν τάγματι ἱερατικῷ.*

^a Phot. Cod. ccxxii. p. 595. *Οἱ φωτιζόμενοι ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας λαμποφοροῦσιν.*—Conf. *ibid.* p. 598, circa med.

^b Grotius ad Hebr. vi. 4. Verum quidem est, baptismum apud veteres nomen habuisse *φωτισμοῦ*, illuminationis, etc.—Estius ad h. l. ‘Illuminatos’ sine dubio vocant baptizatos; . . . Vocabatur baptismus, antiquis Ecclesiae temporibus, ‘sacramentum illuminationis,’ seu, ut Græci loquuntur, ‘illuminationum,’ *φωτισμάτων*, etc.

^c Justin. Mart. Apol. ii. p. 94. *Καλεῖται τοῦτο τὸ λουτρον φωτισμός, ὡς φωτιζομένων τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ταῦτα μαθησάντων.* (Paris. 1742. vol. i. p. 80. C 4.)

also baptism was attended with extraordinary illuminations of the Holy Ghost, as in those whom St. Paul caused to be baptized at Ephesus: Acts xix. 6, "They spake with tongues and prophesied."

SECT. II.—*And οἱ μεμνημένοι, the Initiated.*

2. They were hence also styled οἱ μεμνημένοι, which the Latins call 'Initiati,' the initiated; that is, admitted to the use of the sacred offices, and knowledge of the sacred mysteries of the Christian religion. Hence came that form of speaking, so frequently used by St. Chrysostom and other ancient writers^d when they touched upon any doctrines or mysteries which the catechumens understood not, ἴσασιν οἱ μεμνημένοι, 'The initiated know what is spoken.' St. Ambrose writes a book to these^e 'Initiati.' Isidore^f of Pelusium, and Hesychius^g call them μύσται, and others μυσταγωγῆτοι: whence the catechumens have the contrary names, ἄμυστοι, ἀμύητοι, and ἀμυσταγωγῆτοι, the uninitiated, or unbaptized.

SECT. III.—*And τέλειοι, the Perfect.*

3. Believers were otherwise called τέλειοι and τελειούμενοι, the perfect; because they were consummate Christians, who had a right to participate of the holy eucharist; the τὸ τέλειον, as it is frequently called in the canons^h of the ancient councils, where ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον ἐλθεῖν, and τοῦ τελείου μετέχειν, always signify participation of the holy eucharist, that sacred mystery that unites us to Christ, and gives us the most consummate perfection that we are capable of in this world.

^d Casaubon. (Exercit. xvi. in Baron. p. 399.) observes this phrase to occur no less than fifty times in St. Chrysostom and St. Austin.

^e Ambros. De his qui initiantur mysteriis.

^f Isidor. lib. iv. ep. clxii. Ἰσασιν οἱ μύσται τὸ λεγόμενον.

^g Hesych. voce Μύσται.

^h Concil. Ancyran. can. iv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1457.) Ἐδοξεν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀκροᾶσθαι, ὑποπεσεῖν δὲ τρία ἔτη, εὐχῆς δὲ μόνης κοινωνῆσαι ἔτη δύο, καὶ τότε ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον.—Ibid. can. v. (p. 1457.) Ἴνα τὸ τέλειον τῇ τετραετίᾳ (τριετίᾳ) λάβωσι.—See also can. vi.

SECT. IV.—*Cari Dei, Filii Dei, ἅγιοι, &c.*

4. Tertullian adds to these the names of ‘Cari Dei,’ the favourites of heaven; because their prayers and intercessions were powerful with God, to obtain pardon for others, that should address heaven by them. Therefore, in his instructions to the penitents, he bids them “fall down at the feet of those favourites¹,” and commend their suit to all the brethren, desiring them to intercede with God for them.

All these names (and many others that might be added, which are obvious to every reader, such as saints, and sons of God, &c.) were peculiar titles of honour and respect given only to those who were πιστοὶ, or Believers.

SECT. V.—*The privileges of the Fideles. 1. To partake of the Eucharist.*

And hence it was that correspondent to these names, the ‘Fideles’ had their peculiar privileges in the Church, above the catechumens. For, first, it was their sole prerogative to partake of the Lord’s table, and communicate with one another in the symbols of Christ’s body and blood at the altar. Hither none came but such as were first initiated by baptism. Whence the custom was, before they went to celebrate the eucharist, for a deacon to proclaim ἅγια ἁγίοις, “holy things for holy men:”—“ye catechumens, go forth¹;” as the author of the Constitutions, and St. Chrysostom, and some others, word it.

SECT. VI.—2. *To join in all the Prayers of the Church.*

2. Another of their prerogatives above catechumens, was to stay and join with the minister in all the prayers of the Church; which the catechumens were not allowed to do. For

¹ Caris Dei adgeniculari, et omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis suæ injungere. Tertull. de Pœnit. cap. ix. p. 127. A 10.

¹ Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 467. A 8.) Λεγέτω ὁ διάκονος, Προέλθετε οἱ φωτιζόμενοι.—Cap. xii. p. 474. A 4. Μήτις κατηχομένων μήτις ἀκροωμένων μήτις τῶν ἀπίστων.—Chrysostom. Hom. in Parabol. de Filio Prodig. tom. vi. p. 314. (edit. Francof.) Ἐασόν με στῆναι μετὰ τῶν κατηχομένων, τῶν θυρῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔνδον ἵνα θεωρῶν τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τελούμενα μυστήρια, ποθήσω κατὰ μικρὸν ταῦτα πάλιν ἀναλαβεῖν.—Ibid. Μήτις κατηχομένων, μήτις τῶν μὴ ἐσθιόντων, κ. τ. λ.

in the ancient service of the Church, there were no prayers preceding the communion-office; but only such as particularly related, either to the several classes of penitents, or the ‘*energumeni*,’ that is, persons possessed with evil spirits, or the catechumens themselves. When these prayers were ended, the catechumens and all others were commanded to withdraw; and then began the communion-service at the altar; where none were admitted so much as to be spectators, save those who were to communicate in the eucharist. For to join in prayers and participation of the eucharist were then privileges of the same persons; and no one was qualified for the prayers of the Church, that was not qualified for the communion.

SECT. VII.—3. *The use of the Lord’s Prayer another prerogative of the πιστοί: whence it was called εὐχὴ πιστῶν, the Prayer of Believers.*

3. More particularly the use of the Lord’s Prayer was the sole prerogative of the πιστοί, or Believers. For then it was no crime, or argument of weakness, or want of the Spirit, to use it; but an honour and privilege of the most consummate and perfect Christians. The catechumens were not allowed to say, “Our Father,” till they had first made themselves sons by regeneration in the waters of baptism. This is expressly said by St. Chrysostom^k, St. Austin^l, Theodoret^m, and several others. And for this reason, Chrysostomⁿ calls it εὐχὴ πιστῶν, and St. Austin^o ‘*Oratio Fidelium*,’ the prayer of the rege-

^k Chrysostom. Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. (tom. v. p. 516, edit. Francof.) Οὐδέπω εὐχὴν ἔχουσι τὴν νενομισμένην, καὶ εἰσενεχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ, οὐδέπω παρῶρησίαν κέκτηνται, ἀλλ’ ἐτέρων δέονται τῶν μυσταγωγηθέντων. (Paris. 1636. vol. iv. p. 740. line 25 from bottom.)

^l Augustin. Hom. xxix. de Verbis Apost. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 604. C 7.) Interrogo te, Oratio ista ecclesiae est, Fidelium est, an Catechumenorum? Certe utique regeneratorum est, id est, baptizatorum, etc.

^m Theodoret. Hæret. Fabul. Compend. lib. v. c. xxviii. (Schulze, Halæ, 1772. vol. iv. p. 479 at top.) Ταύτην τὴν προσευχὴν οὐ τοὺς ἀμύητους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μυσταγωγουμένους διδάσκομεν. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν ἀμύητων λέγειν τολμᾷ, Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, κ. τ. λ.

ⁿ Chrysost. Homil. x. in Coloss. (tom. vi. p. 234, edit. Francof.) Εἴτα ἐπιθεὶς τὴν εὐχὴν τῶν πιστῶν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπαύετο, ὥς κορωνίδα τινὰ καὶ σύνδεσμον ὑπὲρ πάντων τὴν εὐχὴν ποιησάμενος. (Paris. 1636. vol. vi. p. 1385. line 11 from bottom.)

^o Aug. Enchirid. c. lxxi. De quotidianis brevibus levibusque peccatis quotidiana Fidelium oratio satisfacit. (Bened. 1700. vol. vi. p. 163. E.)

nerate or believers ; because it was their privilege and birth-right. “It was given to them as their property,” he^p says ; “and therefore they made use of it : having a right to say, ‘Our Father which art in heaven¹,’ who were born again to such a Father, by water and the Holy Ghost.”

SECT. VIII.—4. *They were admitted to hear Discourses upon the most profound mysteries of religion.*

4. Lastly, They were admitted to be auditors of all discourses made in the Church, even those that treated of the most abstruse points and profound mysteries of the Christian religion ; which the catechumens were strictly prohibited from hearing. The catechumens were allowed to hear the Scriptures, and the ordinary popular discourses that were made upon them ; which was no more than what some councils^q allow even to Jews and Gentiles : for in those discourses they never treated plainly of their mysteries, but in such a covert way, as the catechumens could not understand them. But when the catechumens were dismissed, then they discoursed more openly of their mysteries before the ‘Fideles,’ whose privilege it was to be the sole auditors of such discourses. This we learn from St. Ambrose^r ; who says, his common discourses to the unbaptized were only upon points of morality ; but when they were baptized, then was the time to open to them the mysteries and sacraments of religion : to have dis-

^p Aug. Enarrat. in Psalm. cxlii. (Bened. 1700. vol. iv. p. 1188. D 2.) *Ista Oratio Dominica magis fidelibus datur.*

¹ Id. Enchir. ad Laurent. c. lxxi. (Bened. 1700. vol. vi. p. 163. E 3.) *Eorum est dicere ‘Pater noster, qui es in cœlis ;’ qui jam Patri tali regenerati sunt ex aqua et Spiritu.*

^q Concil. Carthag. IV. can. lxxxiv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1206.) *Ut episcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi ecclesiam et audire verbum Dei, sive gentilem, sive hæreticum, sive Judæum, usque ad missam catechumenorum.*

^r Ambros. de his, qui mysteriis initiantur, cap. i. (Paris. 1836. vol. iii. p. 332.) *De moralibus quotidianum sermonem habuimus, quum vel Patriarcharum gesta, vel Proverbiorum legerentur præcepta : ut his informati atque instituti adsuesceretis majorum ingredi vias, eorumque iter carpere, ac divinis obedire oraculis : quo renovati per baptismum, ejus vitæ usum teneretis, quæ ablutos deceret. Nunc de mysteriis dicere admonet, atque ipsam sacramentorum rationem edere : quam ante baptismum si putassemus insinuandam nondum initiatis, prodidisse potius quam edidisse æstimaremur.*

coursed to them of those things before, had been more like exposing mysteries, than explaining them. St. Austin speaks to the same purpose, in one of his sermons^s to the newly baptized; "Having now dismissed the catechumens, (says he,) we have retained you only to be our hearers: because, beside those things which belong to all Christians in common, we are now to discourse more particularly of the heavenly mysteries, or sacraments; which none are qualified to hear, but such as by God's gift are made partakers of them. And therefore ye ought to hear them with the greater reverence, by how much more sublime those doctrines are, which are committed only to the baptized and believing auditors, than those which the catechumens also are wont to hear." Theodoret^t takes notice of the same distinction made in their discourses, according to the difference of their auditors; saying, "We discoursed obscurely of divine mysteries before the unbaptized: but when they are departed, we speak plainly to the baptized." From all which it is evident, that the 'Fideles' were singled out, as the only proper auditors fit to hear discourses upon the sublime doctrines and mysteries of religion. And in these and the like privileges, consisted their prerogative above the catechumens.

^s August. Serm. i. ad Neophytos in Append. tom. x. p. 845. (Bened. 1700. vol. vi. Append. p. 768. D.) Dimissis jam catechumenis, vos tantum ad audiendum retinuimus; quia præter illa quæ omnes Christianos convenit in commune servare, specialiter de cœlestibus mysteriis loquuturi sumus, quæ audire non possunt, nisi qui ea donante jam Domino perceperunt. Tanto ergo majore reverentia debetis audire quæ dicimus, quanto majora ista sunt quæ solis baptizatis et fidelibus auditoribus committuntur, quam illa quæ etiam catechumeni audire consueverunt.

^t Theodor. Quæst. xv. in Numb. Ἀσήμως διὰ τοὺς ἀμυήτους περὶ τῶν θείων διαλεγόμεθα μυστηρίων τούτων δὲ χωριζομένων, σαφῶς τοὺς μεμνημένους διδάσκομεν. (Schulze, Halæ, vol. i. p. 230.)

CHAPTER V.

OF THE DISTINCTION BETWIXT THE LAITY AND CLERGY;
AND OF THE ANTIQUITY OF THAT DISTINCTION.

SECT. I.—*The Fideles otherwise called Laici, to distinguish them from the Clergy.*

WE have hitherto considered the great body of the Christian Church, the 'Fideles,' as opposed to the catechumens: we are now to view them in another relation, as contradistinct to the clergy: in which relation they went by other names; such as those of 'Laici,' laymen; *βιωτικοὶ*, seculars; *ἰδιῶται*, private men. The most common and ancient name was that of 'Laici;' which every where occurs in the writings of Origen, Cyprian, and Tertullian, and others of the third century: which is a thing so evident, that the greatest enemies of this distinction, Rigaltius^u, Salmasius, and Selden, do not pretend to dispute it; but only say, there was originally no such distinction in the Church; but that it is a novelty, and owing to the ambition of the clergy of the third century, in which Cyprian and Tertullian lived.

SECT. II.—*The Antiquity of this distinction proved against Rigaltius, Salmasius, and Selden.*

This accusation reflects highly upon St. Cyprian, and other holy martyrs his contemporaries; who were as far from the ambition that is charged upon them, as the authors are from truth, that bring the charge. For indeed the distinction was none of their inventing; but derived from the Jewish Church, and adopted into the Christian by the apostles themselves.

^u Rigalt. Not. in Cypr. Ep. iii.

Clemens Alexandrinus^v speaking of St. John, says, “that after his return from banishment in the isle of Patmos, he settled at Ephesus; whence being often invited to visit the neighbouring regions, he ordained them bishops, and set apart such men for the clergy, as were signified to him by the holy Ghost.” Whence it appears, that the name κληρος, clergy, was always a peculiar title of those that were set apart for the ministry and service of God. And that this distinction came from the Jewish Church, is evident from what Clemens Romanus^x says of the Jewish economy; “that as the high-priest had his office assigned him, and the priests also their proper station, and the Levites their peculiar service; so laymen, in like manner, were under the obligation of precepts proper for laymen.” These instances evidently prove, that a distinction was always observed in these names, laity and clergy, from the first foundation of the Christian Church.

SECT. III.—*An objection from 1 Pet. v. 3. answered.*

There is but one objection of any moment against this: which is taken from the words of St. Peter; where he bids the elders of the Church “not lord it over God’s heritage.” The original is, μηδ’ ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων: which (as some learned^y critics observe) may as well signify the possessions of the Church, as the people. But admit that it means the people; this is no more than is said of the people of Israel, who are called God’s κληρος and λαὸς ἑγκληρος, his inheritance or his clergy; Deut. iv. 20. ix. 29, as both the Jews and Christians were, in opposition to the heathen: notwithstanding which, God had his peculiar κληρος among his own people, who were his lot or inheritance, and distinguished by

^v Clem. Alex. Quis Dives salvetur? apud Combefis. Auct. Noviss. p. 185. (Oxon. 1715. p. 959, line 2.) Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος, ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον, ἀπῄει παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κληρον, ἕνα τέ τινα κληρώσων ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος σημαινομένων. Conf. Euseb. lib. iii. c. xxiii.

^x Clem. Rom. Ep. i. ad Corinth. n. xl. Τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ ἰδίαί λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι εἰσὶν, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιος ὁ τόπος προστέτακται, καὶ λεύταις ἰδίαί διακονίαι ἐπίκεινται· ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται. (Russel, Patres Apostol. vol. i. p. 152.)

^y Dodwell. Dissert. i. in Cyprian.

that name from the 'Laici,' or remaining body of the people. As we have observed before in the name *πιστοὶ*, 'Fideles,' or Believers; all persons within the pale of the Church were called Believers, in opposition to infidels and pagans; but when they would distinguish one order of men in the Church from another, then the name 'Believers' was given peculiarly to such as were baptized, and the rest were called 'catechumens;' so here, all Christian people are God's *κληρος*, his lot, his inheritance, or his clergy: but when his ministers are to be distinguished from the rest of the people in the Church, then the name 'Clerici,' or 'clergy,' was their appropriate title, and the name of the other 'laymen.'

SECT. IV.—*A distinction in the offices of Laity and Clergy always observed.*

And this observation will help to set another sort of persons right, who confound not only the names, but the offices, of laity and clergy together; and plead that originally there was no distinction between them. The name of priesthood, indeed, is sometimes given in common to the whole body of Christian people; 1 Pet. ii. 9. Rev. i. 6: but so it was to the Jewish people, Exod. xix. 6. "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation." Yet every one knows, that the offices of the priests and Levites among the Jews were very distinct from those of the common people, not by usurpation, but by God's appointment. And so it was among Christians, from the first foundation of the Church. Wherever any number of converts were made, as soon as they were capable of being formed into an organical Church, a bishop, or a presbyter, with a deacon, was ordained to minister to them; as Epiphanius^z delivers from the ancient histories of the Church. The same may be observed in the forementioned passage of Clemens Alexandrinus, where he says, "St. John ordained bishops and other clergy, in the Churches which he regulated,

^z Epiph. Hær. lxxv. Aërian. n. v. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 908. D.) Πλήθους μὴ ὄντος, οὐχ εὐρέθησαν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρεσβύτεροι κατασταθῆναι, καὶ ἠρκέσθησαν ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ τόπον μόνῳ ἐπισκόπῳ· ἄνευ δὲ διακόνου, ἐπίσκοπον ἀδύνατον εἶναι. Καὶ ἐπεμελήσατο ὁ ἅγιος ἀπόστολος διακόνους εἶναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ διὰ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν, οὕτω τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαβούσης τὰ πληρώματα τῆς οἰκονομίας, κ. τ. λ.

by the direction of the Holy Ghost.” Hence it is that Ignatius so frequently, in all his epistles, charges the people to do nothing without the bishops^a, presbyters, and deacons. Tertullian^b says, “It was customary among heretics to confound the offices of clergy and laity together: they made one a bishop to-day, and another to-morrow: to-day a deacon, and to-morrow a reader: to-day a presbyter, and to-morrow a layman. For laymen among them performed the offices of the priesthood.” But this was not the custom of the Catholic Church. For as St. Jerome^c observes, “They reckoned that to be no Church, which had no priests.” They were of no esteem with them, who were both laymen and bishops together. And by this we may judge how ingenuously they deal with St. Jerome and Tertullian, who allege their authorities to prove that every Christian is as much a priest as another. St. Jerome indeed says^d, ‘There is a laical priesthood;’ but then he explains himself to mean no more by that, than Christian baptism, whereby we are made kings and priests to God. And Tertullian^e grants no other priesthood to laymen, save that they may baptize in case of absolute necessity, when none of the ecclesiastical order can be had; which was according to the principles and practice of the primitive Church,

^a Ignatius, Epist. ad Magnes. n. vi. (Russel, Patr. Apost. vol. ii. p. 126.) Παραινώ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ σπουδάζετε πάντα πράσσειν, προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν διακόνων, τῶν ἐμοὶ γλυκυτάτων, πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.—Ibid. n. vii. (page 128.) Ὡς περ ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησε, ἡνωμένος ὢν, οὔτε δι’ ἑαυτοῦ, οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὕτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, μηδὲν πράσσετε. Conf. Ep. ad Trall. n. ii. Ep. ad Philadelph. n. vii.

^b Tertull. de Præscript. c. xli. (p. 217, edit. Par.) (Paris. 1664. p. 217. C 3.) Alius hodie episcopus, cras alius: hodie diaconus, qui cras lector: hodie presbyter, qui cras laicus; nam et laicis sacerdotalia munera injungunt.

^c Hieronym. advers. Lucif. tom. ii. p. 145. (Venet. Vallars. vol. ii. p. 194. D 4.) Ecclesia non est, quæ non habet sacerdotes. Sed omissis paucis homunculis, qui ipsi et laici sunt et episcopi, &c.

^d Hieron. ibid. p. 136. Sacerdotium laici, i. e. baptismus. Scriptum est enim, ‘Regnum nos et sacerdotes Deo Patri suo fecit,’ etc. (p. 174. A 6.)

^e Tertull. Exhort. ad Castit. c. vii. (Paris. 1664. p. 522. A 8.) Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus? Scriptum est, ‘Regnum quoque nos et sacerdotes Deo et Patri suo fecit.’ . . . Ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est consensus, et offers et tinguis et sacerdos es tibi, solus. Sed ubi tres, ecclesia est; licet laici.

but does by no means confound the offices of laity and clergy together, unless any one can think cases ordinary and extraordinary all one. The ancient historians^f, Socrates and Ruffin, tell us, “that Frumentius and Ædesius, two young men, who had no external call or commission to preach the Gospel, being carried captive into India, converted the nation, and settled several churches among them.” And the same Socrates^g and Theodoret say, “that the Iberians were first converted by a captive woman, who made the king and queen of the nation preachers of the Gospel to their people.” Yet a man would argue very weakly, that should hence conclude, that therefore there was no distinction betwixt clergy and laity in the primitive Church; or that laymen might preach without a call, and women ordain ministers of the Gospel. The author of the comments upon St. Paul’s Epistles, under the name^h of St. Ambrose, seems to say indeed, that at first all Christ’s disciples were clergy, and had all a general commission to preach the Gospel and baptize: but that was in order to convert the world, and before any multitude of people were gathered, or Churches founded, wherein to make a distinction. But as soon as the Church began to spread itself over the world, and sufficient numbers were converted to form themselves into a regular society, then rulers and other ecclesiastical officers were appointed among them, and a distinction made, that no one, no, not of the clergy themselves, might presume to meddle with any office not committed to him, and to which he knew himself not ordained. So that for aught that appears to the contrary, we may conclude, that the names and offices of laymen and clergy were always distinct from one another, from the first foundation of Christian Churches.

^f Ruffin. lib. i. c. ix. Socrat. lib. i. c. xix.

^g Socrat. lib. i. c. xx.

^h Ambros. sive Hilar. Diacon. Com. in Eph. iv. p. 948. Ut cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est et evangelizare et baptizare et Scripturas in ecclesia explanare. Ubi autem omnia loca circumplexa est ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, et rectores et cetera officia in ecclesiis sunt ordinata, ut nullus de clero auderet, qui ordinatus non esset, præsumere officium, quod sciret non sibi creditum.

SECT. V.—*Laymen also called βιωτικοὶ, Seculars.*

The laymen were distinguished also by the name of βιωτικοὶ, ‘Seculars,’ from βίος, which signifies a ‘secular life.’ And by this title they are discerned not only from the clergy, but also from the ascetics and those of a more retired life, who bade adieu to the world, and disburdened themselves of all secular cares and business. Thus St. Chrysostomⁱ exhorting all men to read the Scriptures, says, “Let no man think to excuse himself by saying, I am a secular, ἀνὴρ βιωτικὸς, it belongs not to me to read the Scriptures, but to those that have retired from the world, and have taken up their abode in the tops of the mountains.” And in another place, commenting on those words of St. Paul, ‘Let every soul be subject to the higher powers,’ he says, “This command is given to the clergy, and to the monks, and not to the secularsⁱⁱ only.” And so they are styled in the author^k who goes under the name of Justin Martyr, and others.

SECT. VI.—*And ἰδιῶται, private men.*

In some writers, they are termed ἰδιῶται, ‘private men,’ as being only in a private capacity, and not acting as public ministers. So it was another name to distinguish them from the clergy who were in the public office and employment of the Church. St. Chrysostom^l and Theodoret^m say the word ἰδιώτης is so used by St. Paul himself, (1 Cor. xiv. 16.) which we translate ‘unlearned;’ but they say it signifies no more than a layman, or one in a private capacity, whether

ⁱ Chrysost. Hom. iii. in Lazar. (tom. v. p. 56, edit. Francof.) Μὴ μοι λεγέτω τις τὰ ψυχρὰ ῥήματα ἐκεῖνα, καὶ πολλῆς καταγνώσεως ἄξια, “Ὅτι . . . ἀνὴρ εἰμι βιωτικός· οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν γραφὰς ἀναγινώσκειν, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀποταξαμένων, τῶν τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν ὀρέων κατειληφότων, τῶν τοῦτον τὸν βίον ἐχόντων διηνεκῶς. (Paris. 1616. p. 59. D.)

ⁱⁱ Chrysost. Hom. xxiii. in Roman. (p. 316, edit. Francof.) Ταῦτα διατάττεται ἱερεῦσι, καὶ μοναχοῖς, οὐχὶ τοῖς βιωτικοῖς μόνον. (Explan. in N. T. Paris. 1636. vol. iv. p. 258.)

^k Justin. Mart. Resp. ad Quæst. xix. (Paris. 1742. p. 446 at bottom.) Τῷ βιωτικῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, etc.

^l Chrysostom. Hom. xxxv. in 1 Cor. xiv. (tom. v. p. 389, edit. Francof.) Ἰδιώτην δὲ τὸν λαϊκὸν λέγει.

^m Theod. in 1 Cor. xiv. 16. Ἰδιώτην καλεῖ τὸν ἐν τῷ λαϊκῷ τάγματι τεταγμένον. (Schulze, Halæ, 1771. vol. iii. p. 259.)

learned or unlearned, who is not a public minister of the Church. And so Origen also uses the name *ιδιωται*, not for persons unlearned, but for 'laymen,' who had power, as well as other Christians, to cast out devils in the name of Christⁿ. And Synesius opposes the names *ιδιωται* and *ιερείς* to one another, making^o the one to denote those who ministered in the sacred service of the Church; and the other, those who had no such office, but served God only in a private capacity, as laymen. Whence also speaking of some clergymen who deserved to be degraded, he says^p, they were to be treated publicly by all, *ὡς ἄντικρυς ιδιωται*, as 'mere private men,' that is, no longer as clergymen, but laymen. Whence we may collect, that this was a common name for all such as had no public office or ministry in the Church.

SECT. VII.—*What persons properly called Clerici.*

On the other hand, all persons who had any public employment in the Church, were called by the common name of 'Clerici:' which name, at first, was given only to the three superior orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, because there were then no other orders in the Church. But in the third century, many inferior orders were appointed, as subservient to the deacon's office, such as sub-deacons, acolythists, readers, &c. And then those also had the common name of 'Clerici' too, having no further concern with secular affairs, but wholly attending the service of the Church. St. Cyprian always gives these the name of 'Clerici^q:' as where he speaks of Optatus a sub-deacon, and Satorus a reader, he styles them both 'Clerici.'

ⁿ Origen. c. Celsum, lib. vii. (Cambr. 1677. p. 334.) Οὐς (δαίμονας) οὐκ ὀλίγοι Χριστιανῶν ἀπελαύνουσι τῶν πασχόντων, σὺν οὐδενὶ περιέρῳ καὶ μαγικῷ ἢ φαρμακευτικῷ πράγματι, ἀλλὰ μόνῃ εὐχῇ καὶ ὀρκώσεσιν ἀπλουστέραις· καὶ ὅσα ἂν δύναιτο προσάγειν ἀπλούστερος ἄνθρωπος; ὡς ἐπίπαν γὰρ ιδιωται τὸ τοιοῦτον πράττουσι, κ. τ. λ.

^o Synes. Ep. liv. ad Theoph. p. 144. (p. 190, edit. Paris. an. 1633.) Συχνοὶ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ ιδιωται καὶ ἱερεῖς πλαττόμενοί τινες ὀνείρους.

^p Synes. Ep. lxvii. p. 259. (p. 216.) Δημοσίᾳ μὲν οὕτω προσοιστέον αὐτοῖς ὡς ἄντικρυς ιδιώταις.

^q Cypr. Ep. xxiv. al. xxix. (Oxon. 1682. p. 55.) et Paris. (lib. iii. ep. xxii. ed. Basil.) Quoniam oportuit me per clericos scribere, etc. fecisse me sciatis lectorem Satorum, et hypodiaconum Optatum confessorem.

The ordinations of such he^r calls ‘ordinationes clericæ.’ And hence the letters which he had occasion to send to foreign parts by their hands, had the name of ‘literæ^s clericæ.’ Lucian the martyr, and Cyprian’s contemporary, speaks in the same style concerning exorcists^t and readers.

The Council of Nice itself^u gives the appellation of κληρος to others besides bishops, presbyters, and deacons. And the third Council of Carthage made a canon^v on purpose to confirm the title to them.

SECT. VIII.—*The name Clerici sometimes appropriate to the inferior orders.*

Yea, the same Council^x seems rather to appropriate the name ‘Clerici’ to the inferior orders, by way of distinction from the superior, first naming bishops, presbyters, and deacons; and then the ‘Clerici,’ or clerks; that is, the inferior orders. And the same is done by St. Ambrose^y and Hilary^z under his name, more expressly, who speak of the ‘Clerici’ as distinct from the deacons. As also Epiphanius^a, who, speaking of those that lapsed in Egypt in the Diocletian persecution, says, “Some

^r Cypr. Ep. xxxiii. al. xxxviii. (lib. i. ep. ix. edit. Basil.) Qui in ecclesia Domini ad ordinationem clericalem promoventur, etc.

^s Cyprian. Ep. xxiii. (lib. iii. ep. xxi. edit. Basil. 8.) Perquam grave est, si epistolæ clericæ veritas mendacio aliquo et fraude corrupta est. Vide Fell. Not. in hanc Epist.

^t Lucian. Epist. xvii. al. xxiii. apud Cypr. Præsente de Clero, et Exorcista, et Lectore; Lucianus scripsit. (Oxon. 1682. p. 49.)

^u Conc. Nicæn. can. iii. (tom. iii. Conc. p. 29.) Ἀπηγόρευσε καθόλου ἡ μεγάλη σύνοδος, μήτε ἐπισκόπῳ, μήτε πρεσβυτέρῳ, μήτε διακόνῳ, μήθ’ ὅλως τῷ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ τινὶ ἐξεῖναι συνείσακτον ἔχειν πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα μητέρα, κ. τ. λ.

^v Conc. Carth. III. can. xxi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1170.) Clericorum nomen etiam lectores et psalmistæ et ostiarii retinent.

^x Conc. Carth. III. c. xv. (ibid. p. 1169.) Placuit, ut episcopi, et presbyteri, et diaconi, vel clerici, non sint conductores, etc.

^y Ambros. de Dignit. Sacerd. c. iii. Aliud est, quod ab episcopo requirit Deus; aliud, quod a presbytero; et aliud, quod a diacono; et aliud, quod a clerico; et aliud, quod a laico.

^z Pseud. Ambros. in Eph. iv. Nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant, neque clerici vel laici baptizant.

^a Epiphan. Hær. lxviii. Melet. n. ii. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 717. C 12.) Οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ στρατιωτῶν ὄντες, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ κληρικῶν ὑπάρχοντες διαφόρου κλήρου, πρεσβυτερίου τε, καὶ διακονίας, καὶ ἄλλων.

of them were soldiers, some clerks of divers orders, some presbyters, and some deacons." Where the 'Clerici' are spoken of as distinct from presbyters and deacons. And so in the Council of Laodicea^b and many other places.

SECT. IX.—*The reason of the name Clerici.*

As to the reason of the name 'Clerici' and 'Clerus,' St. Jerome^c rightly observes, that it comes from the Greek κληρος, which signifies 'a lot;' and thence he says, God's ministers were called 'Clerici,' either because they are the lot and portion of the Lord, or because the Lord is their lot, that is, their inheritance. Others^d think some regard was had to the ancient custom of choosing persons into sacred offices by lot, both Jews and Gentiles; which is not improbable, though that custom never generally prevailed among Christians, as shall be showed hereafter.

SECT. X.—*All the Clergy called Canonici.*

There is another name for the clergy, very commonly to be met with in the ancient councils, which is that of 'Canonici,' a name derived from the Greek word κανών, which signifies, among other things, the 'roll' or catalogue of every Church, wherein the names of all the ecclesiastics were written, and which was (as it were) the rule of knowing to what Church they belonged. In this sense, the word κανών is often used by the Council^e of Nice. The Council of Antioch^f calls it ἅγιος κανών, 'the sacred roll,' the Apostolical Canons, κατά-

^b Conc. Laod. can. xx. (Labbe, tom. i. Conc. p. 1500.) Ὁμοίως δὲ ἔχειν τιμὴν καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν κληρικῶν.

^c Hieron. Ep. ii. ad Nepot. (Venet. Vallars. vol. ii. p. 258.) Ministri Dei [propterea vocantur Clerici,] vel quia de sorte sunt Domini, vel quia ipse Dominus sors, id est, pars Clericorum est.

^d Dodwell. Dissert. i. in Cypr. § xv.

^e Concil. Nicæn. can. xvi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 36.) Ὅσοι ῥιψοκινδύνως, μήτε τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχοντες, μήτε τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα εἰδότες, ἀναχωρήσουσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, κ. τ. λ.—Ibid. can. xvii. . . καθαιρεθήσεται τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ ἀλλότριος τοῦ κανόνος ἔσται.—Ibid. can. xix. Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν διακονισσῶν, καὶ ὅλως περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζομένων, ὁ αὐτὸς τόπος φυλαχθήσεται.

^f Concil. Antiochen. can. i. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 562.) Τοὺς καθαιρεθέντας ἀποστερεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς ἑξωθεν τιμῆς, ἧς ὁ ἅγιος κανὼν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱερατεῖον μετεῖληφεν.

λογος ἱερατικὸς^g, ‘the catalogue of the clergy.’ Which is the same that Sidonius Apollinaris^h calls ‘Albus;’ and the Council of Agdeⁱ by the name of ‘matricula;’ and St. Austin^k, ‘tabula Clericorum.’ Now because the names of all the clergy were enrolled in this catalogue or canon, they were hence called ‘Canonici.’ As in St. Cyril^l, κανονικῶν παρουσία signifies the presence of the Clergy. And κανονικοὶ ψαλταὶ in the Council of Laodicea^m signifies such of the clergy, as were ordered to sing in the Church. And so generally in the Councils of Niceⁿ and Antioch, οἱ ἐν τῷ κανόνι is put to denote the clergy of the Church. And upon the same account all others, whose names were set down in the Churches’ books, to entitle them to receive maintenance from the Church, were called by the same name, ‘Canonici,’ such as the monks, virgins, widows, &c. whom St. Basil^o speaks of under this name, as Balsamon and Zonaras understand him.

SECT. XI.—*And τάξις τοῦ βήματος, the order of the Sanctuary.*

I pass over many other names of the clergy, which are obvious to every reader; such as that of ecclesiastics, and ἱερατι-

^g Can. Apost. c. xiv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 28.) Εἴ τις πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν κληρικῶν, κ. τ. λ.—Can. i. (p. 37.) Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ, κ. τ. λ.

^h Sidon. lib. vi. ep. viii. Nomen lectorum Albus nuper excepit.

ⁱ Conc. Agath. can. ii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1383.) Rescripti in matricula gradum suum dignitatemque recipiant.

^k Aug. Hom. l. De Diversis, tom. x. p. 525. Delebo eum de tabula Clericorum. (Bened. vol. v. p. 969. D.)

^l Cyrill. Præfat. Catech. n. iii. Θεωρεῖς μοι τάξιν, καὶ ἐπιστήμην; γραφῶν ἀνάγνωσιν; κανονικῶν παρουσίαν; κ. τ. λ. (Paris. 1609. p. 6, line 5.)

^m Concil. Laodic. can. xv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1500.) Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν πλεον τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλτῶν, τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα ἀναβαινόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ διφθέρας ψαλλόντων, ἑτέρους τινὰς ψάλλειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ.

ⁿ Concil. Antioch. can. ii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 561.) Εἴ τις τῶν ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, ἢ διακόνων, ἢ τις τοῦ κανόνος, κ. τ. λ.—Can. vi. Ὁ αὐτὸς ὄρος ἐπὶ λαϊκῶν, καὶ πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ διακόνων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν κανόνι.—Conc. Nic. can. xvi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 37.) Ὁ ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενος.—Can. xvii. Ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενοι τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ τὴν αἰχροκέρδειαν διώκοντες, κ. τ. λ.

^o Basil. Epist. i. Canonic. can. vi. (tom. iii. p. 23, edit. Paris.) Τῶν κανονικῶν τὰς πορνείας εἰς γάμον μὴ καταλογίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τρόπῳ διασπᾶν αὐτῶν τὴν συνάφειαν. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1721.)

κοί, or τάξεις ιερατικῇ, 'the holy order,' &c.; and shall but take notice of one more, which rarely occurs any where but in Gregory Nazianzen, who gives the clergy, especially the superior clergy, the name of τάξεις τοῦ βήματος, 'the order of the sanctuary^p.' Which name was given them from their privilege of entering into that part of the Church where the altar stood; which (as we shall see, when we come to speak of churches) was called βῆμα or ἱερατεῖον, 'the sanctuary.' Hither none might come but the clergy, who were therefore called 'the order of the sanctuary.' Whence in the same author^q τῷ βήματι προσάγειν signifies to give a man ordination, or make him a clergyman: and ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος is one of the sacred order^r, or one of the clergy.

^p Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xx. in laud. Basil. tom. i. p. 336. (edit. Paris.) (Colon. 1690. vol. i. p. 336. B 2.) Τὰς ἱεράς πρότερον ὑπαναγινώσκων τῷ λαῷ βίβλους, ὁ τούτων ἐξηγητῆς, καὶ ταύτην οὐκ ἀπαξιώσας τὴν τάξιν τοῦ βήματος, κ. τ. λ.

^q Id. Orat. xix. de Fun. Patr. p. 299. (Colon. 1690. vol. i. p. 299. D.) Τίς δὲ μετὰ Θεοῦ μάλλον, ἢ τῷ βήματι προσήγαγεν, ἢ τὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ ὕβρεις ἐξηλοτύπησεν, κ. τ. λ.

^r Id. Orat. xix. p. 310, 311. Τοὺς ἱερέας, τοὺς τε ἄλλους, καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ βήματος, διεμαρτύρετο.—Orat. xx. p. 351. C 6. Περιτρέπει γὰρ, καὶ εἰ μὴ τις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βήματος ὑποσχὼν τὴν χεῖρα τὴν περιτροπὴν ἔστησε, καὶ κατηνέχθη πτῶμα δακρύων ἄξιον, εἶεν.

BOOK II.

OF THE SEVERAL ORDERS OF THE CLERGY IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE ORIGINAL OF BISHOPS: AND THAT THEY WERE A DISTINCT ORDER FROM PRESBYTERS IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*What the Ancients mean by different orders of Bishops and Presbyters.*

WE have hitherto considered the clergy in general, as distinct from the laity, and come now to examine by what names or offices they were distinguished from one another. And here the most ancient distinction that occurs, is that of the superior clergy into the three distinct orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons. That there were no other orders in the Church but these three at first, will be evidenced in its proper place, when I come to give an account of the first rise and original of the inferior orders; and that deacons were always a sacred and standing order, will be proved likewise when I speak particularly of them: here then it remains that our inquiry be made only into the distinction betwixt the orders of bishops and presbyters. And this, so far as concerns matter of fact, and the practice of the Church (which is the thing I have undertaken to give an account of), will be most fairly and fully resolved, by considering only these three things. 1. That the ancient writers of the Church always speak of these as distinct orders. 2. That they derive the original of bishops from

divine authority, and apostolical constitution. 3. That they give us particular accounts and catalogues of such bishops, as were first settled and consecrated in the new-founded Churches, by the hands of the Apostles.

But before I proceed to the proof of these things, I must premise one particular, to avoid all ambiguity; that I take the word 'order' in that sense as the ancients use it, and not as many of the schoolmen do, who for reasons of their own distinguish between order and jurisdiction, and make bishops and presbyters to be one and the same order, only differing in power and jurisdiction. This distinction was unknown to the ancients; among whom the words, order, degree, office, power, and jurisdiction, when they speak of the superiority of bishops above presbyters, mean but one and the same thing, viz. the power of the supreme governors of the Church, conferred upon them in their ordination, over presbyters, who are to do nothing but in subordination to them. St. Jerome, who will be allowed to speak the sense of the ancients, makes no difference in these words, 'ordo, gradus, officium,' but uses them promiscuously to signify the power and jurisdiction of bishops above presbyters and the whole Church, which is, properly speaking, the very essence of their order. Therefore sometimes he calls them different orders, as in his book against Jovinian^s; where he says, that both in the Old and New Testament the high-priests are one order, the priests another, and the Levites another. So in his epistles^t to Rusticus, and Fabiola^u, where he joins 'ordo' and 'gradus' together. In other places, he uses the word 'gradus' only. As in his epistle to Eustochium^v, he calls presbyters 'priests of the inferior degree;' and in his epistle

^s Hieron. contr. Jovin. lib. ii. p. 89. (Venet. 1767. vol. ii. p. 369. B 7.) In Veteri Testamento et in Novo, alium ordinem pontifex tenet, alium sacerdotes, alium Levitæ.

^t Id. Epist. ad Rustic. tom. i. p. 46. (Venet. 1766. vol. i. p. 942. C.) Singuli ecclesiarum episcopi, singuli archipresbyteri, singuli archidiaconi, et omnis ordo ecclesiasticus suis rectoribus nititur.

^u Id. ad Fabiol. de xlii. Mansion. Israel. tom. iii. p. 44. (Venet. 1769. vol. i. p. 474. B.) Ipsos secundi ordinis intelligimus præceptores, Luca Evangelista testante, duodecim fuisse Apostolos, et septuaginta discipulos minoris gradus.

^v Epist. xxvii. ad Eustoch. (Venet. 1766. vol. i. p. 722. C 2.) Aderant Hierosolymorum et aliarum urbium episcopi, et sacerdotum inferioris gradus ac Levitarum innumerabilis multitudo.

to Heliodore^x, deacons ‘the third degree:’ and in his comment upon Micah^y, bishops, priests, and deacons, ‘the degrees in the Church.’ At other times he expresses his meaning by the word ‘offices.’ As where^z he says that bishop, presbyter, and deacon, are not names of men’s merits, but of their offices. So that it is all one, according to St. Jerome, whether we say the order, or the degree, or the office, or the power and jurisdiction, of a bishop: for all these are intended to express the same thing, viz. the authority of bishops over their presbyters and the whole Church. And in this sense I use the word ‘order,’ in this discourse, to express the opinion of the ancients, concerning the different powers of bishops and presbyters in the Church.

SECT. II.—*The order of Bishops always owned to be superior to that of Presbyters.*

Now that there was such a distinction always observed in the Church, is evident, 1st, From the testimony of the most ancient writers; who speak of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, as distinct degrees in the Church, and the two latter as subordinate to the first. The testimonies of Ignatius to this purpose^a are so full and evident, that nothing was ever pretended

^x Epist. i. ad Heliodor. Non minorem in tertio gradu adhibuit diligentiam, etc.

^y Comment. in Mich. vii. p. 162. (Venet. 1768. vol. vi. p. 518. B 10.) Nec hoc dico, quod istiusmodi gradibus in ecclesia non debeatis esse subjecti.

^z Contr. Jovin. lib. i. p. 41. (Venet. 1767. vol. ii. p. 292. C 8.) Episcopus, et presbyter, et diaconus non sunt meritorum nomina, sed officiorum. . . Si diaconus sanctior episcopo suo fuerit, non ex eo quod inferior gradu est, apud Christum deterior est. (p. 293. C 3.)

^a Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. n. ii. (Russel, Patr. Apostol. vol. i. p. 88.) "Ἰνα ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, κατὰ πάντα ἥτε ἡγιασμένοι. —Ibid. num. iii. (p. 89.) Οἱ ἐπίσκοποι οἱ κατὰ τὰ πέρατα ὀρισθέντες ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γνώμη εἰσὶν.—Ibid. num. iv. (p. 90.) "Ὅθεν πρέπει ὑμῖν συντρέχειν τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου γνώμῃ, ὅπερ καὶ ποιεῖτε· τὸ γὰρ ἀξιονόμαστον ὑμῶν πρεσβυτέριον, τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄξιον, οὕτως συνήρμοσται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρα. —Id. Epist. ad Philad. num. iv. (p. 150.) Εἷς ἐπίσκοπος ἅμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ διακόνοις.—Ibid. num. vii. (p. 156.) Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, καὶ διακόνοις.—Ibid. num. x. (p. 148.) Θέλουσι δὲ ὑμῖν, [οὐ πᾶσιν] ἀδύνατον, ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος Θεοῦ, ὡς καὶ [ἀεὶ] αἱ ἔγγιστα ἐκκλησίαι ἐπεμψαν ἐπισκόπους, αἱ δὲ, πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους.—Id. in Epist. ad Smyrn. n. viii. (p. 18.) Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς [ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ Πατρί· καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς δὲ] τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· τοὺς δὲ δια-

to be said against them, save only that they are not the genuine remains of that ancient author; which has been so often considered and replied to by learned^b men, that there is no pretence left to favour such an imagination. The citations are too numerous to be here inserted at large, and therefore I shall only give the reader a specimen in one single testimony, by which he may judge of all the rest. In his epistle to the Magnesians, he exhorts them^c “to do all things in unity, under the bishop presiding in the place of God, and the presbyters in the place of the apostolical senate, and the deacons to whom is committed the ministry and service of Jesus Christ.”

The author of the Acts of the Martyrdom of Ignatius^d, lately published from an ancient Greek copy, speaks exactly in the same manner, of these three orders, when he says, “that as Ignatius was on his journey to Rome, all the cities and Churches of Asia sent to salute him by their bishops, presbyters, and deacons.” Not long after these authors, lived Pius bishop of Rome, whose authority I cite, because Blondel^e allows it to be genuine. This author in his epistle to Justus of Vienne, gives him the title of ‘bishop^f,’ and speaks of presbyters and deacons under him. In the beginning of the next age, we have the testimonies of Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen,

κόνους ἐντρέπεσθε, ὡς Θεοῦ ἐντολὴν διακονοῦντας.—Ibid. num. xii. (p. 26.) Ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἀξιόθεον ἐπίσκοπον καὶ θεοπρεπέστατον πρεσβυτέριον, τοὺς συνδούλους μου διακόνους.—Id. in Epist. ad Trall. n. vii. (p. 164.) Ὁ χωρὶς [τοῦ] ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν διακόνων τι πράσσω; ὁ τοιοῦτος μεμίανται τῇ συνειδήσει.—Ibid. n. xii. (p. 182.) Πρέπει ὑμῖν τοῖς καθ’ ἓνα, ἐξαιρέτως καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ἀναψύχειν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον.—Ibid. n. xiii. (p. 184.) Ἐρρώσθε ἐν [Κυρίῳ] Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὡς τῇ ἐντολῇ, ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις.—Id. in Epist. ad Polyc. n. vi. (p. 74.) Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν. Ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσόμενων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις.

^b Pearson. Vind. Ignat.—Usser. de Epistol. Ignat.—Voss. Epist. ad Rivet.—Coteler. Præfat. et Not. in Ignat.—Bull. Defens. Fid. Nic. sect. iii. n. 6. p. 290, etc.

^c Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes. n. vi. p. 44. See note [a].

^d Martyr. Ignat. ap. Grabium, Spicil. sec. ii. tom. i. p. 12. Ἐδεξιοῦντο τὸν ἅγιον (Ἰγνάτιον) διὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων αἱ τῆς Ἀσίας πόλεις καὶ ἐκκλησίαι.

^e Blondell. Apol. p. 18.

^f Pius, Ep. ii. ad Just. Vien. Tu vero apud Senatorium Viennam—Colobio Episcoporum vestitus, etc. Presbyteri et diaconi te observent.

and Tertullian, all agreeing in the same thing, that there were then in their own times the different orders of bishops and presbyters in this Church. "There are here in the Church," says Clemens^g, "the different degrees or progressions of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, in imitation of the angelical glory." Origen takes notice of the distinction above ten times^h in his works, which those that please may read at large in Bishop Pearson. I shall only recite two passages, one out of his homilies upon St. Luke, written whilst he was a layman, where he says, "thatⁱ digamy excludes men from all ecclesiastical dignities: for one that is twice married can neither be made bishop, presbyter, nor deacon." Here he calls them 'different dignities;' in the other^k place, he calls them 'different degrees,' saying, "Every one shall be punished according to his degree: if the supreme governor of the Church offends, he shall have the greater punishment. A layman will deserve mercy in comparison of a deacon; and a deacon, in comparison of a presbyter." So that bishops, in his opinion, were then a degree above presbyters and deacons. Tertullian frequently^l mentions the same distinction, but more especially in his book

^g Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vi. p. 667. (793, line 26, edit. Oxon.) *Καὶ αἱ ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προκοπαὶ, ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, μιμήματα, οἶμαι, ἀγγελικῆς δόξης.* Idem Pædagog. lib. iii. c. xii. p. 264. (p. 309.)

^h Origen. Hom. ii. in Numer. p. 203, edit. Basil. 1557. *Ecce qualis episcopus, aut qualis presbyter, vel qualis diaconus.*—Idem Homil. vi. in Esai. ibid. p. 635. *Nemo, quibuscunque venientibus, adsumens linteum diaconus, vel presbyter, sive episcopus, lavat pedes.*—Idem Homil. v. in Ezech. *Pro modo graduum, etc.* See note (k).—Idem Comment. in Matth. xix. p. 363, edit. Colon... *μήποτε ἐπεὶ σύμβολόν ἐστι καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος, καὶ ὁ διάκονος, ἀληθινῶν κατὰ τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα πραγμάτων.*—Id. in Matth. xxi. 12. p. 442. *Νομίζω ἀρμόζειν τὸν περὶ τῶν πωλούντων τὰς περιστεράς λόγον τοῖς παραδιδούσι τὰς ἐκκλησίας αἰσχροκερδέσι, καὶ τυραννικοῖς, καὶ ἀνεπιστήμοσι, καὶ ἀνευλαβέσιν ἐπισκόποις, ἢ πρεσβυτέροις, ἢ διακόνοις.*

ⁱ Origen. Hom. xvii. in Luc. p. 262, edit. Basil. *Ab ecclesiasticis dignitatibus non solum fornicatio, sed et nuptiæ repellunt. Neque enim episcopus, nec presbyter, nec diaconus, nec vidua, possunt esse digami.*

^k Origen. Hom. v. in Ezechielem. *Pro modo graduum unusquisque torquebitur. Majorem poenam habet, qui ecclesiæ præsidet et delinquit. Annon magis misericordiam promeretur, ad comparationem fidelis, catechumenus? Non magis venia dignus est laicus, si ad diaconum conferatur? Et rursus, comparatione presbyteri, diaconus veniam plus meretur.*

^l Tertull. de Monogam. c. xi. de Fuga, c. xi. de Præscript. c. xli.

‘De Baptismo,’ where he says^m, “The right of baptizing belongs to the chief priest, who is the bishop; and after him to presbyters and deacons, yet not without the authority of the bishop, for the honour of the Church; in the preservation of which consists the Church’s peace.”

These allegations are sufficient evidences, as to matter of fact, and the practice of the Church in the three first ages, that there was then an order of chief priests, or bishops, superior to presbyters, settled and allowed in the Christian Church.

SECT. III.—*The order of Bishops of Apostolical Institution.*

If we proceed a little further into this inquiry, and examine from what original this appointment came, whether from ecclesiastical or apostolical institution; which is another question concerning matter of fact, that will in some measure determine the right also; the same authors, with the unanimous consent of all others, declare, that it was no human invention, but an original settlement of the apostles themselves, which they made by divine appointment. “The order of bishops,” says Tertulianⁿ, “when it is traced up to its original, will be found to have St. John for one of its authors.” This agrees exactly with what Clemens Alexandrinus^o has recorded of him, that “when he was settled at Ephesus, he went about the neighbouring regions, ordaining bishops, and setting apart such men for the clergy, as were signified to him by the Holy Ghost.” These were those Asiatic bishops that St. Jerome^p speaks of, who says that, at their request, St. John wrote his Gospel against the heresies of Ebion and Cerinthus. Whence it fol-

^m Tertull. de Bapt. c. xvii. (Paris. 1664. p. 230. C 3.) Dandi quidem (baptismum) habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus: dehinc presbyteri et diaconi; non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, propter ecclesiæ honorem; quo salvo, salva pax est.

ⁿ Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. iv. c. v. (Paris. 1664. p. 415. D 12.) Ordo episcoporum ad originem recens, in Joannem stabit auctorem.

^o Clem. Alex. Quis dives salvetur? ap. Combefis. Auctar. Novissim. p. 185. Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος, ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον, ἀπῆει παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κληρὸν, ἕνα τὲ τινα κληρώσων ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος σημαινομένων. (Oxon. 1715. p. 959, line 7.)

^p Hieron. Catalog. Scriptor. Eccles. in Joanne. Novissimus omnium scripsit Evangelium, rogatus ab Asiæ episcopis. (Venet. Vallars. vol. ii. p. 843.)

lows, that according to this account, the order of bishops was settled before the canon of Scripture was concluded. Whence Clemens of Alexandria^q further observes, that “there are many precepts in Scripture appertaining to particular sorts of persons, some to presbyters, some to deacons, and some to bishops also.” Irenæus declares himself of the same opinion, that there were bishops as well as presbyters in the Apostles’ days. “For the assembly of Miletus,” he says^r, “was composed of bishops and presbyters, that were of Ephesus and the neighbouring cities of Asia.” And therefore, agreeably to that hypothesis, he always derives the succession of bishops and their original from the apostles. As where he says^s that “Hyginus, bishop of Rome, was the ninth in order of episcopal succession from the apostles^t.” And in another place^u, giving an exact catalogue of the twelve bishops of Rome that governed successively in that see to his own time, he says of Linus the first of them, that “he was ordained bishop immediately by the apostles, upon the first foundation of the Church;” and of Eleutherius the last of them, that “he was the twelfth bishop from the apostles.” Tertullian^v insists much upon the same argument, and makes a challenge to all

^q Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. iii. c. xii. p. 264. (Oxon. 1715. p. 309, line 24.)
Μυρία δὲ ὅσαι ὑποθήκαι, εἰς πρόσωπα ἐκλεκτὰ διατείνουσai, ἐγγεγράφεται ταῖς βίβλοις ταῖς ἀγίαις· αἱ μὲν, πρεσβυτέροις· αἱ δὲ, ἐπισκόποις· αἱ δὲ, διακόνους· ἄλλαι, χήραις.

^r Iren. lib. iii. c. xiv. In Mileto convocatis episcopis et presbyteris, qui erant ab Epheso et a reliquis proximis civitatibus.

^s Iren. lib. i. c. xxviii. . . ἐπὶ Ὑγίνου, ἑνατον κληρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχοντος.

^t Euseb. lib. iv. c. xi. cites the same out of Irenæus.

^u Iren. lib. iii. c. iii. Fundantes et instruantes beati Apostoli ecclesiam, Lino episcopatum administrandæ ecclesiæ tradiderunt. Cited also by Eusebius, lib. v. c. vi.

^v Tertull. de Præscript. c. xxxii. (Paris. 1664. p. 213. B 9.) Edant origines ecclesiarum suarum : evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis, vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem. Hoc enim modo ecclesiæ apostolicæ census suos deferunt : sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert : sicut Romanorum, Clementem a Petro ordinatum itidem. Perinde utique et cæteræ exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in episcopatum constitutos, apostolici seminis traduces habent. Vide etiam c. xxxvi. ibid.—Polycrat. Epist. ap. Euseb. c. xxiv.—Cyprian. Ep. lii. al. lv. ad Antonian. p. 104. Cum Fabiani locus, id est, locus Petri, et gradus sacerdotalis vacaret.—Id. Ep. xxvii. al. xxxiii. ed. Oxon.

sorts of heretics upon it: "Let them show us the original of their Churches, and give us a catalogue of their bishops in an exact succession from first to last, whereby it may appear, that their first bishop had either some apostle, or some apostolical man, living in the time of the apostles, for his author or immediate predecessor. For thus it is that apostolical Churches make their reckoning. The Church of Smyrna counts up to Polycarp, ordained by St. John; the Church of Rome to Clemens, ordained by St. Peter; and so all other Churches in like manner exhibit their first bishops ordained by the apostles, by whom the apostolical seed was propagated and conveyed to others." This implies that the Apostles, as they founded Churches, settled bishops in them; and that this might be proved from the records and archives of every Church, the most of which were probably then remaining, when Tertullian made this challenge to all heretics, and appealed to these original records in behalf of the Catholic Church.

SECT. IV.—*A list or catalogue of such Bishops as were first ordained by the Apostles.*

An exact and authentic catalogue of these first foundations would be a very useful and entertaining thing: but at this distance of time, it is impossible to gratify the world with any such curiosity, whatever pains should be taken about it. Yet there are some scattered remains and fragments to be collected out of the ancient writers, which will sufficiently answer our present design; which is, to evidence that the apostles settled bishops in all Churches upon their first plantation.

To begin with the Church of Rome: we have already heard Irenæus and Tertullian declaring, that the apostles ordained a bishop there. And the same is asserted by St. Chrysostom^x, and Eusebius^y, and Ruffin^z, and St. Jerome^a, and Optatus^b,

^x Chrysost. Homil. x. in 2 Tim. iv. (tom. vi. p. 614, edit. Francof.) Τοῦτον τὸν Λῆνον ἱστοροῦσιν τινες δεῦτερον μετὰ τὸν Πέτρον ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας γεγενῆσθαι.

^y Euseb. lib. iii. c. iv. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 59. A 7.) Λῆνος οὗ μέμνηται συνόντος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολήν, πρῶτος μετὰ Πέτρον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἤδη πρότερον κληρωθεὶς δεδήλωται.

^z Ruffin. ap. Hieron. Apol. ii. p. 219. (tom. ii. p. 148. b. fin. edit. Francof.)

and Epiphanius^c, and St. Austin; who says^d, “If the order of bishops succeeding one another be of any consideration, we take the surest and soundest way, who begin to number from St. Peter: for Linus succeeded Peter; and Clemens, Linus; and Anacletus, Clemens,” &c.

It is true, there is a little difference in the account which these authors give of the succession; for some reckon Linus first, then Anacletus, then Clemens: others begin with Clemens, and reckon him the first in order from St. Peter. But this is easily reconciled by learned^e men; who make it appear, that Linus and Anacletus died whilst St. Peter lived; and that Clemens was ordained their successor by St. Peter also. So that we have two or three persons, by this account, ordained successively bishops of Rome by the hands of the apostles.

Next, for the Church of Jerusalem; it is unanimously delivered by all ancient writers, that James the Lord’s brother was the first bishop thereof. St. Jerome^f says, ‘he was ordained by the apostles immediately after our Lord’s crucifixion.’ Epiphanius^g calls him therefore ‘the first bishop;’ ‘the first who had an episcopal chair;’ ‘the first to whom Christ committed his own throne upon earth.’ Chrysostom^h

Clemens, Apostolorum discipulus, qui Romanæ ecclesiæ post Apostolos episcopus et martyr fuit, etc.

^a Hieron. Catal. Script. in Clement. Clemens . . quartus post Petrum Romæ episcopus: . . tametsi plerique Latinorum, secundum post Petrum Apostolum putent fuisse Clementem. (Venet. Vallars. vol. ii. p. 853.)

^b Optat. lib. ii. p. 48. (p. 36, edit. Paris. 1679.) Sedit prior Petrus, cui successit Linus, etc.

^c Epiphani. Hæres. xxvii. n. vi. p. 107, edit. Colon.

^d Aug. Epist. clxv. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 91. B 8.) Si ordo episcoporum sibi succedentium considerandus est; quanto certius et vere salubriter ab ipso Petro numeramus, etc. Petro enim successit Linus; Lino, Clemens; Clementi, Anacletus; etc.

^e Cotel. Not. in Const. Apost. lib. vii. c. xlvi. Pearson. de Success. Rom. Pontif. Dissert. ii. c. 11. Cave, Hist. Lit. vol. i. in Clem.

^f Hieron. Catal. Script. c. ii. (Vallars. vol. ii. p. 829.) Post passionem Domini, statim ab Apostolis Hierosolymorum episcopus ordinatus.—Id. Comment. in Gal. i. p. 165. Hic Jacobus primus Hierosolymorum episcopus fuit.

^g Epiph. Hæres. lxxviii. Antidicomar. n. vii. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 1039. B 11.) Πρῶτος οὗτος εἴληφε τὴν καθέδραν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ᾧ πεπίστευκε Κύριος τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πρώτῳ.

^h Chrysostom. Hom. xxxviii. in 1 Cor. xv. Αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν λέγεται κεχειρο-

says, 'he was made bishop by Christ himself:' the authorⁱ of the Apostolical Constitutions, 'both by Christ and the apostles.' In like manner, Eusebius^k always speaks of him under that character, as 'first bishop of Jerusalem, ordained by the apostles.' So Hegesippus^l, Clemens^m Alexandrinus, and Dionysiusⁿ bishop of Corinth, all cited by Eusebius. To whom we may add St. Austin^o, who styles John bishop of Jerusalem 'St. James's successor, and possessor of the chair wherein he sat as first bishop of the place.' And it is remarkable, what Clemens, one of the ancientest of these writers, says, "that this was designed as a peculiar honour to St. James, in regard

τονῆκεναι καὶ ἐπίσκοπον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πεποιηκέναι πρῶτον. (In Nov. T. Paris. 1636. vol. iv. p. 667, line 12 from top.)

ⁱ Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xxxv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 500.) Κάγω Ἰάκωβος ἀδελφὸς μὲν κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, δοῦλος δὲ ὡς Θεοῦ μονογενοῦς, ἐπίσκοπος δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων Ἱεροσολύμων χειροτονηθεὶς, τάδε φημί.

^k Euseb. lib. ii. c. xxiii. ineunt. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 50.) Ἰουδαῖοι γεμὴν τοῦ Παύλου Καίσαρα ἐπικαλεσαμένου, ἐπὶ τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ὑπὸ Φήστου παραπεμφθέντος, τῆς ἐλπίδος καθ' ἣν ἐξήρτυον αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ἀποπεσόντες, ἐπὶ Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου τρέπονται ἀδελφὸν, ᾧ πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐγκεχειρίστο θρόνος.—Id. lib. iii. c. v. (p. 59. D 1.)...ἐπὶ πᾶσί τε Ἰακώβου, τοῦ τὸν αὐτόθι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀνάληψιν κεκληρωμένου, τὸν προδηλωθέντα τρόπον μεταλλάξαντος, κ. τ. λ.—Ib. cap. vii. (p. 65. D 5.) Ἰακώβός τε αὐτὸς ὁ τῷδε πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος.—Id. lib. vii. c. xix. (p. 216, at bottom.) Τὸν γὰρ Ἰακώβου θρόνον τοῦ πρῶτου τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν πρὸς αὐτοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑποδεξαμένου, κ. τ. λ.

^l Hegesip. ap. Euseb. lib. ii. c. xxiii. (p. 50. C 12.) Διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰάκωβος.

^m Clem. Hypotyp. lib. vi. ap. Euseb. lib. ii. c. i. (p. 30. A 12.) Κλήμης ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων γράφων, . . . Πέτρον φησὶ καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου προτετιμημένους μὴ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι δόξης· ἀλλὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐλέσθαι.

ⁿ Dionys. Ep. ad Athen. ap. Euseb. lib. iv. c. xxiii.†

^o Aug. contr. Crescon. lib. ii. c. xxxvii. (Bened. 1700. vol. ix. p. 295. B 6.) Hierosolymitanam ecclesiam primus Apostolus Jacobus episcopatu suo rexit.—Id. contr. Liter. Petil. lib. ii. c. li. (Bened. 1700. vol. ix. p. 172. F 6.) Cathedra ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ, in qua Jacobus sedit, et in qua hodie Johannes sedet.—Cyrill. Hierosolym. Catech. iv. n. xvii. Περὶ τούτων οὐκ ἔμοι μόνον, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, καὶ Ἰακώβῳ τῷ ταύτης ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπῳ σπουδῇ γέγονε.—Catech. xiv. n. xi. Ἐπειτα ὤφθη Ἰακώβῳ, τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἀδελφῷ, ἐπισκόπῳ δὲ πρώτῳ τῆς παροικίας ταύτης.

that he was the brother of Christ: for though our Saviour usually gave the preference to Peter and John, and James his brother; yet none of those contended about this honour, but chose this James, surnamed Justus, to be bishop of the place; where he lived a saint, and died a martyr."

Some time after his death, as Eusebius^p relates from ancient tradition, the apostles and disciples of our Lord, as many as were yet in being, met together with our Saviour's kinsmen (several of which were then alive) to consult about choosing a successor in St. James's room; and they unanimously agreed upon Simeon, son of Cleopas, our Saviour's cousin according to the flesh; thinking him the most fit and worthy person to sit upon the episcopal throne. The same is asserted by Eusebius in other^q places, and the author^r of the Constitutions under the name of Clemens Romanus.

From Jerusalem, if we pass to Antioch, there again we find Euodius first, and after him Ignatius, ordained bishops by the hands of the apostles. Baronius^s and some others fancy, that they sat both at the same time; the one as bishop of the Jews, and the other of the Gentiles: but Eusebius^t says expressly,

^p Euseb. lib. iii. c. xi. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 69.) Μετὰ τὴν Ἰακώβου μαρτυρίαν... λόγος κατέχει τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῶν τοὺς εἰσέτι ἐν τῷ βίῳ λειπομένους, ἐπὶ ταυτὸ πανταχόθεν συνελθεῖν, ἅμα τοῖς πρὸς γένους κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου· πλείους γὰρ καὶ τούτων περιῆσαν εἰσέτι τότε τῷ βίῳ· βουλήν τε ὁμοῦ τοὺς πάντας περὶ τοῦ τίνα χρή τῆς Ἰακώβου διαδοχῆς ἐπικρίναι ἄξιον ποιήσασθαι· καὶ δὴ ἀπὸ μιᾶς γνώμης τοὺς πάντας Συμεῶνα τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, οὗ καὶ ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου μνημονεύει γραφὴ, τοῦ τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας θρόνου ἄξιον εἶναι δοκιμάσαι, κ. τ. λ.

^q Id. Chronic. p. 205. Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν ἀδελφὸν Κυρίου Ἰάκωβον κτείνουσι· Συμεὼν δὲ τοῦ Κλεόπα τὸν θρόνον Ἱεροσολύμων διαδέχεται.

^r Constit. Apost. lib. vii. c. xlvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 450, last line.) Περὶ τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν χειροτονηθέντων ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ, γνωρίζομεν ὑμῖν, ὅτι εἰσὶν οὗτοι Ἱεροσολύμων μὲν Ἰάκωβος, ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀδελφός· οὗ τελευτήσαντος δεύτερος Συμεὼν δὲ τοῦ Κλεόπα.

^s Baron. an. xlv. n. xiv. (Antverp. 1612. vol. i. p. 343.) Cum dissensio illa inter fideles, qui ex circumcisione, et eos qui ex gentibus ad fidem venerant, esset concitata: quocirca quamdiu illa perduravit, illud remedium fuisse adhibitum, ut uterque sederet, alterque eorum præesset iis, qui ex circumcisione, alter vero iis, qui ex gentibus ad ecclesiam venissent.—An. lxxi. n. xi. Hoc eodem anno, Olympiade ducentesima duodecima, anno primo (ut numerat Eusebius) Euodio episcopo Antiocheno ex hac vita sublato, subrogatur qui aliquando collega sedisset Ignatius. (vol. i. p. 683.)

^t Euseb. lib. iii. c. xxii. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 73.) Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ

that Euodius was the first, and Ignatius the second, after Euodius was dead. And it is agreed by all ancient writers, that they were both consecrated before St. Peter's death. Of Euodius there can be no question made, if it appears that Ignatius was ordained by the apostles in his room. Now this is most expressly said by Theodoret^u, that he received the gift of the high-priesthood, ἀρχιερωσύνης χάριν from the hand of the Great Peter. In like manner, Chrysostom in his encomium^v upon him, says, "he does not only admire him, because he was thought worthy of so high a degree; but that he was ordained to it by those holy men, and had the hands of the blessed apostles laid upon his sacred head." The same is said in effect by Athanasius^x, when he calls him 'the first bishop of Antioch after the apostles;' and Origen^y, who calls him 'the second after St. Peter;' and Jerome^z, 'the third:' for though they count differently, yet they mean the same thing; that Ignatius was ordained successor to Euodius while the apostles lived; and so might be called either second or third after the apostles, according as St. Peter and Euodius were included or excluded out of the number.

From Antioch let us go to Smyrna; where we shall find

Ἀντιοχείας Εὐοδίου πρώτου καταστάντος, δεύτερος ἐν τοῖς δηλουμένοις Ἰγνάτιος ἐγνωρίζετο.

^u Theodoret. Dialog. i. tom. iv. p. 49, edit. Halæ, 1772. Ἀκήκοας δὲ πάντως Ἰγνάτιον ἐκεῖνον, ὃς διὰ τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου δεξιᾶς τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης τὴν χάριν ἐδέξατο, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Ἀντιόχεων ἰθύνας τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου στέφανον ἐνεδήσατο, κ. τ. λ.

^v Chrysost. Hom. xlii. in Ignat. (ed. Front. Duc. Francof. 1680. vol. i. p. 501.) (lxxvii. Homil. Paris. 1609, p. 566. C.) Οὕτω δὲ καὶ Πέτρου μέλλοντος ἐντεῦθεν ἀποδημεῖν, ἕτερον ἀντίρροπον Πέτρου διδάσκαλον οἱ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀντεισήγαγε χάρις, ὥστε μὴ τὴν ἤδη γενομένην οἰκοδομήν τῇ τοῦ διαδεξαμένου εὐτελείᾳ σαθροτέραν γενέσθαι· πέντε μὲν οὖν στεφάνους ἀπηριθμησάμεθα ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀξίας τῶν κεχειροτονηκότων, ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ καιροῦ δυσκολίας, ἀπὸ τοῦ μέτρου τῆς πόλεως, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ παραδόντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπισκοπήν.

^x Athan. de Synodo Arim. (Colon. 1686. tom. i. p. 922. A 1.) (p. 761, edit. Paris. 1680.) Ἰγνάτιος οὖν, ὁ μετὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ κατασταθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ μάρτυς τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενόμενος, κ. τ. λ.

^y Origen. Hom. vi. in Luc. Ignatium dico episcopum Antiochiæ post Petrum secundum.

^z Hieron. Catal. Script. in Ignat. (Venet. Vallars. vol. ii. p. 855.) Tertius post Petrum apostolum episcopus.

Polycarp, another apostolical bishop, ordained by the apostles. St. Jerome ascribes his ordination^a to St. John, whose disciple he was. Irenæus says, he himself knew him, and therefore could not mistake in what he relates of him; which is, “that he was ordained bishop by the^b apostles.” Tertullian^c and Eusebius^d witness the same; the one saying that he was ordained by St. John, and the other, by those that had seen the Lord.

Papias was another disciple of St. John^e, as both Irenæus and St. Jerome witness: and he was contemporary with Ignatius and Polycarp, and bishop of Hierapolis about the same time; that is, in the beginning of the second century. So that it is probable, he was another of those bishops which St. John ordained in Asia, though we have no express testimony to prove it.

But it is asserted by all ancient writers, that Timothy was ordained bishop of Ephesus by St. Paul. Eusebius^f, Chrysostom^g, Epiphanius^h, Jeromeⁱ, Hilary the deacon^k, and the

^a Hieron. Catal. Script. c. xvii. (Venet. Vallars. vol. ii. p. 857.) Polycarpus, Joannis apostoli discipulus, et ab eo Smyrnæ episcopus ordinatus.

^b Iren. lib. iii. c. iii. Ab apostolis in Asia, in ea quæ est Smyrnæ ecclesia, constitutus episcopus, quem et nos vidimus in prima nostra ætate.

^c Tertull. de Præscript. c. xxxii. (Paris. 1664. p. 213. C.) Sicut Smyrnæ-
orum ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert.

^d Euseb. lib. iii. c. xxxvi. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 85.) Διέπρεπε γεμὴν κατὰ τούτους ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμιλητῆς Πολύκαρπος, τῆς κατὰ Σμύρναν ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τῶν αὐτοπτῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τοῦ Κυρίου, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος.—Id. lib. iv. c. xiv. Πολύκαρπος . . ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος. (p. 103. B 12.)

^e Iren. lib. v. c. xxxiii. Papias, Joannis auditor, Polycarpi contubernalis.—Hieron. Epist. xxix. (Venet. 1769. vol. i. p. 454. A.) ad Theodor. Refert Irenæus vir, apostolicorum temporum, et Papiæ, auditoris evangelistæ Joannis, discipulus, etc.—Id. de Script. (Venet. vol. ii. p. 859.) Papias, Joannis auditor.

^f Euseb. lib. iii. c. iv. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 58. D.) Ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τοὺς γνωρίμους αὐτοῦ (Παύλου) καταλέγων, ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτῶν μνημονεύει Τιμόθεός γε μὴν τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας ἱστορεῖται πρῶτος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν εἰληχέναι ὥς καὶ Τίτος τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν.

^g Chrysost. Hom. i. in Philip. p. 8. Διὰ τοῦτο γράφων Τιμοθέῳ ἔλεγε, Τὴν διακονίαν σου πληροφόρησον, ἐπισκόπῳ ὄντι· ὅτι γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος ἦν, φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν, Χεῖρας ταχέως μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθει. (Paris. 1636. p. 1204, line 10 from bottom.)

^h Epiph. Hæres. lxxv. Aër. n. v. p. 909, edit. Col. Ὡς λέγει τῷ Τιμοθέῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ὄντι, κ. τ. λ.

ⁱ Hieron. Catal. Script. in Timoth. Timotheus, Ephesiorum episcopus, ordinatus a beato Paulo, ex gentibus erat, non ex circumcisione.

author of the Passion of Timothy in Photius^l, unanimously attest it. And Theodoret^m affirms, moreover, that he was bishop, under the title of an apostle.

Most of the same authors agree in the same evidence for Titusⁿ, that he was made bishop of Crete by St. Paul also. And Chrysostom^o, with Eusebius, seems to give both him and Timothy the power of metropolitans; of which more hereafter.

Others say, that Dionysius the Areopagite was made first bishop of Athens. Eusebius^p more than once mentions an epistle of Dionysius bishop of Corinth, a very ancient writer of the second century, wherein this is expressly asserted. So that he must be ordained, either by St. Paul himself, as Suidas and others^q think, or by some other apostle. It is generally

^k Pseudo-Ambros. Præfat. in Timoth. Hunc jam creatum episcopum instruit, etc. Item Com. in 1 Tim. iii. Timotheum presbyterum ordinatum significat, sed quia ante se alterum non habebat, episcopus erat. Unde et quemadmodum episcopum ordinet, ostendit. Neque enim fas erat aut licebat, ut inferior ordinaret majorem. Nemo enim tribuit, quod non accepit.

^l Phot. Cod. ccliv. "Οτι πρῶτον Τιμόθεον ἡ παροῦσα συγγραφή φησιν Ἐφέσου ἐπισκοπῆσαι.

^m Theodoret. Com. in 1 Tim. iii. Τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς προσηγορίαν τοῖς πάλαι καλουμένοις ἀποστόλοις ἐπέθεσαν . . οὕτω Κρητῶν ὁ Τίτος, καὶ Ἀσιανῶν ὁ Τιμόθεος, ἀπόστολοι. (Hal. 1771. vol. iii. p. 652.)

ⁿ Euseb. loc. cit. ad (f).—Chrysostom. loc. cit. Καὶ πάλιν πρὸς Τίτον γράφων φησὶ, Τούτου χάριν . . ἃ περὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου φησὶν.—Hieron. de Scriptor. in Tito: Titus episcopus Cretæ.—Pseudo-Ambros. Præf. in Tit. Titum Apostolus consecravit episcopum. —Theodoret. l. c. ad (m).

^o Chrysost. Homil. i. in Tit. sub init. (tom. vi. edit. Francof. p. 620.) (Paris. 1636. p. 1692, line 5 from bottom.) Τῶν Παύλῳ συνόντων δόκιμος οὗτος ἦν [εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν δόκιμος,] οὐκ ἂν οὖν αὐτῷ τὴν νῆσον ὁλόκληρον ἐπέτρεψεν, οὐκ ἂν τὰ ἐλλειφθέντα ἀναπληρῶσαι προσέταξεν (ἵνα γάρ, φησι, τὰ λείποντα ἐπιδιορθώσῃ) οὐκ ἂν τοσούτων ἐπισκόπων κρίσιν ἐπέτρεψεν, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἐθάρρει τάνδρι.—Id. Hom. xv. in Tim. ibid. p. 509. Δῆλον δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντεῦθεν, ὅτι ἐκκλησίαν λοιπὸν ἦν ἐμπεπιστευμένος ὁ Τιμόθεος, ἡ καὶ ἔθνος ὁλόκληρον τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας διὸ καὶ περὶ πρεσβυτέρων αὐτῷ διαλέγεται. (Paris. 1636. p. 1606. line 6 from top.)

^p Euseb. lib. iii. c. iv. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 59. B.) Ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὸν Ἀρεοπαγίτην ἐκῆϊνον, Διονύσιος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, . . τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον, ἀρχαίων τις ἕτερος Διονύσιος τῆς Κορινθίων παροικίας ποιμὴν ἱστορεῖ γεγονέναι. Conf. lib. iv. c. xxiii.

^q Suidas in voce Dionys. (p. 596, edit. Cantabrig. 1705.) Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης ἐπίσκοπος Ἀθηνῶν ἀνὴρ ἐλλογιμώτατος, καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας εἰς ἄκρον ἐλληλακῶς, ἀκουστής Παύλου πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ θρησκείαν, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταστάς εἰς αὐτὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπίσκοπος.

agreed, that this Dionysius died some time before St. John, and was succeeded in his bishopric by Publius, and he by Quadratus, whom St. Jerome^r calls a disciple of the apostles; which, in all probability, refers to his being tutored by St. John. Now if Quadratus himself was St. John's disciple, (as he might be, who was bishop in the time of the emperor Hadrian, to whom he presented his apology,) then there might be three bishops successively at Athens, all trained up by the apostles, and two of them consecrated by their hands, or at least with their consent and approbation.

I shall end this catalogue of primitive bishops with what Theodoret^s says of Epaphroditus; "that as Timothy and Titus were bishops of Ephesus and Crete under the name of apostles, so Epaphroditus was bishop of Philippi under the same title; which was then the common name of all that were properly bishops:" of which I say no more in this place, because I give a more particular account of it in the following chapter.

^r Hieron. de Scriptor. c. xix. (Venet. 1769. vol. ii. p. 859.) Quadratus, apostolorum discipulus, Publio, Athenarum episcopo, ob Christi fidem martyrio coronato, in locum ejus substituitur.

^s Theodoret. Com. in 1 Tim. iii. 1. (Schulze, Hal. 1771. vol. iii. p. 652.)
Φιλιππησίῳ ἀπόστολος ὁ Ἐπαφρόδιτος ἦν.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE SEVERAL TITLES OF HONOUR GIVEN TO BISHOPS
IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.SECT. I.—*All Bishops at first called Apostles.*

FOR further confirmation of what has been asserted in the foregoing chapter, it will not be amiss here to subjoin next a short account of the several titles of honour which were given to bishops in the primitive Church. The most ancient of these is the title of ‘Apostles;’ which, in a large and secondary sense, is thought by many to have been the original name for Bishops, before the name Bishop was appropriated to their order. For at first they suppose, the names Bishop and Presbyter to have been common names for all of the first and second order: during which time, the appropriate name for bishops, to distinguish them from mere presbyters, was that of ‘Apostles.’ Thus Theodoret^t says expressly, “The same persons were anciently called promiscuously both bishops and presbyters, whilst those who are now called bishops, were called apostles.” But shortly after, the name of apostles was appropriated to such only as were apostles indeed; and then the name bishop was given to those who before were called apostles. Thus, he says, “Epaphroditus was the apostle of the Philippians; and Titus, the apostle of the Cretians; and Timothy, the apostle of the Asiatics.” And this he repeats^u in several other places of his writings.

^t Theod. Com. in 1 Tim. iii. 1. (Schulze, Hal. 1771. vol. iii. p. 652.) Τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν ποτὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἐπισκόπους· τοὺς δὲ νῦν καλουμένους ἐπισκόπους, ἀποστόλους ὠνόμαζον.

^u Theod. Com. in Phil. i. 1. (Schulze, Hal. 1771. vol. iii. p. 445.) Τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἐπισκόπους ὠνόμασεν.—Ibid. c. ii. 25. p. 459. Ἀπόστολον δὲ αὐτὸν κέκληκεν αὐτῶν, ὥς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῶν ἐμπεπιστευμένον· ὥς εἶναι δῆλον ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦτον ἐτέλουν οἱ ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ κληθέντες ἐπίσκοποι, τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου δηλονότι τὴν τάξιν πληροῦντες.

The author under the name of St. Ambrose^v asserts the same thing; that all bishops were called apostles at first. And therefore, he says^x, “that St. Paul, to distinguish himself from such apostles, calls himself an apostle, not of man, nor sent by man to preach, as those others were who were chosen and sent by the apostles to confirm the Churches.” Amalarius^y cites another passage out of this same author, which speaks more fully to the purpose: “They,” says he, “who are now called bishops, were originally called apostles: but the holy apostles being dead, they who were ordained after them to govern the Churches, could not arrive to the excellency of those first; nor had they the testimony of miracles, but were, in many other respects, inferior to them: therefore they thought it not decent to assume to themselves the name of apostles; but dividing the names, they left to presbyters the name of the presbytery, and they themselves were called bishops.”

This is what those authors infer from the identity of the names, bishop and presbyter, in the first age: they do not thence argue (as some who abuse their authority have done since) that therefore bishops and presbyters were all one; but they think that bishops were then distinguished by a more appropriate name, and more expressive of their superiority, which was that of secondary apostles.

SECT. II.—*After that, successors of the Apostles.*

Afterward bishops thought it honour enough for them to be styled ‘the apostles’ successors.’ As Cyprian^z, and Firmilian^a,

^v Ambros. Com. in Eph. iv. Apostoli episcopi sunt.

^x Id. Com. in Gal. i. 1. Paulus apostolum se non ab hominibus electum et missum ad prædicandum testatur, sicut erant quidam, qui electi ab apostolis mittebantur ad ecclesias roborandas.

^y Amalar. de Offic. Eccles. lib. ii. c. xiii. (in Biblioth. Magna Patr. tom. vi. p. 939, edit. Paris. 1589.) Qui nunc episcopi nominantur, illi tunc apostoli dicebantur. Beatis vero apostolis decedentibus, illi qui post illos ordinati sunt, ut præessent ecclesiis, illis primis exæquari non poterant, neque miraculorum testimonium par illis habere, sed et in multis aliis inferiores illis esse videbantur: grave existimaverunt apostolorum sibi vindicare nuncupationem: dividerunt ergo nomina ipsa, et ab eisdem presbyteris presbyterii nomen reliquerunt. Alii vero episcopi sunt nuncupati, hi qui et ordinationis præditi potestate, ita ut plenissime iidem præpositos se ecclesiarum esse cognoscerent.

^z Cyprian. Ep. lxix. al. lxvi. ad Florent. (Oxon. 1682. p. 167.) Qui apostolis

and the bishops in the Council^b of Carthage call themselves and others. And St. Jerome^c speaks of them in the same style, saying, "Wheresoever a bishop is, whether at Rome, or Eugubium; at Constantinople, or at Rhegium; at Alexandria, or at Tanis; they are all of equal merit, their priesthood is the same; they are all successors to the apostles." And both he and St. Austin^d draw that of the Psalmist to this sense; 'Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children, whom thou mayest make princes in all lands;' they say, "Bishops are the sons of the apostles, and princes and fathers in the Church."

SECT. III.—*Whence every Bishop's See called Sedes Apostolica.*

And hence it was that anciently every bishop's see was dignified with the title of 'sedes apostolica,' an apostolical see; which, in those days, was no peculiar title of the bishop of Rome, but given to all bishops in general, as deriving their original, and counting their succession from the apostles. "The Catholic Church," says St. Austin^e, "is propagated and diffused over all the world by the apostolical sees, and the succession of bishops in them." It is plain, this is not spoken only of the bishop of Rome, but of all other bishops whatsoever. Sidonius Apollinaris^f uses the same expression, in speaking of

vicaria ordinatione succedunt.—Id. Ep. xlii. al. xlv. ad Cornel. (p. 88.) Laborare debemus, ut unitatem a Domino, et per apostolos nobis successoribus traditam, obtinere curemus.

^a Firmil. Ep. lv. ap. Cyprian. (Oxon. 1682. p. 225.) (p. 148, edit. Paris. 1656.) Hostes unius Catholicæ ecclesiæ, in qua nos sumus, qui apostolis successimus.

^b Conc. Carth. ap. Cypr. in Suffragio Clari a Mascula. (p. 241.) Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, apostolos suos mittentis, et ipsis solis potestatem, a Patre sibi datam, permittentis, quibus nos successimus, etc.

^c Firmil. Ep. lxxv. apud Cyprian. (Oxon. 1682. p. 225.)—Id. in Psalm. xlv. 14. Fuerunt, o ecclesia, apostoli patres tui: quia ipsi te genuerunt. Nunc autem, quia illi recesserunt a mundo, habes pro his episcopos filios, qui a te creati sunt.

^d Aug. Com. in Psalm. xlv. 16. Pro apostolis nati sunt filii tibi, constituti sunt episcopi. . . Ipsa ecclesia Patres illos appellat.

^e Aug. Ep. xlii. ad Fratres Madaurenses. Christiana societas per sedes apostolorum et successiones episcoporum, certa per orbem propagatione diffunditur. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 639. D 8.)

^f Sidon. lib. vi. Ep. i. ad Lupum Tricassin. In apostolica sede novem jam decursa quinquennia. (Paris. 1609. p. 377.)

a private French bishop, who sat five-and-forty years, he says, in his 'apostolical see.' And Paulinus^g makes no more but the usual compliment to Alypius, when he tells him, "that God had deservedly placed him in an 'apostolical see' with the princes of his people."

SECT. IV.—*Bishops called Princes of the people.*

Where we must also note, that Paulinus speaks in the usual phrase and style of those ancient times, when he calls bishops 'princes of the people.' For that was another usual title that was given them; as appears from Optatus^h, and several passages in St. Jeromeⁱ; who, to distinguish them from secular princes, usually styles them 'Principes Ecclesiæ^k,' princes of the Church, applying to them that prophecy of Isaiah, (lx. 17.) which, according to his translation, is, "I will make thy princes peace, and thy bishops righteousness:" upon which he^l has this note; "that the majesty of the holy Scripture is to be admired, in that it calls those who were to be bishops in future ages, by the name of 'Princes.'" In the Greek writers, they are styled ἄρχοντες ἐκκλησιῶν, governors and princes likewise; as frequently in Eusebius^m, Origenⁿ, Chrysostom^o, and many others.

^g Paulin. Ep. xlv. ad Alypium. Cum principibus populi sui sede apostolica merito collocavit Dominus.—Tertull. de Præscript. c. xxxvi. (Paris. 1662. p. 215. A 4.) Ipsæ adhuc cathedræ apostolorum suis locis præsident . . Habes Corinthum . . Habes Philippos, etc.

^h Optat. lib. i. p. 39. (p. 15, edit. Paris. 1679.) Ipsi apices et principes omnium episcopi.

ⁱ Hieronym. Com. in Iesa. c. iii. v. 14. (tom. v. edit. Francof. p. 18. b.) Inter senes et principes hoc fuisse reor in veteri populo, quod nunc est inter presbyteros et episcopos.—Ibid. Sed ad nostros principes referri potest, etc.

^k Hieron. Comment. in Ps. xlv. Principes ecclesiæ, id est, episcopi.—Id. Com. Iesa. v. 11. (tom. v. edit. Francof. p. 23. a.) Abutamur hoc testimonio adversum principes ecclesiæ.

^l Hieron. Comment. in Iesa. lx. 17. (Venet. 1769. vol. iv. p. 728. E 2.) (tom. v. edit. Francof. p. 193. b.) In quo Scripturæ sanctæ admiranda majestas, quod principes futuros ecclesiæ, episcopos nominavit.

^m Euseb. lib. vi. c. xxviii. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 186.) "Ὅς δὲ κατὰ κόσμον τὸν πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου οἶκον ἐκ πλειόνων πιστῶν συνεστῶτα, διωγμὸν ἐγείρας, τοὺς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἄρχοντας μόνους, ὡς αἰτίους τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διδασκαλίας ἀναιρεῖσθαι προστάττει.—Id. lib. viii. c. 1. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 239. B 1.) Ἀρχόντων δὲ ἄρχουσι προσρηγνύντων, καὶ λαῶν ἐπὶ λαοὺς

SECT. V.—*Præpositi*, προεστῶτες, πρόεδροι, ἑφοροι.

In the same sense, Cyprian^p and Tertullian^q commonly call them ‘presidents,’ or provosts of the Church; which Eusebius^r

καταστασιαζόντων.—Ibid. c. iii. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 240.) Τότε δὴ οὖν πλείστοι μὲν ὅσοι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἄρχοντες, δειναῖς αἰκίαις προθύμως ἐναθλήσαντες, μεγάλων ἀγώνων ἱστορίας ἐπεδείξαντο.—Id. de Martyr. Palæstin. c. 1. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 260. D 3.) Μετὰ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως πλείστοι ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐκκλησιῶν ἄρχοντες, κ. τ. λ.

ⁿ Origen. Hom. xi. in Jerem. (p. 114, edit. Colon. 1685.) Ὁ δὲ τὴν πάντων ἡμῶν ἐγκεχειρισμένος ἀρχὴν αὐτὴν τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν, ἐπὶ πλείον ἀπαιτεῖται.—Id. contr. Celsum, lib. iii. (Cantab. 1667. p. 129.) Οὕτω καὶ ἄρχοντα ἐκκλησίας ἐκάστης πόλεως ἄρχοντι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει συγκριτέον· ἵνα κατανοήσῃς, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σφόδρα ἀποτυγχανομένων βουλευτῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ, καὶ ῥαθυμότερον παρὰ τοὺς εὐτονωτέρως βιοῦντας, οὐδὲν ἡττόν ἐστιν εὐρεῖν ὥς ἐπίπαν ὑπεροχὴν, τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς προκοπῇ, παρὰ τὰ ἡθὴ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι βουλευόντων καὶ ἀρχόντων.

^o Chrysostom. de Sacerdot. lib. iii. c. xiv. (Paris. 1614. p. 44. A.) (tom. iv. edit. Francof. p. 40.) (tom. vi. edit. Eton. p. 22.) Πέφυκε γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ, τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων πλῆθος, ὥσπερ εἰς ἀρχέτυπόν τινα εἰκόνα, τοὺς τῶν ἀρχόντων τρόπους ὁρᾶν, καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξομοιοῦν ἑαυτούς. Conf. Suiceri Thes. p. 540, qui addit: Loquitur autem, ut ex tota serie manifestum est, de pastoribus et eorum auditoribus.—Ibid. c. xv. (Paris. p. 47. A 8.) (tom. iv. edit. Francof. p. 41.) (Eton. tom. vi. p. 23.) Ἰθὶ δὴ, καὶ διάκυσον εἰς τὰς δημοτελεῖς ἑορτάς, ἐν αἷς μάλιστα τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀρχῶν τὰς αἰρέσεις ποιῆσθαι νόμος.—Id. Hom. iii. ad Popul. Antioch. tom. i. p. 48. (p. 37, edit. Francof.).. Ἰακώβ θρεμμάτων προεστώς. . πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς τοὺς οὐκ ἀλόγοις ἐφeskῶτας, ἀλλὰ πνευματικοῖς προβάτοις.

^p Cyprian. Ep. iii. edit. Oxon. et Paris. Quod et vobis esset circa Præpositi memoriam gloriosum. Ep. ix. Neque nunc sibi Præpositum episcopum cogitantes. Ep. xiii. Ut Præpositi cum clero convenientes, etc. Ep. xxvii. Et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem Præpositos gubernetur. Ep. lxxxi. Cum habeat in ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum unusquisque Præpositus, etc.

^q Tertull. Apol. c. xxxix. (Paris. 1664. p. 31. B 1.) Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti.—Id. ad Uxor. c. vii. Præscriptio apostoli declarat, cum digamos non sinit præsidere, 1 Tim. iii. 3.—Id. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. (p. 102. A 6.) Eucharistiæ sacramentum, et in tempore victus, et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis coetibus, nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus.

^r Euseb. lib. vi. c. iii. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 166. C 10.) Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑώρα φοιτητὰς ἤδη πλείους προσιόντας, αὐτῷ μόνῳ τῆς τοῦ κατηχεῖν διατριβῆς ὑπὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστῶτος ἐπιτετραμμένης, κ. τ. λ.—Ibid. c. viii. (p. 169, last line.) Γνοὺς δὴτα ὕστερον ὁ Δημήτριος, ἅτε τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας προεστὼς εὖ μάλα μὲν αὐτὸν ἀποθαυμάζει τοῦ τολμήματος.—Ibid. c. x. Δόξαν τοῖς τῶν ὁμόρων ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶσιν.—Id. lib. vii. c. xiii.

and Justin^s Martyr call προεστῶτες, and sometimes πρόεδροι^t, and others ἑφοροι^u, ‘inspectors;’ all which are proper characters of bishops; who have the care, presidency, and inspection of the Church.

SECT. VI.—*Principes Sacerdotum, Pontifices Maximi, Summi Sacerdotes, &c.*

And because this presidency was not only over the people, but also over the clergy, they were dignified upon that account with the distinguishing characters of ‘summi sacerdotes,’ ‘pontifices maximi,’ and ‘principes sacerdotum,’ chief priests, and princes of the clergy. The author under the name of St. Ambrose^v gives the bishop expressly the title of ‘chief priest,’ and ‘prince of the priests.’ And so frequently, the name ‘summus sacerdos’ is used by St. Jerome: as, where speaking of himself, he says, “in the opinion of all men he was thought worthy of the ‘high-priesthood;’” he explains^x himself to mean a ‘bishopric.’ And in another place^y; “the prosperity

(p. 214.) Ἀνίησί τε αὐτίκα διὰ προγραμμάτων τὸν καθ’ ἡμῶν διωγμὸν, ἐπ’ ἐλευθερίας τοῖς τοῦ λόγου προεστῶσι τὰ ἐξ ἔθους ἐπιτελεῖν δι’ ἀντιγραφῆς προστάζας, κ. τ. λ. — Id. lib. viii. c. vi. (p. 243. D 10.) Τοὺς πανταχόσε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶτας εἰρκταῖς καὶ δεσμοῖς ἐνέϊραι πρόσταγμα ἐφοῖτα βασιλικόν.

^s Justin. Mart. Apol. i. (Paris. 1742. p. 82. D 6.) Ἐπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος.—Gregor. Nyssen. tom. iii. p. 306. (edit. 1638.) Χρὴ δὲ τοὺς προεστῶτας τοῦ πνευματικοῦ τούτου χόρου, κ. τ. λ. . . Οὕτως οὖν χρὴ τοὺς προεστῶτας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

^t Euseb. lib. viii. c. ii. (p. 240.) Μετουπολὺν ἐτέρων ἐπιφοιτησάντων γραμμάτων, προσετάττετο τοὺς μὲν ἐκκλησιῶν προέδρους πάντας τοὺς κατὰ πάντα τόπον πρῶτα μὲν δεσμοῖς παραδίδοσθαι εἰθ’ ὕστερον πάσῃ μηχανῇ θύειν ἐξαναγκάζεσθαι.—Id. de Martyr. Palæst. c. ii. Ταῦτα μὲν ἔτει πρώτῳ τούτου ἀπετελέσθη τὸν τρόπον κατὰ μόνων τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας προέδρων ἐπηρτημένου τοῦ διωγμοῦ.

^u Philostorg. Hist. lib. iii. n. iv. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 477. C 13.) Τὴν δὲ πρεσβείαν ὑπελθόντα καὶ ἐφόρον λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν ὁμοδόξων ἀξίωμα.—Ibid. n. xv. (p. 486. C 6.) Καὶ Παυλίνου μὲν ἀκροάσασθαι πρότερον, ὃς ἐκ τῆς ἐφορείας Τύρου εἰς τὴν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας κατέστη.

^v Ambros. Com. in Eph. iv. In episcopo omnes ordines sunt, quia primus sacerdos est, hoc est, princeps sacerdotum.

^x Hieron. Ep. xcix. ad Asellam. Omnium pene iudicio dignus summo sacerdotio decernebar.

^y Id. Dial. c. Lucif. p. 139. Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet.

of the Church depends upon the honour of the ‘chief priests.’” The same title is given to all bishops, by the author^z of the Questions upon the Old and New Testament, under the name of St. Austin. Sidonius^a calls them ‘summi pontifices;’ where he speaks only of the bishops of France. And therefore, when Tertullian^b gives the title of ‘pontifex maximus’ to the bishop of Rome, he does him no greater honour than in those days was done to every bishop in the world: and some think he meant not the bishop of Rome in particular, but comprehended all others under that title. As it is certain the Council of Agde does, when it orders^c every metropolitan to call his suffragans, ‘ad ordinationem summi pontificis;’ which means not to the ordination of the pope of Rome, but to the ordination of any French bishop within the metropolitan’s province or jurisdiction. For then, as we have seen, ‘summus pontifex’ was the ordinary title of every bishop whatsoever.

SECT. VII.—*Every Bishop anciently called Papa, Father, or Pope.*

And so was the name ‘Papa,’ though now it is become the pretended prerogative and sole privilege of the bishop of Rome. Some historians^d indeed are so vain as to assert confidently, that Cyril of Alexandria was the first bishop in those parts, who had the honour of being called ‘Papa;’ and that, because he was pope Celestine’s legate in the Council of Ephesus. The Arabic writers Homaidius and Abubacrus Habasides, cited

^z Aug. Quæst. Vet. et N. Test. c. ci. Quid est episcopus, nisi primus presbyter, id est, summus sacerdos?

^a Sidon. lib. iv. ep. xi. Nam de pontificis tenore summi, ille insignia sumsit, hic laborem.—Lib. vii. ep. v. (Paris. 1609. p. 425.) Bituricas decreto civium petitus adveni. Causa fuit evocationis titubans ecclesiæ status: quæ nuper summo viduata pontifice, utriusque professionis ordinibus ambiendi sacerdotii quoddam classicum cecinit.

^b Tertull. de Pudicit. c. i. (Paris. 1664. p. 555. B.) Pontifex scilicet Maximus, quod est, episcopus episcoporum, edicit: Ego et mœchiæ et fornicationis delicta poenitentia functis dimitto.

^c Conc. Agath. can. xxxv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1389.) Si metropolitanus episcopus ad comprovinciales epistolas direxerit, in quibus eos aut ad ordinationem summi pontificis, aut ad synodum invitet, etc.

^d Nicephorus is cited and chastised by Savaro for this. Not. in Sidon. lib. vi. ep. i.

by Echellensis and Bishop Pearson^e, deliver a quite contrary story; “that the name was first given to the patriarch of Alexandria, and thence carried to Rome:” which seems to be said in answer to the Romish pretences. But the truth of the matter is, that it was no peculiar privilege of one patriarch or other, but the common title of all bishops, who were called fathers of the Church^f, and fathers of the clergy^g; and ‘Papa’ means no more. Therefore Tertullian, in his book ‘De Pudicitia^{gg},’ speaking indefinitely of any Christian bishop, who absolves penitents, gives him the name of ‘Benedictus Papa.’ Or if we suppose, as some do, that he speaks particularly of the bishop of Rome; yet there is nothing singular in it: for at the same time, Dionysius, presbyter of Alexandria, speaking of Heraclas his bishop, gives him the very same title^h, the ‘blessed Pope’ Heraclas. And Arius himselfⁱ, in one of his Epistles, speaks of his bishop Alexander in the same style. St. Jerome gives the title^k to Athanasius, Epiphanius, and Paulinus: and writing often to St. Austin he always inscribes^l his epistles, ‘Beatissimo Papæ Augustino.’ So among Cyprian’s epistles, those that are written to him are usually inscribed^m in the same manner, ‘Cypriano Papæ.’ And the clergy of

^e Pearson. Vindic. Ignat. part i. c. xi. p. 330. (p. 179, edit. Cantabrig. 1672.)

^f Aug. Com. in Psal. xlv. Ipsa ecclesia Patres illos appellat. Chrysostom. Hom. iii. ad Popul. Antioch.

^g Hieron. Ep. lxii. ad Theoph. Episcopi contenti sint honore suo. Patres se sciant esse, non dominos.—Id. Ep. iii. (tom. i. p. 15. b. edit. Francof.) Quanto magis tu et avunculus et episcopus, hoc est, et in carne et in Spiritu Pater. Comment. in Psalm. xlv. etc.

^{gg} Ch. 13.

^h Dionys. Ep. ad Philem. ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. vii. Τοῦτον ἐγὼ κανόνα καὶ τὸν τύπον παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου πάπα ἡμῶν Ἡρακλᾶ παρέλαβον. (Vales. p. 207. A 5.)

ⁱ Arius Ep. ap. Euseb. Nicom. ap. Theod. lib. i. c. v. et apud Epiph. Hæres. lxi. Arian. n. vi. Ἀρειος ὁ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου πάπα ἀδίκως διὰ τὴν πάντα νικῶσαν ἀλήθειαν.

^k Hieron. Ep. lxi. ad Pammach. (tom. ii. edit. Francof. p. 112.) Habes papam Epiphanium.—Ibid. Excepto papa Athanasio et Paulino.

^l Idem Ep. xvii. Domino vere sancto et beatissimo papæ Augustino, Hieronymus in Christo salutem.—Ita etiam in Epist. xviii. xxv. xxx.

^m Cypr. Ep. xxx. Cypriano Papæ, presbyteri et diaconi Romæ consistentes, salutem.—Ep. xxxvi. Cypriano Papæ, presbyteri et diacones Romæ consistentes, salutem.—Ep. xxxi. Cypriano Papæ, Moyses et Maximus presbyteri, etc.

Rome themselvesⁿ give him the title of ‘Benedictus Papa,’ and ‘Beatissimus ac Gloriossimus Papa Cyprianus.’ It were easy to add many other testimonies out of Epiphanius, and Constantine’s epistles, and the Theodosian code, and especially Sidonius Apollinaris^o, who always gives the French bishops the style of ‘Dominus Papa.’ But in so plain a case I need not insist any longer; especially since a learned Romanist^p has undertaken to prove, out of authors as late as Photius and Gregory of Tours, that ‘Papa’ was the common name of all bishops for several ages: who also notes out of Balsamon, that this name was sometimes given to the inferior clergy; who were called ‘Papæ Pisinni,’ little fathers; and their tonsure or crown thence called *παπαλήττα*, the tonsure of the fathers. In comparison of whom, Balsamon^q calls presbyters and the ‘Chorepiscopi,’ ‘Protopapæ’ and ‘Protopapades,’ chief fathers; speaking in the language of his own times, when the chorepiscopi and presbyters were become all one.

SECT. VIII.—*Pater Patrum, and Episcopus Episcoporum.*

But bishops had still a more honourable title than that of ‘Papa:’ for they were commonly called ‘Patres Patrum,’ and ‘Episcopi Episcoporum,’ fathers of fathers, and bishops of bishops. The first that had this title was James bishop of Jerusalem; which made the counterfeit author under the name of Clemens Romanus^r inscribe an epistle (as directed to him) with this title; ‘Clemens Jacobo Domino, Episcopo Episcoporum,’ &c. To which Sidonius Apollinaris^s alludes plainly, when writing to Lupus, an eminent French bishop, he tells him, “he was father of fathers, and bishop of bishops, and

ⁿ Ep. viii. (p. 15.) Cleri Rom. et Cler. Carth. ibid. Didicimus secessisse benedictum papam Cyprianum.—Ep. xxx. Cler. Rom. ad Cypr. Beatissime ac gloriosissime papa.

^o Sidon. lib. vi. ep. i. Domino papæ Lupo.—Lib. vi. ep. ii. Papæ Pragmatio.—Lib. vi. ep. iii. Domino papæ Leontio. And so for twelve epistles together.

^p Savaro, Com. in Sidon. lib. vi. epist. i. p. 379.

^q Balsam. Com. in can. lix. Θεμάτισον ἐγκρατῇ τὸν πρεσβύτερον εἶναι πραγμάτων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τυχὸν χωρεπίσκοπον προβληθέντα, καὶ πρωτοπάπαν, κ. τ. λ.

^r Pseudo-Clem. ep. i. ad Jacobum.

^s Sidon. lib. vi. ep. i. Tu, pater patrum et episcopus episcoporum, et alter sæculi tui Jacobus.

another James of his age." By this we understand what Tertullian^t means, when speaking ironically of the catholic bishops, who admitted adulterers into communion again upon their repentance, he says, "I hear there is a decree published, and that a peremptory one; the chief pontiff, the bishop of bishops, saith, I forgive the sins of adultery and fornication, to all those that repent of them." Some^u take this for a peculiar character of the bishop of Rome; and I will not deny, but that Tertullian might intend more especially to reflect upon him: but yet there is nothing singular in the title, which did not belong to other bishops as well as him; as appears from what has been already cited out of Sidonius. To which we may add the testimony of Athanasius^v, who styles Hosius, 'the father of bishops.' And Gregory Nazianzen^x gives the same title to his own father, as St. Jerome^y does to Epiphanius, styling him 'the father of all bishops.' Cotelierius^z observes that Gregory Nyssen is called *πατὴρ πατέρων*, 'father of fathers,' by the second Council of Nice; and others^a say,

^t Tertull. de Pudicit. c. i. (Paris. 1664. p. 555. B.) Audio etiam edictum esse propositum, et quidem peremptorium, Pontifex scilicet Maximus, episcopus episcoporum dicit: Ego et mœchiæ et fornicationis delicta poenitentia functis dimitto.

^u Baron. an. cxlii. n. iv. (Antverp. 1597. vol. ii. p. 104.) In ipsam ecclesiam Romanam insaniens, eam dente canino dilacerat Tertullianus, recitans et impugnans Victoris Romani pontificis edicti verba, ait: Audio etiam edictum propositum, etc.—Id. an. ccxvi. n. iv. (p. 324.) adversus Romanum pontificem, quasi pudicitiae refragatorem et adversarium, eo quod mœchis et fornicariis poenitentibus veniam spoondisset, stilum procaciter acuens, ait: Audio etiam, etc.—Georg. Ambianus, Observ. in Tertull. tom. iii. p. 633.

^v Athan. Epist. ad Solitar. Vit. agentes, tom. i. p. 837. (p. 373. a. edit. Paris. 1698.) "Ὅτε Διβέριος ἐπίσκοπος Ῥώμης ἐξωρίσθη, καὶ ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ὁ μέγας Ὁσιος.

^x Naz. Orat. xix. de Funere Patr. p. 314. Πάντας ἀρχιερέας ὧν ἐκλήθη πατήρ.

^y Hieron. Ep. lxi. (tom. ii. edit. Francof. p. 114. a.) Licet ipse nominis tui extenuas dignitatem, cum patrem pene omnium episcoporum et antiquæ reliquias sanctitatis et opere et sermone despicias.

^z Cotelier. Not. in Ep. Clem. p. 605. Auctori Quæstionum ad orthodoxos apud Justinum, cap. xix. Paulus *πατέρων πατήρ*, ut Gregorius Nyssenus Concilio Nicæno II. Actione vi. et Clemens noster Anastasio Sinaitæ, Quæst. cvi. p. 526. . . dicitur.

^a Niceph. lib. xiv. c. xliii. Ἀλλὰ σύ γε πάτερ πατέρων ἀληθῶς τιμιώτατε, κ. τ. λ.

Theodosius the emperor gave Chrysostom the same honourable title after death. As to the reason of these names, it is probable some bishops might have them upon the account of personal merit; and others, from the eminency of their sees; as the bishop of Alexandria, to whom Balsamon^b gives the title of ‘Pater Patrum,’ many ages after: but there was a more general reason why all bishops should be called so, as may be collected from Epiphanius^c; who says, “that the order of bishops was an order that begat fathers to the Church;” that is, bishops made bishops by ordination; whereas presbyters could only beget sons, by the power which they had of baptizing. And therefore, though we sometimes find presbyters called ‘Fathers,’ yet we nowhere find the title of ‘Pater Patrum’ given to any of their order. Yet I must here also observe, that several of these titles were never kindly received among the African fathers, because the bishops of Rome began to abuse them, to establish an usurped authority over their neighbours. Therefore, in two African councils held at Carthage, the one^d under Cyprian, the other^e in St. Austin’s time, these titles, ‘Episcopus Episcoporum,’ ‘Princeps Sacerdotum,’ and ‘Summus Sacerdos,’ were discountenanced and forbid; insomuch that the primates themselves were not allowed to use them. But of this more hereafter, when we come to speak of metropolitans.

SECT. IX.—*Bishops sometimes called Patriarchs.*

Gregory Nazianzen in his rhetorical way usually gives bishops the title of ‘Patriarchs;’ by which he means not patriarchs in the proper sense, as the word came afterward to be used in

^b Balsam. Resp. ad Interrogat. Marci ap. Leunclav. Jus Gr. Rom. tom. i. lib. v. p. 362. Κύριος Μάρκος πατέρων πατήρ ὑπάρχων, κ. τ. λ.

^c Epiph. Hær. lxxv. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 908. A 7.) Aërian. n. iv. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ πατέρων γεννητικὴ τάξις· πατέρας γὰρ γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

^d Concil. Carth. ap. Cyprian. p. 229. Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum episcoporum se constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit.

^e Concil. Carth. III. c. xxvi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1171.) Ut primæ sedis episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdotum, aut summus sacerdos, aut aliquid hujusmodi, sed tantum primæ sedis episcopus.

the Church, to signify bishops of the larger sees, who had primates and metropolitans under them; but any bishops whatsoever, that were heads of their own family; that is, the Church subject to them. Thus he styles his own father 'Patriarch^f,' though he was but bishop of Nazianzum, a very small city in Cappadocia, under Cæsarea the metropolis. And in his oration^g before the Council of Constantinople he gives the same title to all other bishops, complaining of the Arian cruelties against them: "Have we not had," says he, "our ancient bishops, or, to speak more properly, our 'Patriarchs' publicly murdered by them?" In another place, complaining of the corrupt promotions and practices of some bishops of his age, he thus takes his leave of them^h, "Farewell; go on in your insolence: divide the patriarchal dignities among you: translate yourselves from see to see: set up some, pull down others." Where it is evident he speaks not of patriarchs properly so called, but only of some ambitious spirits among the bishops, who turned all things into confusion, and did what they pleased with the preferments of the Church. Gregory Nyssen uses the same term for bishops, in his funeral oration upon Meletius, which he made in the Council of Constantinople, where he gives all the bishops then in council the title of 'Patriarchs': "Beholdⁱ these patriarchs: all these are the sons of our Jacob" (meaning Meletius, whom he calls Jacob for his age, and the rest 'patriarchs,' in allusion to the twelve patriarchs who were Jacob's children). Thus bishops were commonly styled, till such times as the name Patriarch became the appropriate title of the most eminent bishops, such as Rome, Constantinople, &c. And even some ages after that,

^f Nazian. Orat. xix. p. 312. Ἐχρῶντο πατριάρχῃ καὶ νομοθέτῃ καὶ δικαστῇ. —Id. Orat. xli. p. 675. Ὁ σεμνὸς Ἀβραὰμ οὗτος ὁ πατριάρχης, ἡ τιμία κεφαλὴ.

^g Id. Orat. xxii. p. 525. Οὐ πρεσβυτέρων, ἐπισκόπων, οἰκειότερον δὲ πατριαρχῶν εἰπεῖν, σφαγὰς δημοσίας (πεπόνθαμεν);

^h Id. Cygn. Carm. de Episcopis, tom. ii. p. 308. b. Valete: insolentes estote: patriarchatus per sortes inter vos distribuite. Magnus hic mundus vobis cedat. De locis aliis in alia migrate: hos dejicite, illos attollite.

ⁱ Gregor. Nyssen. Orat. de Fun. Melet. tom. iii. p. 589, edit. Paris. Ὁρᾶτε τοὺς πατριάρχας τούτους· πάντες οὗτοι τέκνα τοῦ ἡμετέρου εἰσὶν Ἰακώβ.

De Marca^k observes, that Athalaricus and the rest of the Gothish kings in Italy gave the name of 'Patriarchs' to all bishops within their dominions.

SECT. X.—*And Vicars of Christ.*

It must not here be forgotten, that all bishops anciently were styled also 'Vicars of Christ,' and had as much interest in that name as he that has since laid so much claim to the title. The author of the Questions^l under the name of St. Austin, says expressly, "that every bishop is the vicar of God." Cyprian says the same in several of his epistles^m, that "every bishop is Vice Christi, Christ's vicar or vicegerent." And this is his meaning in that noted passage to Cornelius, whereⁿ he says, "All heresies and schisms take their original from hence, that men do not submit to God's priest, and consider that there ought to be but one bishop in a Church at a time, and one judge as the vicar of Christ." This is spoken of every individual bishop throughout the world, as Rigaltius^o freely owns; and they grossly mistake Cyprian's meaning, and abuse his authority, who apply it only to the bishop of Rome. St. Basil^p extends the title to all bishops; and so does the author under the name of St. Ambrose^q, who is supposed to be Hilary, a

^k Marca, Dissert. de Primatib. n. xx. p. 112. (p. 21, edit. Francof. 1708.) Dictus vero est patriarcha (episcopus Aquileiensis) eo quod reges Gothorum Itali regni episcopos patriarcharum nomine ornarent, quemadmodum testatur epistola Athalarici regis ad Joannem papam apud Cassiodorum, lib. ix. Epistolarum. (Venet. 1770. p. 8, sec. column.)

^l Aug. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. c. cxxvii. Antistitem Dei puriorem cæteris esse oportet . . Est enim vicarius ejus. (Bened. 1700. vol. iii. Append. p. 125. A 5.)

^m Cypr. Ep. lxiii. ad Cæcil. Ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur, qui id quod Christus fecit, imitatur.

ⁿ Cyprian. Ep. lv. al. lix. ad Cornel. Neque enim aliunde hæreses abortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur. (Oxon. 1682. p. 129.)

^o Rigalt. in loc. Ecce autem episcopos, ævo jam Cypriani, vicarios Christi.

^p Basil. Constit. Mon. c. xxii. tom. ii. p. 792. Ὁ καθηγούμενος οὐδὲν ἑτερόν ἐστι, ἢ ὁ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ὑπέχων πρόσωπον.

^q Ambros. Com. 1 Cor. xi. 10. Episcopus personam habet Christi . . Vicarius

deacon of the Church of Rome; which would have been an unpardonable oversight in him, had it not been then the custom of the world to give all others this title as well as the bishop of Rome.

SECT. XI.—*And Angels of the Churches.*

I shall but take notice of one title more given to bishops, which is that of ‘Angels of the Churches;’ a name which some authors^s suppose to be used by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 10, where he says, “women ought to be covered in the Church because of the angels;” that is, ‘bishops,’ says Hilary the deacon, in the place last mentioned. And so the same author understands that of St. John, (Rev. i. 20,) “The seven stars are the angels of the seven Churches.” Which is also the interpretation of St. Austin^t and Epiphanius^u, who say that by ‘angels’ we are not there to understand the celestial angels, (as Origen thought, who assigns a guardian angel^v to every Church,) but the bishops or governors of those seven Churches. Hence in after ages, bishops were called angels of the Churches: as Socrates^x terms Serapion, who was bishop of Thmuis, “the angel of the Church of Thmuis:” and the author of the short notes^y upon Timothy, under the name of St. Jerome, says of every bishop, “that he is the angel of God Almighty.” In

Domini est, etc. The Author of the Constitutions (lib. ii. c. 26.) styles the bishop Θεὸν ἐπίγειον: Οὗτος ὑμῶν ἐπίγειος Θεὸς μετὰ Θεὸν, ὃς ὀφείλει τῆς παρ’ ὑμῶν τιμῆς ἀπολαύειν.

^s Pseudo-Ambros. in 1 Cor. xi. 10. Angelos episcopus dicit, sicut docetur in Apocalypsi Joannis.

^t Aug. Epist. clxii. Divina voce laudatur sub Angeli nomine præpositus ecclesiæ.

^u Epiphan. Hær. xxv. Nicolait. n. iii. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 77. D 5.) “Ὁς γράφων μιᾷ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐκ προσώπου Κυρίου, τουτέστι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῷ ἐκεῖσε κατασταθέντι, σὺν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου ἀγγέλου τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, φησὶν, κ. τ. λ.

^v Orig. Hom. xx. in Num. tom. i. p. 251. Opus est angelis, qui præsent operibus sanctis, qui æternæ lucis intellectum et occultorum Dei agnitionem ac rerum divinarum scientiam doceant. Vide Andr. Cæsar. Ἄγγελοι φύλακες. Comment. in Apoc. i. 20.

^x Socrat. lib. iv. c. xxiii. Ὁ τῆς Θμυϊτῶν ἐκκλησίας ἄγγελος Σεραπίων.

^y Hieron. 1 Tim. iii. Quanto magis sacerdos legem exquiret, quia angelus Dei omnipotentis est.

this sense, Dr. Hammond^z observes out of a Saxon MS. that in our own language anciently bishops were called ‘God’s Bydels,’ that is, messengers or officers, as he explains it from Sir Henry Spelman’s Glossary, in the word Bedellus. And thus much of those ancient titles of honour, which were given to all bishops indifferently in the primitive Church.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE OFFICES OF BISHOPS AS DISTINCT FROM PRESBYTERS.

SECT. I.—*A threefold difference between Bishops and Presbyters in the discharge of their office and function.*

I COME now to consider the episcopal office and function itself: where, to do justice to antiquity, it is necessary for me to observe a threefold distinction between bishops and presbyters in the discharge of ecclesiastical offices. For, 1st, in the common offices, which were ordinarily entrusted in the hands of presbyters, such as preaching, baptizing, administering the eucharist, &c. there was this obvious difference betwixt a bishop and a presbyter; that the one acted by an absolute and independent power; the other, in dependence upon and subordination to his bishop, by whose authority and directions under God he was to be governed, and do nothing without his consent or against it: so that though there was no difference in the things that were done, yet there was an essential difference in the power of doing them. This is an observation not commonly made; but it is of very great use, both for establishing the just bounds of episcopal and presbyterial power, and clearing the practice of the primitive Church. 2dly, Some offices were never entrusted in the hands of presbyters; nor allowed, if performed by them; such as the ordination of bishops, presbyters, &c. 3dly, Bishops always retained the power of calling their presbyters to an account, and censuring

^z Annotations on the Revelation, i. 20. p. 869.—Andr. Cæsariens. in Apoc. i. 20. Ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις ἰσάριθμοι ἔφοροι ἄγγελοι.

them for their misdemeanours in the discharge of their office ; which presbyters could not do by their bishop, being always subject and subordinate to him as their superior. These things, cleared and set in a fair light, will give us a just account of the office of a bishop, as distinct from that of a presbyter, in the primitive Church.

SECT. II.—1. *In the common offices which might be performed by both, the Bishop acted by an independent power ; but presbyters, in dependence upon and subordination to him.*

First then, we are to observe, that in such ordinary and common offices as might be performed by both, bishops and presbyters acted by a different power ; the bishop was the absolute, independent minister of the Church ; and did whatever he did, by his own authority solely inherent in himself : but the presbyters were only his assistants, authorized to perform such offices as he entrusted them with, or gave them commission and directions to perform, which they still did by his authority, and in dependence upon and subordination to him as their superior : and might do nothing against his will, or independent of him. This is clear from many passages in Ignatius, Cyprian, and the canons of the ancient councils, which all agree in this, that nothing is to be done without the bishop, that is, without his knowledge, without his consent, directions, or approbation. Thus Ignatius^a in his epistle to the Church of Smyrna : “ Let no one perform any ecclesiastical office without the bishop.” Which he explains, both there and elsewhere^b, to mean, ‘ without his authority and permission.’ So in the Council of Laodicea^c, it is expressed the same way : “ The presbyters shall do nothing without the consent of the bishop.” The Councils of Arles^d and Toledo^e say, “ without his privity or knowledge.” And

^a Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. viii. (Russell, P. A. vol. ii. p. 18.) Μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πρᾶσσει τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

^b Id. Ep. ad Polycarp. n. iv. Μηδὲν ἄνευ γνώμης σου γενέσθω. (p. 70.)

^c Concil. Laod. can. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1505.) Τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους μηδὲν πράττειν ἄνευ τῆς γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.

^d Conc. Arelat. I. c. xix. (?) Ut presbyteri sine conscientia episcoporum nihil faciant.

^e Concil. Tolet. I. c. xx. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1226.) Sine conscientia episcopi nihil penitus [presbyteri agere præsumant] faciendum.

the Apostolical Canons^f give a reason for all this, “because the bishop is the man to whom the Lord’s people are committed, and he must give an account of their souls.”

SECT. III.—*This specified in the Office of Baptism and the Lord’s Supper.*

This rule they particularly apply to the offices of baptism and the Lord’s Supper. A presbyter might ordinarily administer both these sacraments; but not against the will of his bishop, or in opposition and contradiction to him, but by his consent and authority, in a due subordination to him as his superior. “It is not lawful,” says Ignatius^g, “either to baptize or celebrate the eucharist without the bishop: but that which he allows, is well-pleasing to God.” He does not say, that none but a bishop might administer these sacraments; but that none was to do it without his allowance and approbation. And that is plainly the meaning of Tertullian^h and St. Jeromeⁱ when they say, that presbyters and deacons have no power to baptize, without the command and authority of the bishop or chief priest; and that this is for the honour of the Church, and the preservation of peace and unity. St. Ambroseⁱⁱ asserts the same, that though presbyters do baptize, yet they derive their authority from their superior.

^f Can. Apost. c. xxxviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 33.) Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ἐπιτελείωσαν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν λόγον ἀπαιτηθὲν ὁμέμενος.

^g Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn. n. viii. (p. 18.) Οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὃ ἂν ἐκείνῳ δοκῇ, κατ’ εὐαρέστησιν Θεοῦ.

^h Tertull. de Bapt. c. xvii. (Paris. 1664. p. 230. C 2.) Dandi jus quidem habet summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus: dehinc presbyteri et diaconi; non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, propter ecclesiæ honorem; quo salvo salva pax est.

ⁱ Hieron. Dialog. contra Lucifer. p. 139. Inde venit, ut, sine jussione episcopi, neque presbyter neque diaconus jus habeat baptizandi.

ⁱⁱ Ambros. de Sacram. lib. iii. c. i. Licet presbyteri fecerint, tamen exordium ministerii a summo est sacerdote. (Paris. 1836. vol. iv. p. 126.)

SECT. IV.—*And in the Office of Preaching.*

The like observation may be made upon the office of preaching. This^k was in the first place the bishops' office, which they commonly discharged themselves, especially in the African Churches. Which is the reason we so often meet with the phrase, 'tractante episcopo,' the bishop's preaching, in the writings of St. Cyprian^l: for then it was so much the office and custom of bishops to preach, that no presbyter was permitted to preach in their presence, till the time of St. Austin, who, whilst he was a presbyter, was authorized by Valerius his bishop to preach before him: but that, as Possidius^m the writer of his life observes, was so contrary to the use and custom of the African Churches, that many bishops were highly offended at it, and spake against it, till the consequence proved that such a permission was of good use and service to the Church; and then several other bishops granted their presbyters power and privilege to preach before them. So that it was then a favour for presbyters to preach in the presence of their bishops, and wholly at the bishops' discretion whether they would permit them or not; and when they did preach, it was 'potestate accepta,' by the power and authority of the bishop that appointed them. In the Eastern Churches, presbyters were more commonly employed to preach, as Possidiusⁿ

^k Can. Apost. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 37.) 'Επίσκοπος ἡ πρεσβύτερος ἀμελῶν τοῦ κλήρου, ἡ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ μὴ παιδεύων αὐτοὺς τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἀφοριζέσθω.

^l Cyprian. Ep. lii. (Oxon. 1682. p. 107.) (edit. Paris. p. 70.) Ego prius legeram, et episcopo tractante cognoveram non sacrificandum idolis, etc.—(Oxon. p. 114.) (Ep. lvi. p. 88.) Collectam fraternitatem non videat, nec tractantes episcopos audiat.—Pontius in Vita Cypr. (Oxon. 1682. p. 10.) (p. 16 cit. edit. Paris.) O beatum ecclesiæ populum, qui episcopo suo tali, et oculis pariter et sensibus, et quod est amplius, publicata voce compassus est; et sicut ipso tractante semper audierat, Deo iudice coronatus est.

^m Possid. Vit. Aug. c. v. (Bened. 1700. vol. x. append. p. 175. C 3.) Eidem presbytero potestatem dedit coram se in ecclesia evangelium prædicandi ac frequentissime tractandi; contra usum quidem ac consuetudinem Africanarum ecclesiarum: unde etiam ei nonnulli episcopi detrahebant. . . Postea bono præcedente exemplo, accepta ab episcopis potestate, presbyteri nonnulli coram episcopis populis tractare cœperunt verbum Dei.

ⁿ Possid. ibid. Ille in orientalibus ecclesiis id ex more fieri sciens, obtrectantium non curabat linguas, etc.

observes, when he says, Valerius brought the custom into Afric from their example : and St. Jerome intimates as much, when he complains ^o of it as an ill custom only in some Churches to forbid presbyters to preach. Chrysostom preached several of his elaborate discourses at Antioch, whilst he was but a presbyter ; and so did Atticus ^p, at Constantinople. And the same is observed to have been granted to the presbyters ^q of Alexandria, and Cæsarea in Cappadocia ^r, and Cyprus, and other places. But still it was but a grant of the bishops, and presbyters did it by their authority and commission : and whenever bishops saw just reason to forbid them they had power to limit or withdraw their commission again : as both Socrates ^s and Sozomen ^t testify, who say that at Alexandria presbyters were forbidden to preach, from the time that Arius raised a disturbance in the Church.—Thus we see what power bishops anciently challenged and exercised over presbyters in the common and ordinary offices of the Church : particularly for preaching, bishops always esteemed it their office, as much as any other. Such a vast difference was there between the practice of the primitive Church, and the bishops of Rome in after-ages : when, as Blondel observes out of Surius, there was a time when the bishops of Rome were not known to preach for five hundred years together : insomuch that when Pius Quintus made a sermon, it was looked upon as a prodigy, and was indeed a greater rarity than the Sæculares Ludi were in old Rome ^{tt}.

^o Hieron. Ep. ii. ad Nepot. tom. i. p. 10. a. Pessimæ consuetudinis est in quibusdam ecclesiis, tacere presbyteros, et præsentibus episcopis non loqui, quasi aut invideant, aut non dignentur audire. (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 262. E.)

^p Socrat. lib. vii. c. ii. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 277. B.) Καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἡνίκα ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐτάττετο, ἐκμαθὼν οὖς καὶ ἐπόνει λόγους, ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ἐδίδασκε.

^q Theod. lib. i. c. ii.

^r Socrat. lib. v. c. xxii. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 236. A 2.) Ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Καππαδοκίας καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σαββάτου καὶ κυριακῆς, αἰεὶ περὶ ἐσπέραν κατὰ τῆς λυχναψίας, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ἐπίσκοποι τὰς γραφὰς ἐρμηνεύουσιν.

^s Socrat. ibid. (A 11.) Πρεσβύτερος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ οὐ προσομιλεῖ· καὶ τοῦτο ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν, ἀφ' οὗ Ἄρειος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐτάραξεν.

^t Sozom. lib. vii. c. xvii.

^{tt} See Blondel. Apolog. p. 58, and Surius Comment. Rer. in Orbe gestar.

SECT. V.—2. *The office and power of Ordination never entrusted in the hands of Presbyters.*

2. But to return to the bishops of the primitive Church. There were other offices, which they very rarely entrusted in the hands of presbyters; and if ever they granted them commission to perform them, it was only in cases of great necessity: such were the offices of reconciling penitents, confirmation of neophytes, consecration of Churches, virgins, and widows, with some others of the like nature; of which I shall speak nothing more particularly here now, because they will come more properly under consideration in other places. But there was one office, which they never entrusted in the hands of presbyters, nor ever gave them any commission to perform; which was the office of ordaining the superior clergy, bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The utmost that presbyters could pretend to in this matter, was to lay on their hands, together with the bishop, in the ordination of a presbyter, whilst the bishop by his prayer performed the office of consecration. Thus much is allowed them by one of the Councils^u of Carthage, which yet expressly reserves the benediction or ordination prayer to the bishop only. In the ordination of bishops, they had no concern at all; which was always performed by a synod of bishops, as shall be showed more particularly, when we come to speak of the rites and customs observed in their ordinations. Here in this place it will be sufficient to prove in general, that the power of ordinations was the prerogative of bishops, and that they never communicated this privilege to any presbyters. St. Jerome's^{uu} testimony is irrefragable evidence in this case. For in the same place where he sets off the office of presbyters to the best advantage, he still excepts the power of ordination. "What is it," says he, "that a bishop does more than a presbyter, setting aside the business of ordination?"—St. Chrysostom^v

^u Conc. Carth. IV. can. iii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1199.) Presbyter cum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente et manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri qui præsentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant.

^{uu} Hieron. Ep. lxxxv. ad Evangelium. (tom. ii. edit. Francof. p. 221. a.)

^v Chrysost. Hom. xi. in 1 Tim. iii. 8. (tom. vi. p. 469, edit. Francof.) O

speaks much after the same manner, where he advances the power of presbyters to the highest. “Bishops and presbyters,” says he, “differ not much from one another: for presbyters are admitted to preach and govern the Church: and the same qualifications that the apostle requires in bishops, are required in presbyters also. For bishops are superior to them only in the power of ordination, and have that one thing more than they.” In another place^x he proves that Timothy was a bishop, because the apostle speaks of his power to ordain, bidding him ‘lay hands’ suddenly on no man. And he adds, both there and elsewhere^y, that the presbytery which ordained Timothy was a synod of bishops, because mere presbyters had no power to ordain a bishop. I might here produce all those canons of the ancient councils, which speak of bishops ordaining^z, but never of presbyters; which rule was so precisely observed in the primitive Church, that Novatian himself would not presume to break it, but sent for three bishops^a from the

πολὺ τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν (πρεσβυτέρων) καὶ ἐπισκόπων· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ διδασκαλίαν εἰσὶν ἀναδεδεγμένοι, καὶ προστασίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Καὶ ἡ περὶ ἐπισκόπων εἶπε, ταῦτα καὶ περὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἀρμόττει· τὴν γὰρ χειροτονίαν μόνην ἀναβεβήκασι, καὶ τοῦτο μόνον δοκοῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. (Explan. in N. T. Paris. 1636. vol. vi. p. 1574.)

^x Id. Hom. i. in Philip. *ibid.* p. 7. Καὶ διάκονος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐλέγετο. Διὰ τοῦτο γράφων Τιμοθέῳ ἔλεγε, Τὴν διακονίαν σου πληροφόρησον, ἐπισκόπῳ ὄντι· ὅτι γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος ἦν, φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν, Χεῖρας ταχέως μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθει. Καὶ πάλιν, “Ὁ ἐδόθη σοι μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου· οὐκ ἂν δὲ πρεσβύτεροι ἐπίσκοπον ἐχειροτόνησαν. (*Ibid.* p. 1204.)

^y Chrysostom. Hom. xiii. in 1 Tim. iv. 14. Οὐ περὶ πρεσβυτέρων φησὶν ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἐπισκόπων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρεσβύτεροι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐχειροτόνουν.

^z Concil. Nic. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 37.) . . . Ἀναβαπτισθέντες χειροτονείσθωσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου. — Concil. Antioch. c. ix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 565.) . . . ὥς καὶ χειροτονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους. — Concil. Chalced. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 755.) Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος . . . χειροτονήσῃ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἐπίσκοπον, ἢ χωρεπίσκοπον, ἢ πρεσβύτερον, ἢ διάκονον, κ. τ. λ. — Concil. Carth. III. c. xlv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1176.) Aurelius episcopus dixit: Sed episcopus unus esse potest, per quem, dignatione divina, presbyteri multi constitui possunt. — Can. Apost. c. i. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 25.) Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν.

^a Cornel. Ep. ad Fabium, ap. Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. Cum episcopatum sibi a Deo minime concessum rapere ac vindicare conaretur, duos deploratæ salutis homines sibi socios adjunxit: ut eos in exiguam ac vilissimam Italiæ partem mitteret, atque illinc accitos tres episcopos, homines plane rudes et simplices, fraudulenta quadam molitione deciperet, . . . inclusos hora decima temulentos

farthest corners of Italy, rather than want a canonical number of bishops to ordain him. I only add that observation of Epiphanius^{aa}, grounded upon the general practice of the Church, that “the order of bishops begets fathers to the Church, which the order of presbyters cannot do, but only begets sons by the regeneration of baptism.”

I know some urge the authority of St. Jerome^b to prove, that the presbyters of Alexandria ordained their own bishop, from the days of St. Mark to the time of Heraclas and Dionysius; and others think the same words prove that he had no new ordination at all: but they both mistake St. Jerome’s meaning, who speaks not of the ordination of the bishop, but of his election; who was chosen by the presbyters out of their own body, and by them placed upon the bishop’s throne; which in those days was no more than a token of his election, and was sometimes done by the people; but the ordination came after that, and was always reserved for the provincial bishops to perform, as shall be showed hereafter.

SECT. VI.—*Ordinations by Presbyters disannulled by the Church.*

But it may be inquired, what was the practice of the Church in case any presbyters took upon them to ordain? Were their ordinations allowed to stand good or not? I answer, they were commonly reversed and disannulled. As in the known case of Ischyra^c, who was deposed by the synod of Alexandria,

et crapula oppressos, adumbrata quadam et inani manuum impositione episcopatum sibi tradere per vim cogit. (Vales. p. 198. B 5.)

^{aa} Epiph. Hæres. lxxv. Aërian. n. iv. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 908. A 7.) Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ πατέρων γεννητικὴ τάξις· πατέρας γὰρ γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἡ δὲ πατέρας μὴ δυναμένη γεννᾷν, διὰ τῆς τοῦ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας τέκνα γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐ μὲν πατέρας, ἢ διδασκάλους.

^b Hieron. Ep. lxxxv. ad Evang. (Venet. 1766. vol. i. p. 1082. B 6.) Alexandriae a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant: quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat.

^c Athan. Apol. ii. p. 732. (tom. i. p. 193, edit. Paris. 1698.) Ὅς οὐκ ἔστι πρεσβύτερος· ὑπὸ γὰρ Κολλούθου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου φαντασθέντος ἐπισκοπῆν, καὶ ὕστερον ὑπὸ κοινῆς συνόδου Ὁσίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπισκόπων κελευσθέντος πρεσβυτέρου εἶναι, καθὼ καὶ πρότερον ἦν, κατεστάθη. Καὶ κατὰ ἀκολουθίαν πάντες οἱ ὑπὸ Κολλούθου κατασταθέντες, ἀνέδραμον εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, εἰς δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἦσαν, ὥς καὶ αὐτὸς Ἰσχύρας λαϊκὸς ὤφθη. Vide-

because Colluthus, who ordained him, was no more than a presbyter, though pretending to be a bishop,—and in the case of those presbyters who were reduced to the quality of laymen by the Council of Sardica^d; because Eutychianus and Musæus, who ordained them, were only pretended bishops. The Council of Seville in Spain^e went a little further: they deposed a presbyter and two deacons, because the bishop only laid his hands upon them, whilst a presbyter pronounced the blessing or consecration prayer over them. And some other instances might be added of the like nature, which show that then they did not allow bishops so much as to delegate or commission presbyters to ordain in their name, but reserved this entirely to the episcopal function.

SECT. VII.—*Some allegations to the contrary examined.*

The common pleas which some urge to the contrary, derogate nothing from the truth of this observation. For whereas it is said, 1st, That the chorepiscopi were only presbyters, and yet had power to ordain: that seems to be a plain mistake; for all the chorepiscopi of the ancient Church were real bishops, though subordinate to other bishops; as I will show more particularly hereafter, when I come to speak of their order. 2. It is said, that the city-presbyters had power to ordain by the bishop's licence; and that this was established by canon in the Council of Ancyra^f. But this is grounded only upon a

sis etiam p. 784, (p. 137, edit. Paris.) ubi epistola cleri Mareotici in hanc sententiam allegatur.

^d Concil. Sardic. can. xix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 641.) Τῆς ἐμῆς μετριότητος ἡ ἀπόφασίς ἐστὶν αὕτη. . ἅπαξ τοὺς εἰς κλῆρον ἐκκλησιαστικὸν προαχθέντας ὑπὸ τινων ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ βούλοιντο ἐπανέρχεσθαι εἰς ἃς κατ'ὠνόμασθησαν ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ὑποδέχεσθαι. Εὐτυχιανὸν δὲ μήτε ἐπισκόπου ἐαυτῷ διεκδικεῖν ὄνομα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Μουσαῖον ὡς ἐπίσκοπον νομίζεσθαι.

^e Concil. Hispal. II. can. v. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1665.) Relatu deductum est de quibusdam clericis, quorum, dum unus ad presbyterium, duo ad Levitarum ministerium sacrarentur, episcopus oculorum dolore detentus fertur manum suam super eos tantum posuisse, et presbyter quidam illis, contra ecclesiasticum ordinem, benedictionem dedisse, etc. . . . decrevimus ut a gradu sacerdotalis vel Levitici ordinis, quem perverse adepti sunt, depositi, etc.

^f Conc. Ancyra. can. xiii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1461.) Χωρεπισκόπους μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλειως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων, ἐν ἐτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ.

very ambiguous sense, if not a corrupt reading of that canon. For all the old translators render it much otherwise, "that the city-presbyters shall do nothing^g without the license and authority of the bishop, in any part of the parochie or diocese belonging to his jurisdiction." Which agrees with what I have cited before out of the Council of Laodicea; and several other canons, which make presbyters dependent upon their bishops in the ordinary exercise of their function. (See before, sect. II. of this chapter.) And some Greek copies^h read it, ἐν ἑτέρῃ παροικίᾳ, which seems to signify that presbyters shall not officiate in another diocese without letters dimissory from their own bishop.

3. It is urged further, that Novatus, a presbyter of Carthage, ordained Felicissimus a deacon. But this seems to be no more than procuring him to be ordained by some bishop. For Cyprian says, "he made Novatianⁱ bishop of Rome after the same manner as he had done Felicissimus deacon at Carthage." But now it is certain he did not ordain Novatian, but only was instrumental in procuring three obscure Italian bishops to come and ordain him. And in that sense he might ordain Felicissimus too. But admit it were otherwise, it was only a schismatical act, condemned by Cyprian and the whole Church.

4. It is pleaded out of Cassian, that Paphnutius, an Egyptian abbot, ordained one Daniel a presbyter. But, if Cassian's words be rightly considered, he says no such thing, but only^k that Paphnutius first promoted him to be made a deacon before several of his seniors; and then intending to make him his successor, he also preferred him to the dignity of a presbyter.

^g Id. ex versione Dionysii Exigui: Sed nec presbyteris civitatis, sine præcepto episcopi, amplius aliquid imperare, nec sine auctoritate litterarum ejus in unaquaque parochia aliquid agere.

^h Cod. Can. edit. Ehinger. p. 60.

ⁱ Cypr. Epist. xlix. al. lii. ad Cornel. p. 97, edit. Oxon. Quoniam pro magnitudine sua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere, illic majora et graviora commisit. Qui istic adversus ecclesiam diaconum fecerat, illic episcopum fecit.

^k Cassian. Collat. iv. c. i. (Lips. 1733. p. 267.) A beato Paphnutio solitudinis ejusdem presbytero, et quidem cum multis junior esset ætate, ad diaconii est prælatus officium. . . Optansque sibimet successorem dignissimum providere, superstes eum presbyterii honore provexit.

Which preference or promotion does not at all exclude the bishop's ordination. It may reasonably signify the abbot's choice, which he had power to make ; but it cannot so reasonably be interpreted that he ordained him ; since this was contrary to the rules and practice of the Church : and considering where and when Paphnutius lived, in the midst of Egypt, among an hundred bishops, in the fifth century, it is not likely he would transgress the canons in so plain a case. Therefore I cannot subscribe to a learned man¹, who says, " Nothing is more plain and evident, than that here a presbyter ordained a presbyter, which we no where read was pronounced null by Theophilus, then bishop of Alexandria, nor any other at that time." I conceive, the contrary was rather evident to them ; and therefore they had no reason to pronounce it null, knowing it to be a just and regular ordination.

5. I remember but one instance more in ancient Church history (for modern instances I wholly pass by) that seems to make any thing for the ordination of presbyters ; and that is in the answer given by Pope Leo to a question put to him by Rusticus Narbonensis, Whether the ordination of certain persons might stand good, who were only ordained by some pseudo-episcopi, false bishops, who had no legal and canonical right to their places ? To this he answers^m, that " if the lawful bishops of those Churches give their consent to their ordination, it might be esteemed valid and allowed ; otherwise to be disannulled." But here it is to be considered that these ' Pseudo-Episcopi ' were, in some sense, bishops, as being ordained, though illegally, to their places : for they seem to be such as had schismatically intruded themselves into other men's sees ; or at least obtained them by some corrupt and irregular practices. Now the Church did not always rescind and cancel the acts of such bishops ; but used a liberty either to reverse and disannul the ordinations made by them, or otherwise to confirm and ratify them, as she saw occasion. There-

¹ Stilling. Irenic. p. 380.

^m Leo, Ep. xcii. ad Rustic. c. i. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1405.) Si qui autem clerici ab istis pseudo-episcopis in eis ecclesiis ordinati sunt, quæ ad proprios episcopos pertinebant, et ordinatio eorum cum consensu et iudicio præsidentium facta est, potest rata haberi, etc.

fore though the general Council of Constantinopleⁿ deposed all such as were ordained by Maximus, who had simoniacally intruded himself into Gregory Nazianzen's see at Constantinople; yet the Novatian clergy were admitted by the Council of Nice^o, though ordained by schismatical bishops; and the African Councils^p allowed the ordinations of the Donatist bishops, though they had long continued in schism, and given schismatical orders to others also. Which shows that the primitive Church made some difference between orders conferred by schismatical bishops, and those conferred by mere presbyters. I inquire not now into the grounds and reasons of this, but only relate the Church's practice. From which, upon the whole matter, it appears, that this was another difference betwixt bishops and presbyters; that the one had power to ordain; but the other were never authorized or commissioned to do it.

SECT. VIII.—3. *A third difference between Bishops and Presbyters: Presbyters accountable to their Bishops, not Bishops to their Presbyters.*

3. Besides this, there was a third difference between bishops and presbyters in point of jurisdiction: bishops always retained to themselves the power of calling presbyters to an account, and censuring them for their miscarriages in the discharge of their office; but presbyters had no power to censure their bishops, or set up an independent power in opposition to their authority and jurisdiction. When Felicissimus and Augendus set up a separate communion at Carthage against Cyprian, threatening to excommunicate all that communicated with him,

ⁿ Conc. Constant. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 947.) Περὶ Μαξίμου τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀταξίας τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει γενομένης ὥστε μήτε τὸν Μάξιμον ἐπίσκοπον ἢ γενέσθαι ἢ εἶναι, μήτε τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθέντας ἐν οἰφδῆποτε βαθμῶ κλήρου, πάντων καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ γενομένων ἀκυρωθέντων.

^o Concil. Nic. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 33. B.) Ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος παρὰ τοῖς λεγομένοις Καθαροῖς ἐπίσκοπος τὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τιμὴν ἔξει· πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα δοκοίη τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτὸν μετέχειν.

^p Collat. Carthagin. c. xvi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1352. D 5.) Poterit quippe unusquisque nostrum, honoris sibi socio copulato, vicissim sedere eminentius, sicut peregrino episcopo juxta considente collega.

Cyprian gave orders to his deputies (being himself then in banishment) to execute first their own sentence upon them, and let them, for their contempt of him and the Church^q, feel the power of excommunication; which was accordingly done by his delegates, as appears from their answer^r to him. In another place, writing to Rogatian a bishop, who made complaint to Cyprian and the synod, of an unruly deacon, he tells him, “it was his singular modesty to refer the case to them, when he might, by virtue of his own episcopal authority, himself have punished the delinquent^s; against whom, if he persisted in his contempt, he should use the power which belonged to his order, and either depose or suspend him.” Nothing can be more plain and evident, than that, in Cyprian’s time, all bishops were invested with this power of censuring delinquents among the clergy. And any one that looks into the councils of the following age, will find nothing more common, than canons, which both suppose and confirm this power. As when the Apostolical Canons say^v, “that no presbyter, or deacon, excommunicated by his own bishop, should be received by any other;” that supposes all bishops to have power to inflict ecclesiastical censures upon their clergy. The like may be seen in the canons of the Council of Nice^x, which allows an

^q Cyprian. Ep. xxxviii. al. xli. (Oxon. 1682. p. 80.) Cum Felicissimus comminatus sit, non communicaturos in monte (al. morte) secum . . . qui nobis communicarent; accipiat sententiam quam prior dixit; ut abstentum se a nobis sciat.

^r Cypr. Ep. xxxix. al. xlii. ad Cypr. (Oxon. 1682. p. 81.) Abstinuimus communicatione Felicissimum et Augendum, etc.

^s Cyprian. Ep. lxxv. al. iii. ad Rogatian. (Oxon. 1682. p. 5.) Tu quidem pro solita tua humilitate fecisti, ut mallet de eo nobis conqueri, cum pro episcopatus vigore et cathedræ auctoritate haberes potestatem, qua posses de illo statim vindicari. . . Quod si ultra te contumeliis suis provocaverit, fungeris circa eum potestate honoris tui, ut eum vel deponas vel abstineas. Vide etiam Cypr. Ep. x. al. xvi. edit. Oxon.

^v Can. Apost. c. xxxi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 32.) Εἴ τις πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ἀπὸ ἐπισκόπου γένηται ἀφωρισμένος, τοῦτον μὴ ἐξεῖναι παρ’ ἐτέρου δέχεσθαι.

^x Conc. Nicæen. c. v. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 29.) Περὶ τῶν ἀκοινωνήτων γενομένων, εἴτε τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ, εἴτε ἐν λαϊκῷ τάγματι, ὑπὸ τῶν καθ’ ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπων, κρατεῖται ἡ γνώμη κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν διαγορεύοντα, τοὺς ὑφ’ ἐτέρων ἀποβληθέντας ὑφ’ ἐτέρων μὴ προσιέσθαι.

appeal in such a case to a provincial synod; and the Council of Sardica^y, which orders the metropolitan to hear and redress the grievance: so also in the Councils of Antioch^z, Chalcedon^a, and many others.

SECT. IX.—*Yet Bishops' power not arbitrary, but limited by Canon in various respects.*

Yet it must be owned, that according to the discipline and custom of those times, bishops seldom did any thing of this nature without the advice and consent of their presbyters, who were their assessors, and (as it were) the ecclesiastical senate and Council of the Church: of which I shall give a more particular account, when I come to speak of the honour and privileges of the order of presbyters. And here it is to be further noted out of the preceding canons, that if any clergyman thought himself injured by his bishop, he had liberty to appeal^b

^y Concil. Sardic. c. xiii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 637.) Εἴ τις διάκονος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ καὶ τις τῶν κληρικῶν ἀκοινώνητος γένηται, καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον ἐπίσκοπον τὸν εἰδότα αὐτὸν καταφύγοι, γινώσκοντα ἀποκεκινῆσθαι αὐτὸν τῆς κοινωνίας παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, μὴ χρῆναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ὕβριν ποιοῦντα παρέχειν αὐτῷ κοινωνίαν.—Can. xiv. Ὁ ἐκβαλλόμενος ἐχέτω ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς μητροπόλεως τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας καταφυγεῖν.

^z Conc. Antioch. can. iii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 564.) Εἰ καθαιρεθέντα διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν δέχοιτο ἕτερος ἐπίσκοπος, κάκεῖνον ἐπιτιμίας τυγχάνειν ὑπὸ κοινωνίας συνόδου, ὡς παραλύοντα τοὺς θεσμοὺς τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς.—Can. iv. Τοὺς κοινωνοῦντας αὐτῷ πάντας ἀποβάλλεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

^a Conc. Chalced. c. ix. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 759.) Εἰ δὲ καὶ κληρικὸς ἔχοι πρᾶγμα πρὸς τὸν ἰδίον ἐπίσκοπον, ἢ πρὸς ἕτερον, παρὰ τῇ συνόδῳ τῆς ἐπαρχίας δικαζέσθω.

^b See for the liberty of appeals, Conc. Carth. II. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1161. D 8) Si quis presbyter a præposito suo excommunicatus vel correptus fuerit, debet utique apud vicinos episcopos conqueri, ut ab ipsis ejus causa possit audiri, ac per ipsos suo episcopo reconciliari.—Conc. Carth. IV. c. xxix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1202.) Episcopus, si clerico vel laico crimen impegerit, deducatur ad probationem in synodum.—Can. lxvi. Clericus, qui episcopi circa se distractionem injustam putat, recurrat ad synodum.—Antioch. c. xii. Εἴ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου καθαιρεθεὶς . . . δεῖον ἐπὶ μείζονα ἐπισκόπων σύνοδον τρέπεσθαι, καὶ ἃ νομίζει δίκαια ἔχειν, προσαναφέρειν πλείοσιν ἐπισκόποις, καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐξέτασίν τε καὶ ἐπίκρισιν ἐκδέχεσθαι.—Conc. Valens. II. c. v. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1457.) Si quis episcopi sui sententiæ non acquiescit, recurrat ad synodum.—Concil. Venetic. can. ix. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1056.) Si quis fortasse episcopi sui judicium cœperit habere suspectum, aut ipsi de proprietate aliqua adversus ipsum episcopum fuerit nata contentio, aliorum episcoporum audientiam, non sæcularium potestatem, debet ambire.

either to the metropolitan, or a provincial synod: and in some places, the better to avoid arbitrary power, the canons provided that no bishop should proceed to censure a presbyter, or deacon, without the concurrence of some neighbouring bishops to join with him in the sentence. The first Council of Carthage^c requires three to censure a deacon, and six to censure a presbyter. The second Council of Carthage^d requires the same number, according to all correct editions of it: for Crab's edition is palpably false; and yet Blondel^e lays hold of that corruption to prove that presbyters^f and deacons were to be judges of their own bishop; which makes the canon speak mere nonsense, and appoints the bishop to judge himself also. The true reading of the canon is this: "the criminal cause of a bishop shall be heard by twelve bishops; the cause of a presbyter, by six; the cause of a deacon, by three joined with his own bishop." This obliges every bishop to take other bishops into commission with him in criminal causes, but does not authorize presbyters and deacons to sit as judges upon their own bishop. Which may be further evidenced from another canon^f of the next Council of Carthage; which speaks of a legal number of bishops to judge a presbyter, or deacon; and assigns six for a presbyter, and three for a deacon, as the former canons appointed.—But for the inferior clergy, there was no such restraint laid upon the bishop, that I can find; but he alone, by the same canon^g, is allowed to hear their causes, and end them. Only they had liberty to appeal, as all others, in case of injury done them, to the metropolitan, or a provincial synod; which the Nicene Council^h, and many others, appoint

^c Conc. Carth. I. can. xi. Si quis aliquam causam habuerit, a tribus vicinis episcopis, si diaconus est, arguatur: presbyter a sex.

^d Conc. Carth. II. c. 10. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1162.)

^e Blondel. Apol. 137. and Crab thus reads it corruptly: Episcopus a duodecim episcopis audiatur et a sex presbyteris, et a tribus diaconibus cum proprio suo episcopo.

^f Conc. Carth. III. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1168.) Si presbyteri vel diaconi fuerint accusati, adjuncto sibi ex vicinis locis legitimo numero collegarum in presbyteri nomine quinque [sex], in diaconi duobus [tribus], ipsorum causas discutiant.

^g Conc. Carth. III. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1168.) Reliquorum clericorum causas solus episcopus loci agnoscat et finiat.

^h Concil. Nicæn. can. v. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 32. A 7.) "ἵνα οὖν τοῦτο τὴν πρέ-

to be held once or twice a year for that very purpose; that if any clergyman chanced to be unjustly censured by the passion of his bishop, he might have recourse to a superior court, and there have justice done him. This is the true state and account of the power of bishops over their clergy, as near as I can collect it out of the genuine records of the ancient Church.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE POWER OF BISHOPS OVER THE LAITY, MONKS, SUBORDINATE MAGISTRATES, AND ALL PERSONS WITHIN THEIR DIOCESE: AND OF THEIR OFFICE IN DISPOSING OF THE REVENUES OF THE CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*No exemptions from the jurisdiction of the Bishop in the Primitive Church.*

THE next thing to be considered is the power of bishops over the people; which, upon inquiry, will be found to extend itself over all persons, of what rank or quality soever, within their diocese, or the bounds and limits of their jurisdiction. The extent of dioceses themselves, and the reasons why some were much greater than others, I do not here consider; but reserve that for a more proper place, to be treated of when we come to speak of Churches. What I observe in this place is, that all orders of men within the diocese were subject to the bishop; for privileges to exempt men from the jurisdiction of their diocesan were things unknown to former ages. Ignatius makes bold to sayⁱ, “that as he that honours his bishop is honoured of God; so he that does any thing covertly in opposition to him is the servant of Satan.” And Cyprian defines the Church^k to be “a people united to its bishop, a flock adhering to its pastor. Whence the Church may be said to be in the

πουσαν εξέτασιν λαμβάνη, καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξεν, ἐκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν δις τοῦ ἔτους συνόδους γίνεσθαι.

ⁱ Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. Ὁ λάθρα ἐπισκόπου τι πράσσων τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει.

^k Cypr. Ep. lxi. al. lxvi. ad Papian. p. 168. (edit. Paris. p. 118.)

bishop, and the bishop in the Church ; and if any are not with their bishop, they are not in the Church.”

SECT. II.—*All Monks subject to the Bishop of the diocese where they lived.*

Particularly, we may observe of all ascetics, and monks, and hermits, that the laws, both ecclesiastical and civil, subjected them to the bishop of the place where they lived. For ecclesiastical laws, we have two canons in the Council of Chalcedon¹ to this purpose : the first of which prescribes, that all monks, whether in city or country, shall be subject to the bishop, and concern themselves in no business (sacred or civil) out of their own monastery ; except they have his license and permission, upon urgent occasion, so to do. And if any withdraw themselves from his obedience, the other canon pronounces excommunication against them. The same injunctions may be read in the Councils of Orleans^m, Agdeⁿ, Lerida^o, and others ; which subject the abbots as well as monks to the bishop's care and correction. Justinian confirms all this by a law in the Code ; which says^p, “ All monasteries are to be reckoned under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the territories where they are ; and that the abbots themselves are part of their care.” In one of

¹ Concil. Chalced. can. iv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 758.) Τοὺς δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν καὶ χώραν μονάζοντας ὑποτετάχθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ. — Ibid. can. viii. (p. 759.) Οἱ κληρικοὶ τῶν πτωχείων καὶ μοναστηρίων, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει ἐπισκόπων τὴν ἐξουσίαν, κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων παράδοσιν, διαμενέτωσαν καὶ μὴ καταυθαδιάζεσθαι, ἢ ἀφηνιᾶν τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου· οἱ δὲ τολμῶντες ἀνατρέπειν τὴν τοιαύτην διατύπωσιν καθ' οἷον δῆποτε τρόπον, καὶ μὴ ὑποταττόμενοι τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, εἰ μὲν εἴεν κληρικοὶ, τοῖς τῶν κανόνων ὑποκείσθωσαν ἐπιτιμίῳ· εἰ δὲ μονάζοντες ἢ λαϊκοὶ, ἔστωσαν ἀκοινῶνῃτοι.

^m Concil. Aurel. I. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1407.) Abbates pro humilitate religionis in episcoporum potestate consistent ; et si quid extra regulam fecerint, ab episcopis corrigantur.

ⁿ Conc. Agathens. can. xxxviii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1389.) Clericis, sine commendatitiis epistolis episcopi sui, licentia non pateat evagandi. In monachis quoque par sententiæ forma servetur.

^o Conc. Ilerdens. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1611.) De monachis id observari placuit, quod synodus Agathensis vel Aurelianensis noscitur decrevisse, etc.

^p Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. de Episcop. leg. xl. (Amstel. 1653. p. 16.) Τὰ μοναστήρια τελοῦσιν ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους τῶν ἐνορίων αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡγουμένους ἐπιβλέπουσιν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι.

his Novels^q, the election of abbots is put into the bishop's hands. And by other laws^r, no new cells or monasteries were to be erected, but by the consent and license of the bishop, to whose jurisdiction they belonged. It is therefore a very just reflection, which Bede, and some others^s from him, make upon the state of the Scottish Church; "that things were in a very unusual and preposterous order, when instead of abbots being subject to the bishops, the bishops were subject to a single abbot." This was 'ordine inusitato,' as Bede^t rightly observes: for there was no such practice allowed in the primitive Church.

SECT. III.—*As also all subordinate Magistrates in matters of Spiritual Jurisdiction.*

In those days, the authority of bishops was so highly esteemed, and venerable in the eyes of all men, that even the subordinate magistrates themselves were subject to their spiritual discipline and correction. The prefects and governors of cities and provinces were obliged to take their communicatory letters along with them to the bishop of the place, whither the government sent them; and whilst they continued in their office there, they were to be under the bishop's care;

^q Justin. Novel. v. cap. ix. (Amstel. 1653. p. 11.) Τὴν δὲ τῶν ἡγουμένων χειροτονίαν, εἴ ποτε συμβαίῃ δεῖσθαι τὸ μοναστήριον ἡγουμένου, μὴ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων γίνεσθαι μοναχῶν, μηδὲ πάντως τὸν μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον, εὐθὺς ἡγούμενον γίνεσθαι, μηδὲ τὸν μετ' ἐκεῖνον δεύτερον, μηδὲ τὸν τρίτον, ἢ τοὺς ἐφεξῆς· (τοῦτο ὅπερ καὶ νόμος ἡμῶν ἕτερος λέγει,) ἀλλὰ τὸν θεοφιλέστατον τῶν τόπων ἐπίσκοπον χωρεῖν μὲν ἐφεξῆς διὰ πάντων (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀτιμαστέον πάντως τὸν χρόνον, καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τάξιν) καὶ τὸν ἀναφαινόμενον πρῶτον ἄριστον ἐν τοῖς μοναχοῖς καθεστῶτα, καὶ ἄξιον τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτῶν, τοῦτον αἰρεῖσθαι.

^r Conc. Chalced. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 758. B 5.) Ἐδοξε μηδένα μηδαμοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν, μηδὲ συνιστᾶν μοναστήριον, ἢ εὐκτήριον οἶκον, παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπου. — Conc. Agath. c. lviii. (ibid. p. 1392.) Cellulas novas, aut congregatiunculas monachorum, absque notitia episcopi prohibemus institui.

^s Pearson. Vindic. Ignat. part i. c. xi. p. 333. (p. 189, edit. Cantabrig. circ. med.)

^t Bed. Histor. Gent. Anglor. lib. iii. c. iv. (Lond. 1838. p. 163.) Habere solet ipsa insula rectorem semper abbatem presbyterum, cujus juri et omnis provincia et ipsi etiam episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant esse subjecti, juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non episcopus sed presbyter exstitit et monachus.

who, if they transgressed against the public discipline of the Church, was authorized by the imperial laws to punish them with excommunication. This we learn from a canon of the first Council of Arles^u; which was called by Constantine himself, who ratified its canons, and gave them as it were the force of imperial sanctions. And by virtue of this power, they sometimes unsheathed the spiritual sword against impious and profane magistrates, and cut them off from all communion with the Church. Of which we have an instance in Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais^v, excommunicating Andronicus the governor, for his cruelties and blasphemies; and many other such examples, which will be mentioned, when we come to treat particularly of the discipline of the Church. As to what concerns the bishops' power to inspect and examine the acts and decrees of subordinate magistrates, Socrates^x assures us it was practised by Cyril of Alexandria, in reference to Orestes the Præfectus Augustalis of Egypt; though, as he intimates, it was some grievance to him to be under his inspection.

SECT. IV.—*Of the distinction between Temporal and Spiritual Jurisdiction; Bishops' power wholly confined to the latter.*

But it must be owned and spoken to the glory of those primitive bishops, that they challenged no power, as of right belonging to them, but only that which was spiritual. They did not as yet lay claim to both swords, much less endeavour to wrest the temporal sword out of the magistrates' hand, and dethrone princes under pretence of excommunication. The ancient bishops of Rome themselves always professed obedience

^u Conc. Arelat. I. can. vii. (Labbe, vol. i. Conc. p. 1427.) De præsidibus . . ita placuit, ut quum promoti fuerint, litteras accipiant ecclesiasticas communicatorias: ita tamen, ut in quibuscumque locis gesserint, ab episcopo ejusdem loci cura de illis agatur; et cum cœperint contra disciplinam [publicam] agere, tum demum a communione excludantur.

^v Synes. Ep. lviii. ad Episcopos. (Paris. 1740. p. 202. D 5.) Ταύτην ἀπαιδέυτῳ γνώμῃ καὶ γλώττῃ τρὶς ἀνεφθέγγετο τὴν φωνήν, μεθ' ἣν οὐκέτι νοουθετητέος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ μέλος ἀνιάτως ἔχον, ἀποκοπτέος ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ τὸ ὑγιαῖνον συμφθεῖρηται.

^x Socrat. lib. vii. c. xiii. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 285. C 12.) 'Ορέστης δὲ καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἐμίσει τὴν δυναστείαν τῶν ἐπισκόπων, ὅτι παρηγοῦντο πολὺ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν ἐκ βασιλέως ἄρχειν τεταγμένων· μάλιστα δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐποπτεύειν αὐτοῦ τὰς διατυπώσεις Κύριλλος ἐβούλετο.

and subjection to the emperor's laws : which I shall not stand here to prove, since it has so frequently and so substantially been done by several of our learned writers^y : and it is confessed by the more ingenuous of the Romish writers^z themselves, that Gregory the VIIth was the first pope that pretended to depose Christian princes. The ancient bishops of the Church laid no claim to a coercive power over the bodies or estates of men ; but if ever they had occasion to make use of it, they applied themselves to the secular magistrate, for his assistance. As in the case of Paulus Samosatensis, who kept possession of the bishop's house, after he was deposed from his bishopric by the Council of Antioch. The fathers in that council having no power to remove him, petitioned the emperor Aurelian^a against him ; who, though an heathen, gave judgment on their side, and ordered his officers to see his sentence put in execution. And thus the case stood, as to the power of bishops, for some ages after, under Christian emperors : insomuch that Socrates^b notes it as a very singular thing in Cyril bishop of Alexandria, that he undertook by his own power to shut up the Novatian churches, seizing upon their plate and sacred utensils, and depriving their bishop Theopemptus of his substance. This was done *παρὰ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τάξεως*, beyond any ordinary power

^y See Bishop Morton's Grand Impost. of the Church of Rome, c. xi. Joh. Roffensis de Potestate Papæ in Temporal. lib. ii. c. ii.

^z Otho Frisingens. Chron. lib. vi. c. xxxv. Lego et relego Romanorum regum et imperatorum gesta, et nusquam invenio quemquam eorum ante hunc (Henricum IV.) a Romano pontifice excommunicatum, vel regno privatum, etc. —Gregor. Tholosan. de Repub. lib. xxvi. c. v. (§ 10. p. 394. b. edit. Francof. 1642.) Illud tantum ex his nunc colligo, difficilem esse quæestionem, num summi pontifices deponere imperatorem vel regem possint, qui olim habuit instituendi summum pontificem potestatem. (§ 11.) Quin et inveniuntur plures destitutiones et depositiones factæ ab imperatore summorum pontificum, etc.

^a Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. (Vales. 1695. p. 231. A 3.) Μηδαμῶς ἐκστῆναι τοῦ Παύλου τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἴκου θέλοντος, βασιλεὺς ἐντευχθεὶς Αὐρελιανός, αἰσιώτατα περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου διείληφε· τούτοις νεῖμαι προστάτων τὸν οἶκον, οἷς ἂν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐπίσκοποι τοῦ δόγματος ἐπιστέλλοιεν.

^b Socrat. lib. vii. c. vii. (Vales. 1700. p. 281. A.) Εὐθέως οὖν Κύριλλος τὰς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ναυατιανῶν ἐκκλησίας ἀποκλείσας, πάντα μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ ἱερὰ κειμήλια ἔλαβεν· τὸν δὲ ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν Θεόπεμπτον, πάντων ὧν εἶχεν ἀφείλετο.

that bishops were then invested with: and though in after ages they attained to this power, yet it was not by any inherent right of their order, but by the favour and indulgence of secular princes. It must here also be further noted, that it was ever esteemed dishonourable for bishops so much as to petition the secular power against the life of any man, whom they had condemned by spiritual censures. And therefore, when Ithacius and some other Spanish bishops prevailed with Maximus to slay the heretic Priscillian, St. Martin and many other pious bishops petitioned against it, saying, "it was enough to expel heretics^e from the Churches." And when they could not prevail, they showed their resentments of the fact against the author of it, refusing to admit Ithacius the sanguinary bishop to their communion. So great a concern had those holy men to keep within the bounds of their spiritual jurisdiction.

SECT. V.—*An account of the Literæ Formatae, and the Bishops' prerogative in granting them to all persons.*

And it may be observed, that the authority of bishops was never greater in the world, than when they concerned themselves only in the exercise of their own proper spiritual power. For then they had an universal respect paid them by all sorts of men; insomuch that no Christian would pretend to travel, without taking letters of credence with him from his own bishop, if he meant to communicate with the Christian Church in a foreign country. Such was the admirable unity of the Church catholic in those days, and the blessed harmony and consent of her bishops among one another! These letters were of divers sorts, according to the different occasions or quality of the persons that carried them. They are generally reduced to three kinds; the 'epistolæ commendatoriæ,' 'communicatoriæ,' and 'dimissoriæ.' The first were such as were granted only to persons of quality; or else persons whose reputation had been called in question; or to the clergy who had occasion to travel into foreign countries. The second sort were granted to all who were in the peace and communion of the Church; whence they were also called 'pacificæ,' and

^e Sulpit. Sever. lib. ii. p. 119. (edit. Cellar. lib. ii. c. 1. p. 287.)

‘ecclesiasticæ,’ and sometimes ‘canonicæ.’ The third sort were such as were only given to the clergy, when they were to remove from their own diocese, and settle in another; and they were to testify that they had their bishop’s leave to depart; whence they were called ‘dimissoriæ,’ and sometimes ‘pacificæ’ likewise. All these went under the general name of ‘formatæ;’ because they were written in a peculiar form, with some particular marks and characters, which served as special signatures to distinguish them from counterfeits. I shall not stand now to give any further account of them here, but only observe that it was the bishop’s sole prerogative to grant them; and none might presume to do it, at least without his authority and commission. The Council of Antioch^d allows country bishops to write them; but expressly forbids presbyters the privilege. And whereas, in times of persecution, some confessors, who were of great esteem in the Church, would take upon them to grant such letters by their own authority, and in their own names, the Councils of Arles^e and Eliberis^f forbade them to do it, and ordered all persons who had such letters, to take new communicatory letters from the bishop. Baronius^g, and the common editors of the Councils, who follow him, mistake these letters for the libels which the confessors were used to grant to the ‘Lapsi,’ to have them admitted into the communion of the Church again: but Alaspiny^h corrects this

^d Conc. Antioch. can. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 565.) Τοὺς ἀνεπιλήπτους χωρεπισκόπους διδόναι εἰρηνικάς.

^e Conc. Arelat. I. c. ix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1428.) De his qui confessorum litteras afferunt, placuit, ut sublatis eis litteris, [alias] accipiant communicatorias.

^f Conc. Illiberit. can. xxv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 973.) Omnis qui attulerit litteras confessionis, sublato nomine confessoris . . . communicatoriæ ei dandæ sunt litteræ.

^g Baron. a. cxlii. n. ix. (Antwerp. 1597. vol. ii. p. 105. D 5.) Erat quoque olim tempore persecutionis ecclesiæ genus litterarum, quæ dicebantur Confessoriæ, quæ a Christianis, qui pro Christi nomine detinerentur in carcere, pro commendatione lapsorum ad episcopos dari solebant. Conf. a. xxx. n. xlviii.—Louysa Not. in Conc. Illiberit. c. xxv. (vol. i. Conc. p. 983. b. fin.) Epistolæ commendatitiæ, quæ litteræ appellabantur fidelibus datæ, diversi generis erant: complectebantur enim litteras confessionis; et hæ erant dignitatis et honoris, quibus in ecclesia magna reverentia habebatur, etc.

^h Alaspiny. Not. in Concil. Illiberit. c. xxv. (vol. i. Conc. p. 993.) Permagna est dissensio de hujus canonis sententia et explicatione, et noni Arelatensis primi,

mistake; and rightly observes, “that those councils speak not of such libels as were given to the ‘Lapsi,’ but of such as were given to all Christians who had occasion to travel into foreign countries; which it belonged to the bishops to grant, and not to the confessors, whatever authority they might otherwise have obtained by their honourable confession of Christ in time of persecution.” The Council of Eliberisⁱ takes notice of another abuse of this nature, and corrects it; which was, that some women of famous renown in the Church, clergymen’s wives, as Alaspiny thinks, or rather the wives of bishops, would presume both to grant and receive such letters, by their own authority: all which the council orders to be sunk, as being dangerous to the discipline and communion of the Church, and an encroachment upon the bishops’ power, to whom alone it belonged to grant them. For by all ancient canons, this privilege is reserved entirely to bishops, and this set their authority very high in the Church: for no one, either clergy or laity, could communicate in any Church beside his own, without these testimonials from his bishop; as may be seen in the Councils of Carthage^k and Agde^l, and many others.

SECT. VI.—*Of the Bishops’ power in disposing of the Revenues of the Church.*

I have but one thing more to observe concerning the power of bishops over the Church; and that is, their authority and concern

. . . Quorundam opinio est hos ipsos canones explicandos esse de litteris, quas lapsi, ad jus communionis recuperandum, a martyribus qui essent in vinculis extorquebant. Card. Baronii anno Christi xxx. n. xlviii.

ⁱ Concil. Illiberrit. can. lxxx. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 979.) Ne feminae suo potius, absque maritorum nominibus, laicis scribere audeant: quæ fideles sunt, vel litteras alicujus pacificas ad suum solum nomen scriptas accipiant.

^k Conc. Carth. I. can. vii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 616.) Clericus vel laicus non communicet in aliena plebe sine litteris episcopi sui.

^l Conc. Agath. c. lii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1392.) Presbytero, aut diacono, vel clerico sine antistitis sui epistolis ambulanti communionem nullus impendat.—Conc. Epaonens. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1577.) ubi eadem verba leguntur.—Conc. Laodic. c. xli. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1504.) “Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικὸν ἢ κληρικὸν ἄνευ κανονικῶν γραμμάτων ὁδεύειν.”—Conc. Milevit. can. xx. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1542.) Placuit, ut quicumque clericus, propter necessitatem suam alicubi ad comitatum ire voluerit, formatam ab episcopo accipiat.—Conc. Antioch. c. vii. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 564.) Μηδένα ἄνευ εἰρηνικῶν δέχεσθαι τῶν ξένων.

in disposing of the revenues of the Church. I intend not here to enter upon the discourse of ecclesiastical revenues, (which has its proper place in this work hereafter,) but only to suggest now, that it was part of the bishop's office and care to see them managed and disposed of to the best advantage. The Councils of Antioch^m and Gangraⁿ have several canons to this purpose; that all the incomes and oblations of the Church shall be dispensed at the will and discretion of the bishop; to whom the people, and the souls of men, are committed. Those called the Apostolical Canons^o, and Constitutions^p, speak of the same power. And Cyprian^q notes, that all who received maintenance from the Church, had it, 'episcopo dispensante,' by the order and appointment of the bishop. He did not indeed always dispense with his own hands, but by proper assistants, such as his archdeacon, and the 'Œconomus;'

^m Conc. Antioch. can. xxiv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 572.) Τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καλῶς ἔχειν φυλάττεσθαι δεῖν μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας, καὶ ἀγαθῆς συνειδήσεως, καὶ πίστεως τῆς εἰς τὸν πάντων ἔφορον καὶ κριτὴν Θεόν· ἃ καὶ διοικεῖσθαι προσήκει μετὰ κρίσεως καὶ ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ πεπιστευμένου πάντα τὸν λαόν, καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν συναγομένων.—Can. xxv. (p. 573.) Ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων ἐξουσίαν, ὥστε διοικεῖν εἰς πάντας τοὺς δεομένους μετὰ πάσης εὐλαβείας καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ.

ⁿ Conc. Gangrens. can. vii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 419.) Εἴ τις καρποφορίας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἐθέλοι λαμβάνειν, ἢ δίδόναι ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἢ τοῦ ἐγκεχειρισμένου τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ μὴ μετὰ γνώμης αὐτοῦ ἐθέλοι πράττειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.—Can. viii. (p. 419.) Εἴ τις διδοῖ ἢ λαμβάνει καρποφορίαν παρεκτὸς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἢ ἐπιτεταγμένων εἰς οἰκονομίαν εὐποιίας, καὶ ὁ δίδωνς καὶ ὁ λαμβάνων ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

^o Can. Apost. c. xxxviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 33.) Πάντων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἔχέτω τὴν φροντίδα, καὶ διοικεῖτω αὐτὰ ὡς Θεοῦ ἐφορῶντος.—Can. xl. (p. 33.) Προστάσσομεν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων.

^p Constitut. Apost. lib. ii. c. xxv. totum; utpote quod agit de decimis et primitiis et oblationibus; et quomodo debeat episcopus vel ipse accipere ex eis, vel aliis distribuere. (Vol. i. p. 260.)

^q Cypr. Ep. xxxviii. al. xli. (Paris. 1742. p. 83, last line.) (Oxon. 1682. p. 80.) Ut cum ecclesia matre remaneret, et stipendia ejus, episcopo dispensante, perciperent.—Justin. Mart. Apol. i. (p. 98, 99, edit. Paris. 1636.) Οἱ εὐποροῦντες δὲ καὶ βουλόμενοι, κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ὃ βούλεται δίδωσι· καὶ τὸ συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προεστῶτι ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικουρεῖ ὀρφανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις, καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόσον, ἢ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν λειπομένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς οὖσι, καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις οὖσι ξένοις, καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν χρείᾳ οὖσι κηδεμῶν γίνεται.

which some canons^r order to be one of the clergy of every Church: but these officers were only stewards under him, both of his appointing, as St. Jerome^s observes, and also accountable to him as the supreme governor of the Church. Whence Possidius takes notice of the practice of St. Austin; “that though neither seal nor key was ever seen in his hand, but some of his clergy were always his administrators, yet he had his certain times to audit their accounts: so that all was still his act, though administered and dispensed by the hands of others.” And this was agreeable to the primitive rule and practice of the apostles, to whose care and custody the people’s oblations, and things consecrated to God, were committed: they chose deacons to be their assistants, as bishops did afterwards; still retaining power in their own hands to direct and regulate them in the disposal of the public charity, as prime stewards of God’s revenue, and chief masters of his household.

^r Concil. Chalcedon. c. xxvi. (Labbe, vol. iv. Conc. p. 767.) Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τισιν ἐκκλησίαις, ὡς περιηγήθημεν, δίχα οἰκονόμων οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά χειρίζουσι πράγματα· ἔδοξε πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπίσκοπον ἔχουσαν, καὶ οἰκονόμον ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου κλήρου, οἰκονομοῦντα τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου· ὥστε μὴ ἀμάρτυρον εἶναι τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σκορπίζεσθαι πράγματα, καὶ λοιδορίαν τῇ ἱερῶσύνῃ προστρίβεσθαι.

^s Hieron. Ep. i. ad Nepot. (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 264. C.) Sciat episcopus, cui commissa est ecclesia, quem dispensationi pauperum curæque præficiat.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE OFFICE OF BISHOPS IN RELATION TO THE WHOLE
CATHOLIC CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*In what sense every Bishop is supposed to be Bishop of the whole Catholic Church.*

WE have hitherto considered the office and power of bishops over the clergy and people of their own particular Churches: but there is yet a more eminent branch of their pastoral office and care behind, which is, their superintendency over the whole Catholic Church; in which every bishop was supposed to have an equal share; not as to what concerned external polity and government, but the prime essential part of religion, the preservation of the Christian faith. Whenever the faith was in danger of being subverted by heresy, or destroyed by persecution, then every bishop thought it part of his duty and office to put to his helping hand, and labour as much for any other diocese as his own. Dioceses were but limits of convenience, for the preservation of order in times of peace: but the faith was a more universal thing; and when war was made upon that, then the whole world was but one diocese, and the whole Church but one flock; and every pastor thought himself obliged to feed his great Master's sheep, according to his power, whatever part of the world they were scattered in. In this sense, every bishop was an universal pastor, and bishop of the whole world; as having a common care and concern for the whole Church of Christ. This is what St. Austin^t told Boniface, bishop of Rome; "that the pastoral care was common to all

^t Aug. contr. Epist. Pelag. in Præfat. ad Bonifac. (Bened. 1700. vol. x. p. 273. B 2.) Communis est nobis omnibus, qui fungimur episcopatus officio, (quamvis ipse in ea fastigio celsiore præemineas,) specula pastoralis.

those who had the office of bishop; and though he was a little higher advanced toward the top of Christ's watch-tower, yet all others had an equal concern in it." St. Cyprian testifies^u for the practice of his own time, "that all bishops were so united in one body, that if any of the body broached any heresy, or began to lay waste and tear the flock of Christ, all the rest immediately came in to its rescue: for though they were many pastors, yet they had but one flock to feed; and every one was obliged to take care of all the sheep of Christ which he had purchased with his blood." In this sense, Gregory Nazianzen^v says of Cyprian, "that he was an universal bishop; that he presided not only over the Church of Carthage and Afric, but over all the regions of the west, and over the east, and south, and northern parts of the world also." He says the same of Athanasius^x; that in being made bishop of Alexandria, "he was made bishop of the whole world." Which agrees with St. Basil's observation^y concerning him; "that he had the care of all Churches, as much as that which was peculiarly committed to him." Chrysostom^z, in like manner, styles Timothy 'bishop of the universe:' and in compliance with this customary character, the author under the name of Clemens Romanus^{zz} gives St. James bishop of Jerusalem the title of

^u Cypr. Ep. lxviii. al. lxvii. ad Stephan. (Oxon. 1682. p. 178.) Copiosum corpus est sacerdotum, concordiae mutuae glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut, si quis ex collegio nostro hæresin facere, et gregem Christi lacerare et vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri. . . Nam etsi pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus, et oves universas quas Christus sanguine suo et passione quæsit, colligere et fovere debemus.

^v Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xviii. in laud. Cypr. (Colon. 1690. vol. i. p. 281. A 7.) Οὐ γὰρ τῆς Καρχηδονίων προκαθίσταται μόνον ἐκκλησίας, οὐδὲ τῆς ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον περιβοήτου μέχρι τῆς Ἀφρικῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐσπερίου, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐφ' αὐτῆς, νοτίου τε καὶ βορίου λήξεως.

^x Id. Orat. xxi. p. 377. Τῆς οἰκουμένης πάσης ἐπιστάσιαν πιστεύεται.

^y Basil. Ep. lii. ad Athanas. (tom. iii. edit. Paris. 1636. p. 79. D 4.) Ἡ μέριμνά σοι πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοσαύτη, ὅση καὶ τῆς ἰδίως παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ Δεσπότου ἡμῶν ἐμπιστευθείσης ἐπίκειται.

^z Chrysostom. Hom. vi. adv. Jud. (lxxvii. Homil. Paris. 1609. tom. i. p. 542. A 8.) (tom. i. edit. Francof. p. 480.) Ἀναμνήσθητι τοῦ μακαρίου Τιμοθέου . . . Εἰ δὲ ὁ δίκαιος ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἅγιος, καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης προστασίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος, κ. τ. λ.

^{zz} Pseudo-Clem. Ep. ad Jacob. ap. Coteler. Patr. Apost. (tom. i. p. 542.) Clemens Jacobo, fratri Domini et episcopo episcoporum, regenti Hebræorum

‘governor of all Churches, as well as that of Jerusalem.’ Chrysostom^a says, “St. Paul had the whole world committed to his care, and every city under the sun; that he was the teacher of the universe^b, and presided over all Churches^c:” which he repeats in many places of his writings. Nor was this prerogative so peculiar to the apostles, but that every bishop, in some measure, had a right and title to the same character.

SECT. II.—*In what respect the whole world but one diocese, and but one bishopric in the Church.*

Hence came that current notion, so frequently to be met with in Cyprian, of but one bishopric in the Church; wherein every single bishop had his share in such a manner, as to have an equal concern in the whole: “There is but one bishopric in the Church^d; and every bishop has an undivided portion in it.” He does not say, it was a monarchy, in the hands of any single bishop; but a diffusive power, that lay in the whole college of bishops^e, every one of which had a title to feed the whole Church of God, and drive away heresy out of any part of it. In this sense, the bishop of Eugubium’s power extended

sanctam ecclesiam in Hierosolymis; sed et omnes ecclesias, quæ ubique Dei providentia fundatæ sunt.

^a Chrysost. Hom. xvii. in illud, Salutate Priscillam. (Paris. 1616. tom. v. p. 241. B 7.) (p. 217, edit. Francof.) Πρωτόν ἐστιν ἐκπλαγῆναι τοῦ Παύλου τὴν ἀρετὴν, ὅτι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος, καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, καὶ τὰς ὑφ’ ἡλίου πόλεις ἀπάσας, καὶ βαρβάρους, καὶ Ἕλληνας, καὶ δῆμους τοσοῦτους ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιφέρων, ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ μιᾶς γυναικὸς τοσαύτην ἐποιεῖτο φροντίδα.

^b Chrysostom. Hom. vi. in terræ motum et Lazar. tom. v. p. 107. (edit. Francof. p. 100.) Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος . . ὁ διδάσκαλος τῆς οἰκουμένης.

^c Id. Hom. xvii. in Priscillam, (tom. v. p. 248. C 8.) (edit. Francof. p. 224.) Τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος ὢν, τοὺς τὴν γῆν οἰκοῦντας ἅπαντας ἐπιτραπείς, καὶ τὰς ὑφ’ ἡλίου κειμένας ἐκκλησίας ἀπάσας καὶ δῆμους καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις μετὰ πολλῆς θεραπεύων ἐπιμελείας.

^d Cyprian. de Unitat. Eccles. p. 108. Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.

^e Cypr. Ep. lii. al. lv. ad Antonian. p. 112. (p. 73, edit. Paris.) Episcopatus unus, episcoporum multorum concordie universitate diffusus, &c. In the same epistle he often mentions the collegium sacerdotale: p. 101: Accepi primas litteras tuas, frater carissime, concordiam collegii sacerdotalis firmiter obtinentes, etc.—It. Epist. lxviii. Ecclesiæ universæ per totum mundum nobiscum unitatis vinculo copulatæ. . . . Ecclesia catholica est, una est, scissa non est, neque divisa, sed utique connexa, et cohærentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutine copulata.

as far as the bishop of Rome's; the bishop of Rhegium was as much bishop of the whole Church, as Constantinople; and Tanis equal to Alexandria: for, in St. Jerome's^f language, they were all 'ejusdem meriti,' and 'ejusdem sacerdotii;' of the same merit, and equal in their priesthood, which was but one. In things that did not appertain to the faith, they were not to meddle with other men's dioceses, but only to mind the business of their own: but when the faith or welfare of the Church lay at stake, and religion was manifestly invaded; then, by this rule of there being but one episcopacy, every other bishopric was as much their diocese as their own; and no human laws or canons could tie up their hands from performing such acts of their episcopal office in any part of the world, as they thought necessary for the preservation of religion.

SECT. III.—*Some particular instances of Private Bishops acting as Bishops of the whole Universal Church.*

For the better understanding the Church's practice in this point, I shall illustrate it in two or three particular instances. It was a rule in the primitive Church, that no bishop should ordain in another's diocese, without his leave: and though this was a sort of confinement of the episcopal power to a single diocese, yet for order sake it was generally observed. But then it might happen, that in some cases there might be a necessity to do otherwise: as in case the bishop of any diocese was turned heretic, and would ordain none but heretical clergy, and persecute and drive away the orthodox: in that case, any catholic bishop, as being a bishop of the universal Church, was authorized to ordain orthodox men in such a diocese, though contrary to the common rule; because this was evidently for the preservation of the faith, which is the supreme rule of all; and therefore that other rule must give way to this superior obligation. Upon this account, when the Church was in danger of being overrun with Arianism, the great Athanasius, as he returned from his exile, made no scruple to ordain

^f Hieron. Ep. lxxxv. ad Evang. (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 1082. D.) (tom. ii. edit. Francof. p. 221. a.) Ubicumque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et sacerdotii.

in several cities ^g as he went along, though they were not in his own diocese. And the famous Eusebius of Samosata did the like in the times of the Arian persecution under Valens. Theodoret ^h says, he went about all Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, in a soldier's habit ; ordaining presbyters and deacons, and setting in order whatever he found wanting in the Churches. He ordained bishops also in Syria and Cilicia, and other places ; whose names Theodoret ⁱ has recorded. Now all this was contrary to the common rules, but the necessities of the Church required it ; and that gave them authority in such a case to exert their power, and act as bishops of the whole Catholic Church. Epiphanius made use of the same power and privilege in a like case ; ordaining Paulinianus, St. Jerome's brother, first deacon, and then presbyter, in a monastery out of his own diocese in Palestine : against which, when some of his adversaries objected, that it was done contrary to canon, he vindicated ^k his practice upon the strength of this principle ; that in case of pressing necessity, such as this was, where the interest of God was to be served, every bishop had power to act in any part of the Church : for though all bishops had their particular Churches to officiate in, and were not ordinarily to exceed their own bounds, yet the love of Christ was a rule above all ; and therefore men were not barely to consider the

^g Socrat. lib. ii. c. xxiv. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 95. D.) 'Αθανάσιος διὰ Πηλουσίου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπορεύετο . . . ἐν τισὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ χειροτονίας ἐποίει.

^h Theod. lib. iv. c. xiii. (Vales. 1695. p. 166. A 12.) Οὗτος πολλὰς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐρήμους εἶναι ποιμένων μαθὼν, στρατιωτικὸν ἀμπεχόμενος σχῆμα, καὶ τιὰρα καλύπτων τὴν κεφαλὴν, τὴν Συρίαν περιήει καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην, πρεσβυτέρους χειροτονῶν καὶ διακόνους, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τάγματα ἀναπληρῶν· εἰ δέ ποτε καὶ ἐπισκόπων ὁμογνωμόνων ἐπέτυχε, καὶ προέδρους ταῖς δεομέναις ἐκκλησίαις προὔβαλλετο.

ⁱ Theod. lib. v. c. iv. (p. 203. A 5.) 'Ο μέγας Εὐσέβιος ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας ἐπανελθὼν, Ἀκάκιον μὲν, οὗ πολὺ τὸ κλέος, ἐν Βεροίᾳ κεχειροτόνηκεν· ἐν Ἱεραπόλει δὲ Θεόδοτον· Εὐσέβιον δὲ Χαλκίδος· Κύρον δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας Ἰσίδωρον. . . . φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Εὐλόγιον . . . τῆς Ἐδέσης κεχειροτονηκέναι ποιμένα . . . ὁ δὲ θεῖος Εὐσέβιος ἔσχατον ἐπίσκοπον Μάριν τῇ Δολιχῇ κεχειροτόνηκε.

^k Epiph. ad Joan. Hierosolymit. (Colon. 1682. vol. ii. p. 312. A 6.) Nam etsi singuli ecclesiarum episcopi habent sub se ecclesias, quibus curam videntur impendere, et nemo super alienam mensuram extenditur ; tamen præponitur omnibus caritas Christi, in qua nulla simulatio est : nec considerandum, quid factum sit, sed quo tempore et quo modo, et in quibus et quare factum sit.

thing that was done, but the circumstances of the action, the time, the manner, the persons for whose sake, and the end for which it is done. Thus Epiphanius apologizes for the exercise of his episcopal power in the diocese of another man. Now from all this it appears, that every bishop was as much an universal bishop, and had as much the care of the whole Church, as the bishop of Rome himself; there being no acts of the episcopal office which they could not perform in any part of the world, when need required, without a dispensation, as well as he. All that he enjoyed above others, was only the rights of a metropolitan, or a patriarch; and those confined by the canons to a certain district; of which more hereafter in their proper place.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE INDEPENDENCY OF BISHOPS, ESPECIALLY IN THE CYPRIANIC AGE, AND IN THE AFRICAN CHURCHES.

SECT. I.—*What meant by the Independency of Bishops one of another, and their absolute power in their own Church.*

THERE is one thing more must be taken notice of, whilst we are considering the proper office of bishops, which is the absolute power of every bishop in his own Church, independent of all others. For the right understanding the just limits of this power, we are to distinguish between the substantial and the ritual part of religion. For it was in the latter chiefly that bishops had an absolute power in their own Church, being at liberty to use what indifferent rites they thought fit in their own Church, without being accountable for their practice to any other. In matters of faith indeed, when they corrupted the truth by heretical doctrines, or introduced any rituals that were destructive of it, there they were obnoxious to the censure of all other bishops; and every individual of the whole catholic college of bishops (as has been noted in the last chapter) was authorized to oppose them: but in such indifferent rites as

were lawful to be used in the Church, every bishop was allowed to choose for himself and his own Church such as he thought fit and expedient in his own wisdom and discretion.

SECT. II.—*All Bishops had liberty to form their own Liturgies.*

Thus for instance, though there was but one form of worship throughout the whole Church, as to what concerned the substance of Christian worship; yet every bishop was at liberty to form his own liturgy in what method and words he thought proper, only keeping to the analogy of faith and sound doctrine. Thus Gregory Nazianzen observes of St. Basil, that among other good services which he did for the Church of Cæsarea, whilst he was but a presbyter in it, one was the composing of forms of prayer^m, which, by the consent and authority of his bishop Eusebius, were used by the Church. And this is thought not improbably by someⁿ to be the first draught of that liturgy, which bears his name to this day. The Church of Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus, where St. Basil was born, had a liturgy peculiar to themselves, which St. Basil^o speaks of in one of his epistles. Chrysostom's liturgy, which he composed for the Church of Constantinople, differed from these. The Ambrosian form differed from the Roman, and the Roman from others. The Africans had peculiar forms of their own, differing from the Roman, as appears from the passages cited by Victorinus Afer and Fulgentius, out of the African liturgies, which Cardinal Bona^p owns are not to be found in the Roman.

^m Naz. Orat. xx. in laud. Basil. (Colon. 1690. vol. i. p. 340. D 3.) Εὐχῶν διατάξεις, καὶ εὐκοσμίας τοῦ βήματος.

ⁿ Billius, Not. in Loc. Cave, Histor. Litter. vol. i. p. 194.

^o Basil. Ep. lxiii. ad Neocæsar. (Paris. 1638. vol. iii. p. 96. E.) Ἐκ νυκτὸς ὀρθρίζει παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τῆς προσευχῆς, καὶ ἐν πόνοι, καὶ ἐν θλίψει, καὶ ἐν συνοχῇ δακρύων ἐξομολογούμενοι τῷ Θεῷ, τελευταῖον ἀναστάντες τῶν προσευχῶν, εἰς τὴν ψαλμωδίαν καθίστανται· καὶ νῦν μὲν διχῇ διανεμηθέντες, ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις, ὁμοῦ μὲν τὴν μελέτην τῶν λογίων ἐντεῦθεν κρατύνοντες, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν προσοχήν, καὶ τὸ ἀμετεώριστον τῶν καρδιῶν ἑαυτοῖς διακονούμενοι, κ. τ. λ.

^p Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. vii. n. iii. (Antverp. 1677. p. 350.) Marius Victorinus Afer (lib. i. adv. Arium) sententiam citat ex Liturgia Africana, quæ in ordine Romano non exstat: 'sicut,' inquit, 'et in oblatione dicitur, Munda tibi populum circumvitalem, æmulatorem bonorum operum, circa tuam substantiam venientem.' Fulgentius quoque Ruspensis in Fragmentis editis a Sirmondo

SECT. III.—*And express the same Creed in different Forms.*

The like observation may be made upon the creeds used in divers Churches. There was but one ‘rule of faith,’ as Tertullian^q calls it, and that fixed and unalterable as to the substance, throughout the whole Church. Yet there were different ways of expressing it, as appears from the several forms still extant, which differ something from one another. Those in Irenæus^r, in Cyprian^s and Tertullian^t, are not exactly in the same method nor form of words. The creed of Eusebius^u and

(c. xiv. in Epist. i. ad Cor.) quodam testimonio Liturgiæ Africanæ utitur, quod in Romana non reperitur.

^q See note (t) below.

^r Iren. lib. i. c. x. tot. (Venet. 1734. vol. i. p. 48.) (p. 45, Oxon. 1702.) quod quum paullo longius sit, brevitatis causa verba Latina tantum transcribimus : Ecclesia per universum orbem usque ad fines terræ seminata, et ab apostolis et discipulis eorum accepit eam fidem, quæ est in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, ‘qui fecit cœlum et terram, et mare, et omnia quæ in eis sunt : et in unum Jesum Christum Filium Dei,’ incarnatum pro nostra salute : ‘et in Spiritum Sanctum,’ qui per prophetas prædicavit dispositiones Dei, et adventum, et eam, quæ est ex Virgine, generationem, et passionem, et resurrectionem a mortuis, et in carne in cœlos adscensionem dilecti Jesu Christi Domini nostri, et de cœlis in gloria Patris adventum ejus, ad ‘recapitulanda universa’ et resuscitandam omnem carnem humani generis, ut Christo Jesu Domino nostro, et Deo et Salvatore et Regi, secundum placitum Patris invisibilis, ‘omne genu curvet cœlestium et terrestrium et infernorum, et omnis lingua confiteatur ei’ et judicium justum in omnibus faciat : ‘spiritalia quidem nequitiae,’ et angelos transgressos, atque apostatas factos, et impios, et injustos, et iniquos, et blasphemos homines in æternum ignem mittat : justis autem et æquis, et præcepta ejus servantibus, et in dilectione ejus perseverantibus, quibusdam quidem ab initio, quibusdam autem ex pœnitentia, vitam donans, incorruptelam loco muneris conferat, et claritatem æternam circumdet.

^s Cypr. Ep. lxx. ad Episcop. Numid. (Oxon. 1682. p. 190.) (p. 117, edit. Paris.) Sed et ipsa interrogatio quæ fit in baptismo, testis est veritatis. Nam cum dicimus, ‘Credis in vitam æternam, et remissionem peccatorum per sanctam ecclesiam?’ intelligimus remissionem peccatorum non nisi in ecclesia dari.—Item Epistol. lxxvi. al. lxix. ad Magnum, p. 183, edit. Oxon. (p. 152, edit. Paris.)

^t Tertullian. de Veland. Virg. c. i. (p. 173. A 2.) Regula fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis, et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in unicum Deum omnipotentem, mundi conditorem, et Filium ejus Jesum Christum, natum ex virgine Maria, crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, tertia die resuscitatum a mortuis, receptum in cœlis, sedentem nunc ad dexteram Patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos, per carnis etiam resurrectionem.

^u Euseb. Ep. ad Cæsariens. ap. Socrat. lib. i. c. viii. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 19. C 1.) (p. 24, edit. Amstelod.) Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν· καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν

his Church of Cæsarea differed from that of Jerusalem, upon which Cyril^v comments; and that of Cyril's from that in St. James's^x Liturgy. And, to omit abundance more that might here be mentioned, the creed of Aquileia recited by Ruffin^y differs from the Roman creed, which is that we commonly call the Apostles' Creed. Now the reason of all this difference could be no other but this, that all bishops had power to frame the creeds of their own Churches, and express them in such terms as suited best their own convenience, and to meet with the heresies they were most in danger from: as Ruffin observes, that the words 'invisible' and 'impassible' were added to the first article in the creed of Aquileia, in opposition to the Patripassian or Sabellian heretics, who asserted that the Father was visible and passible in human flesh, as well as the Son. And it is evident, the bishops of other Churches used the same liberty, as they saw occasion.

SECT. IV.—*And appoint particular days of Fasting in their own Churches.*

It were easy to confirm this observation by many other instances of the like nature; but I shall only name one more, which is the power every bishop had to appoint particular days of fasting in his own Church. This we learn from St. Austin's answer to Casulanus about the Saturday fast. Casulanus was very much troubled and perplexed about it, because he observed

Χριστὸν, τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, ζωὴν ἐκ ζωῆς, Υἱὸν μονογενῆ, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ Πατρὸς γεγεννημένον δι' οὗ καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα, τὸν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθέντα, καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἀνελθόντα πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ἥξοντα πάλιν ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς ἓν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Τούτων ἕκαστον εἶναι καὶ ὑπάρχειν πιστεύοντες, Πατέρα ἀληθῶς Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν ἀληθῶς Υἱὸν, καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἀληθῶς ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, κ. τ. λ.

^v Cyrill. Hierosolym. Catech. iv. n. iii. iv. seqq. (p. 47, edit. Oxon.)

^x Liturg. Jacobi, Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. tom. ii. p. 7. (tom. vi. p. 6, Biblioth. SS. Patr. edit. Margarin. de la Bigne, Paris. 1589.) Credo in unum Deum Patrem, omnipotentem factorem cœli et terræ, et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, Filium Dei, etc.

^y Ruffin. in Symbol. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, invisibilem et impassibilem.

in Afric some Churches keep it a fast, and others a festival; nay, sometimes in the same Church men were divided in their practice, and one part dined on that day, whilst another fasted. Now to remove Casulanus' scruple, St. Austin gives him^z this answer: "that the best way in this case was to follow those who were rulers of every Church. Therefore if he would take his advice, he should never resist his bishop in this matter, but do as he did without doubt or scruple." Which plainly implies, that it was then in every bishop's power to order or not order this fast in his own Church, as he saw most convenient.

SECT. V.—*The Independency of Bishops most conspicuous in the African Churches.*

And indeed these privileges of bishops, and their absolute and independent power in all such matters, were no where more fully reserved to them, than in the African Churches, from the time of Cyprian, who frequently makes mention of this independent power; which extended not only to mere rituals, but to several momentous points of discipline; such as the case of rebaptizing heretics, admitting adulterers to the communion of the Church again, and the question about the validity of Clinic baptism. In these points, Cyprian's opinion and practice differed from others of his fellow bishops: but yet he assumed no power of censuring those that acted differently from what he did, nor separated from their communion upon it; but left every one to give an account of his own practice to God the judge of all. For the case of rebaptizing such as were baptized by heretics, he was entirely for it, as is sufficiently known to all: but he was not so zealous for it, as to exercise any judicial power of deposing or excommunicating those who practised otherwise; but declares he left every bishop to his liberty, to act according to his judgment, and answer for what he did to God alone. To this purpose he

^z Aug. Ep. lxxxvi. ad Casulan. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 62. A 11.) Mos eorum mihi sequendus videtur, quibus eorum populorum congregatio regenda commissa est. Quapropter si consilio meo. . . acquiescis; episcopo tuo in hac re noli resistere, et quod facit ipse, sine ullo scrupulo vel disceptatione sectare.

expresses himself in his letter to Pope Stephen^a, and that to Jubaianus^b, but most fully in his speech delivered at the opening of the great Council of Carthage, which met to consider this very question. “Let us every one now,” says he, “give our opinion of this matter^{bb}; judging no man, nor repelling any from our communion, that shall think otherwise. For no one of us makes himself bishop of bishops, or compels his colleagues by tyrannical terror to a necessity of complying; forasmuch as every bishop, according to the liberty and power that is granted him, is free to act as he sees fit; and can no more be judged by others, than he can judge them. But let us all expect the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only hath power both to invest us with the government of his Church, and to pass sentence upon our actions.” Thus far Cyprian, in full and open council, declares for the independent power of every bishop, tacitly reflecting upon the bishop of Rome, who pretended to excommunicate those who differed in opinion and practice from him; which Cyprian condemns as a tyrannical way of proceeding.

For the next point, that is, the case of admitting adulterers to communion again, Cyprian says, “his predecessors in Afric were divided upon the question; but they did not divide communion upon it: for though some bishops admitted adulterers to penance, and others refused to do it, yet they did not cen-

^a Cypr. Ep. lxxii. ad Stephan. (Oxon. 1682. p. 198.) (p. 122, edit. Paris.) *Qua in re nec nos vim cuique facimus, aut legem damus, cum habeat in ecclesiae administratione voluntatis suae arbitrium liberum unusquisque Præpositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus.*

^b Idem, Ep. lxxiii. ad Jubaian. (Oxon. p. 210.) (p. 128, lin. ult. et p. 129, edit. Paris.) *Hæc tibi breviter pro nostra mediocritate rescripsimus, frater carissime, nemini præscribentes aut præjudicantes, quo minus unusquisque episcoporum quod putat faciat, habens arbitrii sui liberam potestatem.*

^{bb} Conc. Carth. ap. Cypr. (Oxon. p. 229.) *Superest ut de hac ipsa re singuli, quid sentiamus, proferamus; neminem judicantes, aut a jure communionis aliquem, si diversum senserit, amoventes. Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit; quando habeat omnis episcopus, pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ, arbitrium proprium; tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest judicare. Sed (p. 230) exspectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et præponendi nos in ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione, et de actu nostro judicandi.*

sure each other's practice, but preserved peace and concord among themselves^c, leaving every one to answer to God for his actions." I know indeed some learned persons^d interpret this liberty of the African bishops so as to make it mean no more than a liberty to follow their own judgment, till such times as the Church should determine the matter in dispute, by making some public decree about it: but I must own, I cannot but think Cyprian meant something more; because he pleads for the same liberty even after the decrees of a plenary Council; as we have seen in his preface to the Council of Carthage.

As to the third question, about the validity of Clinic baptism, that is, whether persons who were only sprinkled with water in their beds in time of sickness, and not immersed or washed all over the body in baptism, were to be looked upon as complete Christians; Cyprian for his own part resolves it in the affirmative: but yet, if any bishops were otherwise persuaded, that it was not lawful baptism, and upon that ground gave such persons a new immersion, he professes^e that he prescribes to none, but leaves every one to act according to his own judgment and discretion. This was that ancient liberty of the Cyprianic age, of which I have discoursed a little more particularly in this place, because it shows us what was then the uncontested power and privilege of every bishop in the African Church, which is not so commonly understood in these latter ages.

^c Cypr. Ep. lii. al. lv. ad Anton. (Oxon. p. 110.) (p. 71, fin. seq. edit. Par. 1666.) Apud antecessores nostros, quidam de episcopis isthinc in provincia nostra dandam pacem mœchis non putaverunt, et in totum poenitentiae locum contra adulteria clausurunt; non tamen a coëpiscoporum suorum collegio recesserunt, aut Catholicæ Ecclesiæ unitatem vel duritie vel censuræ suæ obstinatione ruperunt; ut, quia apud alios adulteris pax dabatur, qui non dabat, de ecclesia separaretur. Manente concordiae vinculo, et perseverante Catholicæ Ecclesiæ individuo sacramento, actum suum disponit et dirigit unusquisque episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus.

^d Fell. Not. in loc. citat.

^e Cyprian. Ep. lxxvi. al. lxix. ad Magnum. (Oxon. 1682. p. 185.) (p. 153, edit. Paris.) Qua in parte nemini verecundia et modestia nostra præjudicat, quo minus unusquisque quod putat sentiat, et quod senserit faciat.—Item, p. 198. (p. 155, edit. Paris.) Nemini præscribentes, quo minus statuatur, quod putat unusquisque Præpositus, actus sui rationem Domino redditurus.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE POWER OF BISHOPS IN HEARING AND DETERMINING
SECULAR CAUSES.SECT. I.—*Bishops commonly chosen Arbitrators of Men's
Differences in the Primitive Church.*

WE have hitherto considered such offices of the episcopal function, as belonged to all bishops by the laws of God and the canons of the Church: besides these there was one office more, imposed upon them by custom, and the laws of the state; which was the hearing and determining secular causes, upon the continual applications and addresses that people made to them. For such was the singular character and repute of bishops, and such the entire confidence men generally reposed in them, for their integrity and justice, that they were commonly appealed to, as the best arbitrators of men's differences, and the most impartial judges of the common disputes that happened among them. Sidonius Apollinaris^f often refers to

^f Sidon. Apollin. lib. iii. ep. xii. (Paris. 1609. p. 206.) Cæterum nostro quod sacerdoti nihil reservavi; meæ causæ suæque personæ præscius in commune consului, ne vel hæc justo clementius vindicaretur, vel illa justo severius vindicaret. Cui cum tamen totum ordinem rei ut satisfaciens ex itinere mandassem; vir sanctus et justus iracundiæ meæ dedit gloriam, cum nihil amplius ego venia postularem, pronuntians more majorum reos tantæ temeritatis jure cæsos videri, etc.—Id. lib. vi. ep. ii. (p. 384.) Jurgium semisopitum vestris modo sinibus infertur. Pacificate certantes, et pontificalis auctoritate censuræ, suspectis sibi partibus indicite gratiam, dicite veritatem.—Ibid. ep. iv. (p. 387.) Auctoritas personæ, opportunitas præsentiae tuæ, inter coram positos facile valebit, si dignabitur, seriem totius indagare violentiæ. . . Sed quia judicii vestri medicinam expetunt, civilitatemque, qui negotium criminale parturiunt, vestrarum, si bene metior, partium pariter et morum est, aliqua indemni compositione istorum dolori, illorum periculo subvenire; et quodam salubris sententiæ temperamento, hanc partem minus adflictam, illam minus ream, et utramque plus facere securam, etc.

this custom: and Synesius calls it^g part of his own episcopal office and function. St. Ambrose testifies for himself^h that he was used to be appealed to upon such occasions; and St. Austinⁱ says of him, that he was often so much employed in hearing causes, that he had scarce time for other business. And this was St. Austin's case also, who frequently complains of the burden^k that lay upon him in this respect. For not only Christians, but men of all sects, applied to him: insomuch that, as Possidius^l notes in his life, he often spent all the morning, and sometimes the whole day, fasting and hearing their causes; which though it was a great fatigue to him, yet he was willing to bear it, because it gave him frequent opportunities of instilling the principles of truth and virtue into the minds of the parties that applied themselves to him.

SECT. II.—*The original of this custom. What meant by the word ἐξουθενημένοι in St. Paul, 1 Cor. vi. 4.*

And it is to be observed, that though there be no express text in the New Testament, that commands bishops to be judges in secular causes; yet St. Austin was of opinion, that St. Paul in prohibiting men to go to law before the unbelievers, did virtually lay this obligation upon them. For he says once

^g Synes. Epist. cv. p. 399. (p. 248, edit. Paris. 1633.) Νομοδιδάσκαλος ὢν καὶ νενομισμένα φθεγγόμενος.

^h Ambros. Ep. xxiv. ad Marcellum (Ep. xlix. lib. vi. p. 151. a. tom. v. edit. Colon. 1616.) (Paris. 1836. vol. iv. p. 423.) Petierunt causæ patroni prorogari paucorum dierum tempora, ut ego, residerem cognitor. Tantus ardor erat Christianis viris, ne præfectus de episcopi judicaret negotio, etc.

ⁱ Aug. Conf. lib. vi. c. iii. (Bened. 1700. vol. i. p. 87. D 7.) Non quærere ab eo (Ambrosio) poteram, quod volebam sicut volebam, secludentibus me ab ejus aure atque ore catervis negotiosorum hominum, quorum infirmitatibus serviebat. Cum quibus quando non erat, quod per exiguum temporis erat, aut corpus reficiebat necessariis sustentaculis, aut lectione animum.

^k Aug. Ep. cx. Non permittor ad quod volo vacare. Ante meridiem et post meridiem occupationibus hominum implicor. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 601. C.)—Id. Ep. cxlvii. Homines causas suas sæculares apud nos finire cupientes, etc.

^l Possid. Vit. August. c. xix. Causas eorum audiebat diligenter ac pie; et eas aliquando usque ad horam refectionis, aliquando autem tota die jejunans, semper tamen noscebat et dirimebat. . . . Atque compertis rerum opportunitatibus, divinæ legis veritatem partes docebat, eamque illis inculcabat, et eos quo adipiscerentur vitam æternam, edocebat et admonebat: etc. (Bened. 1700. vol. x. append. p. 182. B.)

and again^m, “That it was the apostle that instituted ecclesiastical judges, and laid the burden of secular causes upon them.” By which he means, that the apostle gave a general direction to Christians to choose arbitrators among themselves; and that custom determined this office particularly to the bishops, as the best qualified by their wisdom and probity to discharge it. And this is very agreeable to St. Paul’s meaning, 1 Cor. vi. 4, as some very learned and judicious criticsⁿ understand him. For though all the common translations render the words, ἐξουθενημένους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ‘persons that are least esteemed in the Church;’ yet Dr. Lightfoot observes, that they may as well signify ‘persons of the greatest esteem.’ For the original word, ἐξουθενημένοι, signifies only private judges, or arbitrators of men’s own choosing, such as were in use among the Jews, who called them ἰδιῶται, and ‘non-authentici,’ not because they were of the meanest and most contemptible of the people, but because they were the lowest rank of judges, and not settled as a standing court by the Sanhedrim, but chosen by the litigants themselves to arbitrate their causes. Such private judges the apostle directs the Christians to choose in the Church, and refer their controversies to them: which is not any injunction to choose judges out of the poorest, and meanest, and most ignorant of the people, but rather the contrary; persons that were well qualified by their wisdom and authority to take upon them to be judges, and end controversies among their brethren. Now because none were thought better qualified in these respects than bishops, the office of judging upon that account was commonly imposed upon them,

^m Aug. Serm. xxiv. in Psalm. cxviii. (Bened. 1700. vol. iv. p. 1004. C 13.) Constituit talibus causis ecclesiasticos apostolus cognitores, in foro prohibens iurgare Christianos.—Id. de Oper. Monach. c. xxix. (Bened. 1700. vol. vi. p. 365. B 11.) Quantum attinet ad meum commodum, multo mallet per singulos dies certis horis, quantum in bene moderatis monasteriis constitutum est, aliquid manibus operari, et cæteras horas habere ad legendum et orandum, aut aliquid de divinis litteris agendum liberas, quam tumultuosissimas perplexitates causarum alienarum pati de negotiis sæcularibus, vel judicando dirimendis, vel interveniendo præcidendis: quibus nos molestiis idem afflixit apostolus, non utique suo, sed ejus qui per eum loquebatur arbitrio, quas tamen ipsum perpersum fuisse non legimus.

ⁿ Lightfoot, et Ludov. de Dieu, in 1 Cor. vi. 4.

and they in decency and charity could not well refuse it. This seems to be the true original of this part of the episcopal office and function.

SECT. III.—*This Power of Bishops confirmed by the Imperial Laws.*

But what was thus begun by custom, while the civil governors were heathens, was afterward confirmed and established by law, when the emperors became Christians. Eusebius^o says, Constantine made a law to confirm all such decisions of bishops in their consistories, and that no secular judges should have any power to reverse or disannul them; forasmuch as the priests of God were to be preferred before any other judge. And Sozomen^p adds, that he gave leave to all litigants to refer their causes to the determination of bishops, whose sentence should stand good, and be as authentic as if it had been the decision of the emperor himself; and that the governors of every province and their officers should be obliged to put their decrees in execution. There is a law now added at the end of the Theodosian code, which some take for this very law of Constantine mentioned by these authors. Selden himself reckons it a genuine piece^q; but I think Gothofred's arguments are stronger to prove it spurious. For it grants bishops such a power, as neither Eusebius nor Sozomen mention, and all other laws contradict: viz. that if either of the contending parties, the possessor or the plaintiff^r, was minded to bring

^o Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iv. c. xxvii. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 445. B.) Καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἐπισκόπων δὲ ὅρους τοὺς ἐν συνόδοις ἀποφανθέντας ἐπισφραγίζετο, ὥς μὴ ἐξεῖναι τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσι τὰ δόξαντα παραλύειν παντὸς γὰρ εἶναι δικαστοῦ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ δοκιμωτέρους.

^p Sozom. lib. i. c. ix. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 337. D 7.) Τῶν δὲ ἐπισκόπων ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὴν κρίσιν ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς δικαζομένοις, ἣν βούλωνται τοὺς πολιτικούς ἄρχοντας παραιτεῖσθαι κυρίαν δὲ εἶναι τὴν αὐτῶν ψῆφον, καὶ κρείττω τῆς τῶν ἄλλων δικαστῶν, ὥσανεὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξενεχθεῖσαν εἰς ἔργον δὲ τὰ κρινόμενα ἄγειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ τοὺς διακονουμένους αὐτοῖς στρατιώτας.

^q Selden. Uxor Hebr. lib. iii. c. xxviii. p. 564. (p. 413, 414, edit. Francof. 1673.)

^r Extravag. de Elect. Judicii Episcop. ad calcem Codic. Theod. tom. vi. p. 303. Quicunque litem habens, sive possessor, sive petitor erit, inter initia litis, vel decursis temporum curriculis, sive cum negotium peroratur, sive cum jam

the cause before a bishop, either when it was before a secular court, or when it was determined, he might do it, though the other party was against it. Whereas all laws and history are against this practice: for no cause was to be brought before a bishop, except both parties agreed, by way of compromise, to take him for their arbitrator. In this case the bishop's sentence was valid, and to be executed by the secular power, but not otherwise. So that either this was not the genuine law of Constantine, to which Eusebius and Sozomen refer; or else it was revoked and contradicted by all others. Gothofred produces a great many contrary laws: I shall content myself with a single instance.

SECT. IV.—*Yet not allowed in criminal causes; nor in any causes, but when the Litigants both agreed to take them for Arbitrators.*

In the Justinian code^s we have two laws of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius about the same matter, which may serve to explain the law of Constantine. For there any bishops are allowed to judge, and their judgment is ordered to be final, so as no appeal should be made from it; and the officers of the secular judges are appointed to execute the bishop's sentence: but then there are these two limitations expressly put in: 1st, that they shall only have power to judge, when both parties agree by consent to refer their causes to their arbitration: and, 2dly, where the causes are purely civil, and not criminal causes, where perhaps life and death might be concerned. For in such cases, the clergy were prohibited by the canons^t of the Church, as well as the laws of the state, from

cœperit promi sententia, judicium eligit sacrosanctæ legis Antistitis, illico sine aliqua dubitatione, etiamsi alia pars refragatur, ad episcopum cum sermone litigantium dirigatur.

^s Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iv. leg. vii. (p. 25.) Si qui ex consensu apud sacræ legis antistitem litigare voluerint, non vetabuntur: sed experientur illius in civili duntaxat negotio, more arbitri, sponte residentis judicium.—Ibid. leg. viii. Episcopale judicium ratum sit omnibus, qui se audiri a sacerdotibus elegerint; eamque eorum judicationi adhibendam esse reverentiam jubemus, quam vestris deferre necesse est potestatibus, a quibus non licet provocare.

^t Conc. Tarracon. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1564.) Habeant licentiam judicandi, exceptis criminalibus negotiis.

being concerned as judges. Therefore bishops never suffered any criminal causes to come before them, except such as were to be punished with ecclesiastical censures.

SECT. V.—*Bishops sometimes made their Presbyters, and sometimes Laymen, their substitutes in this affair.*

But they had commonly civil causes more than enough flowing in upon them. So that they were forced sometimes to let part of this care devolve upon some other person, whose integrity and prudence they could confide in. This was commonly one of their clergy, a presbyter or a principal deacon. St. Austin, when he found the burden of this affair begin to press too hard upon him, substituted Erad(*cl*)ius his presbyter^u in his room. And the Council of Tarragona speaks not only of presbyters, but^v deacons also, who were deputed to hear secular causes. And Socrates says^x, Silvanus, bishop of Troas, took the power wholly out of the hands of his clergy, because he had found some of them faulty in making an unlawful gain of the causes that were brought before them: for which reason he never deputed any one of them to be judge, but made some layman his delegate, whom he knew to be a man of integrity, and strict lover of justice. I leave the learned to inquire, whether lay-chancellors in the Church had not their first rise and original from some such occasion as this, whilst bishops deputed laymen to hear secular causes in their name, still reserving the proper spiritual and ecclesiastical power entirely to themselves.

^u Aug. Ep. cx. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 601. C 10.) Obsecro vos et obstringo per Christum, ut huic juveni, hoc est, Eraclio presbytero, quem hodie in nomine Christi designo episcopum successorem mihi, patiamini me refundere onera occupationum mearum.

^v Conc. Tarracon. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1564.) Nullus episcoporum aut presbyterorum vel clericorum, die Dominico propositum cujuscumque causæ negotium audeat judicare.

^x Socrat. lib. vii. c. xxxvii. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 310. D 5.) Κατιδὼν τοὺς κληρικοὺς ἐμπορίαν ποιουμένους τὰς τῶν δικαζομένων ἐρεσχελίας, οὐδένα τὸν τοῦ κλήρου δικαστὴν ἐδίδου ποτέ· ἀλλὰ τὰ βιβλία τῶν δεομένων δεχόμενος, παρεκάλει ἓνα τῶν πιστῶν λαϊκῶν, ὃν ᾗδει φιλοῦντα τὸ δίκαιον· κακείνῳ ἐγχειρίσας τὴν ἀκρόασιν, τοὺς δικαζομένους τῆς ἐρεσχελίας ἀπήλασεν.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE PRIVILEGE OF BISHOPS TO INTERCEDE FOR
CRIMINALS.SECT. I.—*Of the great power and interest of Bishops in interceding to the secular magistrates.*

I HAVE observed in the foregoing chapter, that bishops were never allowed to be judges in capital or criminal causes, because they were not to be concerned in blood : they were to be so far from having any thing to do in the death of any man, that custom made it almost a piece of their office and duty to save men from death, by interceding to the secular magistrates for criminals that were condemned to die. St. Ambrose often made use of this privilege, as the author of his life observes ; frequently addressing himself to Macedonius^y, and Stilicho^z, and other great ministers of the age, in behalf of poor delinquents, to obtain pardon for them. St. Austin did the same for the Circumcellions, when they were convicted and condemned for murdering some of the catholic clergy : he wrote two pathetic letters^a to the African magistrates, Marcellinus

^y Paulin. Vit. Ambros. p. 8. (p. 43. a. edit. Colon. 1616.) (Paris. 1836. vol. i. p. xiv.) Temporibus Gratiani cum ad prætorium Macedonii tunc magistri officiorum pro quodam intercedendum perrexisset, etc.

^z Ibid. p. 12. (p. 44. a. ed. Colon.) Homines, qui decepti fuerant, interventu sacerdotis (Ambrosii) dimisit Stilico.

^a Aug. Ep. clix. (?) Poena illorum, quamvis de tantis sceleribus confessorum, rogo te, ut præter supplicium mortis sit, et propter conscientiam nostram et propter catholicam mansuetudinem commendandam. Ipse enim fructus ad nos pervenit confessionis illorum ; quia invenit Ecclesia Catholica, ubi suam erga atrocissimos inimicos servet atque exhibeat lenitatem. In tanta quippe crudelitate, quæcumque præter sanguinem vindicta processerit, magna lenitas apparebit.—Id. Ep. clix. (vol. ii. p. 300. E 4.) Nolumus passiones servorum Dei, quasi vice talionis, paribus suppliciis vindicari. Non quo scelestis hominibus

Comes and Apringius, desiring that their lives might be spared, and that they might only be punished with close custody and confinement, where they might be set to work, and have time allowed them for repentance. The Council of Sardica^b seems to speak of it as the duty of all bishops to intercede for such as implored the mercy of the Church, when they were condemned to be transported or banished, or any the like punishment. And the custom was become so general, that it began to be considered as a condition in the election of a bishop, whether he were qualified to discharge this part of his office as well as others. Sidonius Apollinaris^c instances in such a case, where it was made an objection by the people against the election of a certain bishop, that being a man of a monkish and retired life, he was fitter to be an abbot than a bishop: he might intercede, they said, indeed with the heavenly Judge for their souls, but he was not qualified to intercede with the earthly judges for their bodies. He was not a man of address, which they then thought necessary to discharge this part of the office of a bishop. They might perhaps judge wrong, as those in St. Jerome^d did, who pretended that clergymen ought to give splendid entertainments to the secular judges, that they might gain an interest in them; whom St. Jerome justly reprove, telling them, that any judge would pay a greater

licentiam facinorum prohibeamus auferri; sed hoc magis sufficere volumus, ut vivi et nulla corporis parte truncati, vel ab inquietudine insana ad sanitatis otium legum coërcitione dirigantur, vel a malignis operibus alicui utili operi deputentur. Vocatur quidem et ista damnatio: sed quis non intelligat magis beneficium quam supplicium nuncupandum, ubi nec sæviendi relaxetur audacia, nec poenitendi subtrahatur medicina? Imple, Christiane judex, pii patris officium; sic succense iniquitati, ut consulere humanitati memineris: etc.

^b Concil. Sardic. can. vii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 633. B 6.) Ἐπεὶ πολλάκις συμβαίνει τινὰς, οἰκτοῦ δεομένους, καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, διὰ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἁμαρτήματα εἰς περιορισμὸν ἢ νῆσον καταδικασθέντας, ἢ αὖ πάλιν οἰαδηποτοῦν ἀποφάσει ἐκδεδομένους· τοῖς τοιούτοις μὴ ἀρνητέαν εἶναι τὴν βοήθειαν, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς μελλησμοῦ καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ διστάσαι τοῖς τοιούτοις αἰτεῖσθαι συγχώρησιν.

^c Sidon. lib. vii. ep. ix. (?) Hic, qui nominatur, non episcopi, sed potius abbatis complet officium: et intercedere magis pro animabus apud coelestem, quam pro corporibus apud terrenum judicem potest.

^d Hieron. Ep. lii. ad Novatianum. (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 265. D 10.) Quod si obtenderis te facere hæc, ut roges pro miseris atque subjectis; judex sæculi plus deferet clerico continenti quam diviti; et magis sanctitatem tuam venerabitur quam opes.

reverence to a pious and sober clergyman, than to a wealthy one, and would respect him more for his holiness than his riches.—However, this shows what was then the common custom, and how great an interest bishops generally had in the secular magistrate, who seldom rejected any petitions of this nature. Socrates notes, that even some of the Novatian bishops enjoyed this privilege, as Paulus^e of Constantinople, and Leontius^f of Rome; at whose intercession Theodosius the emperor pardoned Symmachus, who had been guilty of treason, in making a panegyric upon Maximus the tyrant, but was, after his death, fled for sanctuary to a Christian Church.

SECT. II.—*The reasons why Bishops interceded for some criminals, and not others.*

We may here observe, that crimes, in themselves of a very heinous nature, such as treason and murder, were sometimes pardoned at their request: but we are not to imagine that bishops at any time turned patrons for criminals, to the obstruction of public justice (which would have been to have cut the sinews of government), but only in such cases where pardon would manifestly be for the benefit and honour both of the Church and commonwealth: or else where the crimes themselves had some such alleviating circumstances, as might incline a compassionate judge to grant a pardon. As when St. Ambrose interceded with Stilicho for the pardon of some poor deluded wretches, whom Stilicho's own servant by forgery had drawn into an error; their ignorance might reasonably be pleaded in their behalf. And when St. Austin petitioned for favour to be showed to the Circumcellions, it was, he thought, for the honour of the Church to free her from the suspicion and charge of revenge and cruelty, which the Donatists were so ready to cast upon her. And therefore he desired Aprin-

^e Socrat. lib. vii. c. xvii. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 289. A 10.) Ὑπὲρ πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας παρεκάλει· οἱ δὲ ἐτοίμως ὑπήκουον διὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν εὐλάβειαν τῷ ἀνδρί.

^f Id. lib. v. c. xxiv. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 224. B 12.) Λεοντίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν Νανατιανῶν ἐκκλησίας παρακαλοῦντι χάριν διδοῦς, τὸν Σύμμαχον ἀπέλυσε τοῦ συγκλήματος.

gius^g the proconsul, to spare them for the sake of Christ and his Church, as well as to give them time to see their error, and repent of it.

SECT. III.—*They never interceded in Civil Matters and Pecuniary Causes.*

It must further be noted from St. Ambrose, that bishops, though they themselves were sometimes chosen judges in civil causes, yet never interceded for any man in such causes to the secular judges. And he gives a very good reason for it^h: because, in pecuniary causes, where two parties are concerned, a bishop could not intercede for one party, but the other would be injured, and have reason to think he lost his cause by the interest and favour of the intercessor inclining to the adverse party. For which reason, there are no examples of their interceding in such cases.

^g August. Ep. clx. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 302. E 3.) Illi impio ferro fuderunt sanguinem Christianum : tu ab eorum sanguine etiam juridicum gladium cohibe propter Christum. . . . Tu inimicis Ecclesiæ viventibus relaxa spatium poenitendi.

^h Ambros. de Offic. lib. iii. c. ix. (Paris. 1836. vol. iii. p. 211.) In causis pecuniariis intervenire non est sacerdotis ; in quibus non potest fieri, quin frequenter lædatur alter qui vincitur ; quoniam intercessoris beneficio se victum arbitratur.

CHAPTER IX.

OF SOME PARTICULAR HONOURS AND INSTANCES OF RESPECT
SHOWED TO BISHOPS BY ALL PERSONS IN GENERAL.

SECT. I.—*Of the ancient custom of Bowing the Head to receive
the Benediction of Bishops.*

THERE are several other privileges belonging to bishops, in common with the rest of the clergy ; such as their exemption from burdensome offices, and some sort of taxes, and the cognizance of the secular courts in some cases ; of which I shall say nothing particularly here, because they will be considered when we treat of the privileges of the clergy in general. But there are two or three customs, which argued a particular respect paid to bishops, and therefore I must not here wholly pass them over. One of these was the ancient custom of bowing the head before them, to receive their blessing : a custom so universally prevailing, that the emperors themselves did not refuse to comply with it : as may appear from that discourse of Hilaryⁱ to Constantius ; where he tells him, ‘ he entertained the bishop with a kiss, with which Christ was betrayed ; and bowed his head to receive their benediction, whilst he trampled on their faith.’ This plainly refers to the custom we are speaking of. And by it we may understand the meaning of Theodoret, when he says^k, “ The emperor Valentinian gave orders to the bishops, who were met, to make choice of a bishop of Milan ; that they should place such an one on the bishop’s throne, of that eminency for life and doc-

ⁱ Hilar. adv. Constant. p. 95. Osculo sacerdotes excipis, quo et Christus est proditus : caput benedictioni submittis, ut fidem calces.

^k Theodor. lib. iv. c. v. “Ὅπως καὶ ἡμεῖς, οἱ τὴν βασιλείαν ἰθύνοντες, εἰλικρινῶς αὐτῷ τὰς ἡμετέρας ὑποκλίνοιμεν κεφαλὰς. (Vales. p. 157. A 4.)

trine, that the emperors themselves might not be ashamed to bow their heads to him." The same custom is more plainly hinted at by St. Chrysostom, in one of his homilies¹ to the people of Antioch; where speaking of Flavian their bishop, who was gone to the emperor to procure a pardon for them; he says, "Flavian was a prince, and a more honourable prince than the other; forasmuch as the sacred laws made the emperor submit his head to the hands of the bishop." He speaks of no other submission, but only this, in receiving the bishop's benediction. For, in other respects, the priests in those days were always subject to the emperors. He that would see more proofs of this custom, may consult Valesius, who has collected^m a great many passages out of other authors relating to it. I shall only add here that rescript of Honorius and Valentinian^{mm}, which says, bishops were the persons to whom all the world bowed the head; "Quibus omnis terra caput inclinat."

SECT. II.—*Of Kissing their Hand.*

Such another customary respect was paid them, by kissing their hand; which seems to have accompanied the former ceremony: for St. Ambroseⁿ joins them both together, saying,

¹ Chrysost. Hom. iii. ad Popul. Antioch. (tom. i. p. 48. A 4.) (Benedict. vol. ii. p. 32. D 3.) (tom. i. p. 42, edit. Francof.) "Ἀρχων ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἄρχων ἐκείνου σεμνότερος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν κεφαλὴν οἱ ἱεροὶ νόμοι ταῖς τοῦτου φέροντες χερσὶν ὑπέταξαν."

^m Vales. Not. in Theod. lib. iv. c. v. (Amstel. 1695. p. 31.) Solebant olim Christiani occurrentibus episcopis caput submittere, ut ab iis benedictionem acciperent. Cujus moris multa supersunt vestigia in veterum libris. Primo enim Hilarius in libro contra Constantium ita scribit: 'Osculo sacerdotes excipis,' etc. Philostorgius in Historia Ecclesiastica scribit, Leontium Tripoleos episcopum, cum reliqui omnes episcopi Eusebiam Augustam, uxorem imperatoris Constantii, adirent, eamque ex more adorarent, numquam adduci potuisse ut eam inviseret, nisi ea conditione, ut Augusta venienti ipsi adsurgeret et caput submitteret, postulans ut benediceretur. Verba Philostorgii refert Suidas in Leontio. Simile est quod scribit Marcus diaconus in vita Porphyrii Gazensis episcopi, Eudoxiam Augustam ipsis in palatium venientibus non semel occurrisse, et priorem ipsos salutasse, atque ut sederent jussisse, et inclinato capite postulasse ut benedicerent, etc.

^{mm} Apud eumd. Valesium, l. c. Audemus quidem sermonem facere solito plus timore capti, de sanctis et venerabilibus sacerdotibus, et secundis sacerdotibus vel etiam Levitis: et eos cum omni timore nominare, quibus omnis terra caput inclinat.

ⁿ Ambros. de Dignit. Sacerd. c. ii. Quippe quum videas regum colla et

“that kings and princes did not disdain to bend and bow their necks to the knees of the priests, and kiss their hands; thinking themselves protected by their prayers.” Paulinus says^o, the people paid this respect commonly to St. Ambrose. And Chrysostom, speaking of Meletius bishop of Antioch, says^p, “At his first coming to the city, the whole multitude went out to meet him; and as many as could come near him, laid hold on his feet, and kissed his hands.” They that please to see more of this custom, may consult Sidonius Apollinaris^q, and Savaro’s learned notes^r upon him; who cites Ennodius, and several other authors to the same purpose.

SECT. III.—*The custom of singing Hosannas to them sometimes used, but not approved.*

St. Jerome mentions another custom, which he condemns as doing too great an honour to mere mortal men^s; which was, the people’s singing hosannas to their bishops, as the multitude did to our Saviour at his entrance into Jerusalem. Valesius^t cites a passage out of Antoninus’s Itinerary to the same purpose; where the form of words is, “Blessed be ye of

principum submitti genibus sacerdotum; et exosculatis eorum dexteris, orationibus eorum credant se communiri.

^o Paulin. Vit. Ambros. p. 2 et 3. (p. 38. b. edit. Colon. 1616.) Cum adolevisset, et esset in urbe Roma constitutus cum matre vidua et sorore, quæ virginitatem jam fuerat professa, comite alia virgine, cujus virginis soror Candida, et ipsa ejusdem professionis, quæ nunc Carthagine degit jam anus, cum videret sacerdotibus a domestica, sorore, vel matre manus osculari, ipse ludens offerebat dexteram, dicens et sibi id ab ea fieri oportere, siquidem se episcopum futurum esse memorabat. (Paris. 1836. vol. i. p. 11.)

^p Chrysost. Hom. xlv. in Melet. tom. i. p. 592, at bottom. (tom. i. p. 523, edit. Francof.) “Ὅτε πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθων, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν μεθωρμίζετο, οἱ μὲν πλησίον ἤρχοντο, καὶ ποδῶν ἤπτοντο, καὶ χεῖρας κατεφίλουν.

^q Sidon. lib. viii. ep. xi. (Paris. 1609. p. 526.)

Perge ad limina mox episcoporum,
Sancti et Gallicini manu osculata.

^r Savaro, Not. in Sidon. lib. viii. ep. xi.

^s Hieron. in Matth. xxi. tom. ix. p. 62. (Venet. Vallars. vol. vii. p. 164. B 6.) Videant ergo episcopi, et quantumlibet sancti homines, cum quanto periculo dici ista sibi patiantur, si Domino cui vere hoc dicebatur, quia nec dum erat solida credentium fides, pro crimine impingitur.

^t Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. ii. c. xxiii. (p. 35.) Benedicti vos a Domino, benedictusque adventus vester, Osanna in excelsis.

the Lord, and blessed be your coming; hosanna in the highest." Some also understand Hegesippus^u in the same sense; where, speaking of the preaching of James bishop of Jerusalem, he says, "The people that were converted by his discourse, cried out, Hosanna to the Son of David." Scaliger understands this as spoken to James himself: but others^v take it for a doxology, or acclamation to Christ, whom they glorified upon the testimony that James had given him: and this seems to be the truer sense of that place; however, in the other acceptation there is nothing contrary to custom in it, as appears from what has been said. I do not insist upon what St. Jerome in another place says^x further of this bishop of Jerusalem; that he was a man of such celebrated fame among the people, for his great sanctity, that they ambitiously strove to touch the hem of his garment: for this honour was not paid him as a bishop, but as a most holy man; who was indeed, according to the character given him by Hegesippus and Epiphanius, a man of singular abstinence and piety, and one of the miracles of the age he lived in. So that this was a singular honour done to him, for his singular holiness and virtue.

SECT. IV.—*What meant by the 'Corona Sacerdotalis,' and the form of saluting bishops 'per Coronam.'*

But to proceed with the common honours paid to bishops. Another instance of respect may be observed in the usual forms of addressing them: for when men spake to them, they commonly prefaced their discourse with some title of honour, such as that of 'precor coronam,' and 'per coronam vestram;' which we may English, 'your honour and dignity;' literally, 'your crown.' This form often occurs in Sidonius Apollinaris, Ennodius, St. Jerome^y, and others. St. Austin says, both the

^u Hegesip. ap. Euseb. lib. ii. c. xxiii. Πολλῶν δοξαζόντων ἐπὶ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τοῦ Ἰακώβου, καὶ λεγόντων, Ὡσαννὰ τῷ Υἱῷ Δαβὶδ. (p. 51. C 11.)

^v Grabe, Spicileg. Sæc. ii. p. 207, translates it thus: Multi, hoc Jacobi testimonio confirmati, glorificabant (Jesum) dicentes, Hosanna Filio David.

^x Hieron. Com. in Galat. i. Virum tantæ sanctitatis et rumoris in populo, ut fimbriam vestimenti ejus certatim cuperint attingere.

^y Sidon. lib. vi. ep. iii. (Paris. 1609. p. 385.) Hunc eatenus commendare

Catholics^z and Donatists used it, when they spake to the bishops of either party; giving them very respectful titles, and intreating, or rather adjuring them ‘per coronam,’ that they would hear and determine their secular causes.

SECT. V.—*Whether Bishops anciently wore a mitre, or any the like ornament.*

The use of this form of speech then is plain, but the reason of it is not so evident. Savaro^a and some others fancy it respected the ancient figure of the clerical tonsure; by which the hair was cut into a round from the crown of the head downwards. Others think it came from the ornament which bishops wore upon their head; and that, they will needs have to be a crown or mitre. Whereas, it does not appear that bishops had any such ornament in those days. I know indeed, both

præsumo, ut si eum instruere dignanter advocatio consulta fastidit, auctoritas coronæ tuæ dissimulantibus studeat excudere responsi celeritatem.—Id. lib. vii. De minimis rebus coronam tuam maximisque consulerem.—Ennod. lib. iv. ep. xxix. ad Symmach. (in Monument. S. Patrum Orthodoxograph. tom. i. Latin. p. 356.) Ut erigat parvulos implorata coronæ vestræ miseratio.—Ad eumd. (ibid. p. 377.) Parthenius igitur, præsentium portitor, germanæ filius, hac ad coronam vestram fiducia animante directus est.—Lib. v. ep. xvii. (ibid. p. 409.) ad Marcellin. Fiduciæ meæ coronam vestram non ambigo responsuram.—Lib. ix. ep. xxvii. ad Aurel. (ibid. p. 474.) O si mihi liceret adhuc æquali cum beatitudine tuam sortem contendere, sed dormiunt apud coronam tuam propinquitatis privilegia.—Hieron. Ep. xxvi. ad August. inter Ep. Aug. Precor coronam tuam.

^z August. Ep. cxlvii. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 48. E 12.) ad Proculeian. Episc. partis Donati. Honorant nos vestri, honorant vos nostri. Per coronam nostram nos adjurant vestri; per coronam vestram vos adjurant nostri.

^a Savaro, Not. in Sidon. lib. vii. ep. iii.—Baron. an. lviii. n. cxxxiv. (Antwerp. 1612. vol. i. p. 570.) Episcopos etiam magna saltem ex parte capitis abrasos fuisse, satis expressisse visus est Gregorius Nazianzenus, qui agens adversus Maximum ex cynico philosopho mox factum episcopum, hæc ait: Cum ad pastoralis muneris administrationem nihil aliud omnino contulerint, quam quod comam, cui alendæ et ornandæ turpiter studuerant, raserint. Porro quoniam ejusmodi capitis rasionem consuevisse a majoribus dici coronam, ea quæ dicta sunt superius, satis aperte significant: ad hujusmodi coronam vel aliud ornamentum capitis alluisse videtur Eusebius Pamphili in ea oratione panegyrica, quam habuit in dedicatione ecclesiæ a Paulino Tyri episcopo ædificatæ, cum sic exorditur: Amici Dei et sacerdotes, qui sacrosancto poderis indumento, cœlesti gloriæ corona . . circumvestiti.

Valesius^b and Petavius^c are very confident, that all bishops (from the very first) had an appendant or badge of honour in their foreheads, which they say was the same with the petalum, or golden plate, which the Jewish high-priests wore: and it cannot be denied, but that as ancient an author as Polycrates^d, mentioned both by Eusebius and St. Jerome, says, that St. John was a priest, wearing a petalum: and Epiphanius^e says the same of James bishop of Jerusalem. But this was not spoken of them as Christian bishops, but on presumption of their having been Jewish priests, and of the family of Aaron. Valesius himself cites a MS. passion of St. Mark, which sets the same ornament on his head, and gives this very reason for it: It is reported, says he, that St. Mark, according to the rites of the carnal sacrifice, wore the chief priest's petalum among the Jews: which gives us plainly to understand^f, says that author, that he was one of the tribe of Levi, and of the family of Aaron.—So he did not take this for the ornament of a Christian bishop, but a Jewish priest; and that opens the way for us to understand what the other authors meant by it,

^b Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. v. c. xxiv. (Amstel. p. 93. B 15.) Quod de lamina dicit Polycrates, credibile est primos illos Christianorum pontifices, exemplo Judaicorum pontificum, hoc honoris insigne gestasse. Certe et Jacobum fratrem Domini, qui primus Hierosolymis episcopus est ordinatus, pontificalem laminam in fronte gestasse auctor est Epiphanius in hæresi Nazaræorum, et in hæresi lxxviii.

^c Petav. Not. in Epiph. Hæres. lxxviii. n. xiv. (Colon. 1682. vol. ii. p. 333.) Quod de summi pontificis πετάλῳ accepisse videtur. Perperam id quidem: quod alioqui de Christianorum pontificum insigni credibile est, et de Joanne evangelista testatum reliquit Polycrates apud Euseb. (lib. v. c. xxiv.) Ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκῶς. Nam quos hæresi xxix. citat Epiphanius, de Joanne, non Jacobo, ista scripserunt.

^d Polycrat. ap. Euseb. lib. v. c. xxiv. (Vales. Amstel. 1693. p. 155. C 7.) Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναπεσὼν, ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκῶς, καὶ μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος.

^e Epiphanius. Hæres. xxix. n. iv. (Ibid. 119. B 11.) Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πέταλον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐξῆν αὐτῷ φέρειν.—Id. Hæres. lxxviii. n. xiv. Οὗτος Ἰάκωβος καὶ πέταλον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐφόρεσε.

^f Auctor MS. Passion. S. Marc. ap. Vales. ibid. B. Marcum juxta ritum carnalis sacrificii, pontificalis apicis petalum in populo gestasse Judæorum, illustrium virorum syngraphæ declarant: ex quo manifeste datur intelligi, de stirpe eum Levitica, immo pontificis Aaron sacræ successionis originem habuisse.

however Valesius chanced not to observe it. Now if it cannot be proved, that bishops anciently were any such ornament as this, it will much less follow that they wore a royal crown, or mitre, as Spondanus^g asserts they did, and thence deduces the custom of addressing them ‘per coronam;’ therein deserting his great master Baronius, who assigns another reason for it. After all, it seems most probable, that it was no more than a metaphorical expression, used to denote the honour and dignity of the episcopal order: though I do not deny that the clerical tonsure was sometimes called ‘corona:’ but that was not peculiar to bishops, but common to all the clergy.

SECT. VI.—*Of the titles ἁγιώτατοι, Sanctissimi, &c.*

It will not be improper to add, while we are upon this point, that it was usual in men’s addresses to bishops, or in speaking of them, to mention their names with some additional titles of respect, such as θεοφιλέστατοι, and ἁγιώτατοι, ‘most dear to God, and most holy fathers:’ which titles occur frequently in the emperor’s rescripts in the civil law^h: and were of such common use in those times, that Socrates (when he comes to the sixth book of his history, which treats of his own times) thinks himself obliged to make some apologyⁱ for not giving the bishops that were then living, these titles. Which I the rather note, because of the vanity of some, who reckon the title, Most Holy Father, the pope’s sole prerogative; and to correct the malice

^g Spondan. Epitom. Baron. an. lviii. n. liv. Hinc est, ut, (quoniam ejusmodi capitis rasionem consuevisse a majoribus dici Coronam, ea quæ dicta sunt satis aperte significant) consueto more loquendi, soleret populus, cum episcopum interpellaret et enixius aliquid ab eo peteret, per coronam ipsius obtestari.

^h Justin. Novell. xl. (Amstel. 1663. p. 76.) Ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Πέτρῳ τῷ ὁσιωτάτῳ καὶ μακαριωτάτῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Ἱεροσολύμων.—Novell. xlii. Ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Μήννῃ τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ καὶ μακαριωτάτῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ, καὶ οἰκουμενικῷ πατριάρχῃ.—Novell. lxvii. . . Μήννῃ τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ καὶ μακαριωτάτῳ οἰκουμενικῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ.—Novell. lxxxvi. (p. 120.) Εἰ προσιών τις τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς χώρας μὴ τύχῃ τῶν δικαίων, τότε κελεύομεν αὐτὸν προσελθεῖν τῷ κατὰ τὸν τόπον ὁσιωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ. — Concil. Chalced. Act. x. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 668.) Διδασκαλία καὶ παράκλησις τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις καὶ ὁσιωτάτοις ἐπισκόποις Φωτίῳ καὶ Εὐσταθίῳ παρὰ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου τῆς Ἑδεσσηνῶν μητροπόλεως.

ⁱ Socrat. Procem. ad lib. vi. (Vales. Amstel. p. 244. D 2.) Οἱ μὲν ἐκκλησιῶν ζηλωταὶ καταγνώσκονται, ὅτι μὴ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους λέγομεν θεοφιλεστάτους ἢ ἁγιωτάτους, ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα.

of others, who will not allow a protestant bishop to receive that title, without the suspicion and imputation of popery. As if St. Austin and St. Jerome had been to blame, because the one wrote, and the other received, epistles always thus inscribed ; ‘Domino vere sancto, et Beatissimo Papæ Augustino.’ See St. Austin’s Epist. 11, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21 ; where St. Jerome and others give him those honourable title.

SECT. VII.—*Bishops distinguished by their throne in the Church.*

There is one thing more that must not be omitted, because it was the common honour and privilege of all bishops to be distinguished in the Church by a chair or seat, which was commonly called their throne. Thus Eusebius^k calls the bishop of Jerusalem’s seat, *θρόνον ἀποστολικόν*, ‘the apostolical throne ;’ because St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, first sat in it. And for the same reason, Gregory Nazianzen^l calls the bishop of Alexandria’s seat, the throne of St. Mark.’ It was otherwise called *βῆμα*, and *θρόνος ὑψηλός*, ‘the high throne ;’ because it was exalted something higher than the seats of the presbyters, which were on each side of it, and were called the ‘second thrones ;’ as we shall see hereafter, when we come to speak of presbyters. All that I shall observe further here concerning this throne of the bishops, is, that though it be sometimes called the ‘high and lofty throne,’ especially by those writers^m who speak in a rhetorical strain ; yet that is only meant comparatively, in respect of the lower seats of presbyters : for otherwise, it was a fault in any bishop to build

^k Euseb. lib. vii. c. xix. (Vales. Amstel. p. 216, at bottom.) Τὸν Ἰακώβου θρόνον τοῦ πρώτου τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑποδεξαμένον, κ. τ. λ.—Id. lib. vii. c. xxxi. (Amstelod. p. 336. C.) Τῆς δ’ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τὸν σμικρῷ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένον ἐπίσκοπον Ὑμέναιον, Ζάμβδας τὴν λειτουργίαν παραλαμβάνει μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δὲ τούτου κεκοιμημένον, Ἑρμῶν ὕστατος τῶν μέχρι τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς διωγμοῦ, τὸν εἰσέτι νῦν ἐκεῖσε πεφυλαγμένον ἀποστολικὸν διαδέχεται θρόνον.

^l Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xxi. in laud. Athan. (Colon. 1690. tom. i. p. 377. C.) Οὐδὲ φονικῶς τε καὶ τυραννικῶς, ἀλλ’ ἀποστολικῶς τε καὶ πνευματικῶς, ἐπὶ τὸν Μάρκου θρόνον ἀνάγεται.

^m Gregor. Nazianz. Somnium de Eccles. Anastas. tom. ii. p. 78. Ἐξεσθαι δοκέεσκον ὑπέρθρονος.—Id. Orat. xx. in laud. Basil. tom. i. p. 342. D. Ἀρτι τοῦ φερωνύμου τῆς εὐσεβείας μετατεθέντος, καὶ ταῖς ἐκείνου χερσὶν ἠδέως ἐναποψύξαντος, ἐπὶ τὸν ὑψηλὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον ἀνάγεται.

himself a pompous and splendid throne, in imitation of the state and grandeur of the secular magistrates. This was one of the crimes which the Council of Antiochⁿ, in their synodical epistle against Paulus Samosatensis, laid to his charge, that he built himself a high and stately tribunal, not as a disciple of Christ, but as one of the rulers of the world; making a secretum to it, in imitation of the secular magistrates; whose tribunals had a place railed out from the rest, and separated by a veil, which they called the 'secretum;' and the ambitious bishop gave his the same name: by which and some other such like practices, he raised the envy and hatred of the heathens against the Christians, as they there complain of him. It was then the great care of the Christian Church to observe a decorum in the honours which she bestowed upon her bishops; that they might be such as might set them above contempt, but keep them below envy; make them venerable, but not minister to vanity, or the outward pomp and ostentation of secular greatness.

ⁿ Ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. (Vales. 1695. p. 229. C.) Βῆμα καὶ θρόνον ὑψηλὸν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευάμενος, οὐχ ὡς Χριστοῦ μαθητῆς, σήκρυτον δὲ, ὥσπερ οἱ κόσμου ἄρχοντες, ἔχων τε καὶ ὀνομάζων.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE AGE, AND SOME PARTICULAR QUALIFICATIONS, REQUIRED IN SUCH AS WERE TO BE ORDAINED BISHOPS.

SECT. I.—*Bishops not to be ordained under thirty years of age, except they were men of extraordinary worth.*

THOSE qualifications of bishops, which were common to them with the rest of the clergy, shall be spoken of hereafter : here I shall only take notice of a few, that were more peculiar to them. Such as, first, their age ; which, by the canons, was required to be at least thirty years. The Council of Neocæsarea^o requires thirty in presbyters ; which is a certain argument that the same age was requisite in a bishop. The Council of Agde^p more expressly limits their age to that time ; requiring all metropolitans to insist upon it in their ordination. The reasons given by these councils are ; because our Saviour himself did not begin to teach before he was thirty years old ; and because that is the perfect age of man. Therefore, though a man was otherwise ever so well qualified, the Council of Neocæsarea says, he shall wait, and not be ordained so much as presbyter before that time. But whether this rule was always observed from the days of the apostles, may be questioned : for there is no such rule given by the apostles in Scripture. That which goes under their name in the Constitutions^q, requires a bishop to be fifty years old before he is

^o Conc. Neocæsar. c. xi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1484.) Πρεσβύτερος πρὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν μὴ χειροτονείσθω.

^p Conc. Agath. c. xvii. (Labbe, vol. iv. Conc. p. 1386.) Presbyterum vel episcopum ante triginta annos, id est, antequam ad viri perfecti ætatem perveniat, nullus metropolitanorum ordinare præsumat.—Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1711. lin. pen.) Qui nondum ad triginta annos pervenerunt, etc.

^q Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. i. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 224.) Τὸν ποιμένα τὸν καθιστάμενον ἐπίσκοπον . . . δεῖ ὑπάρχειν . . . οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα . . . εἰ δὲ

ordained; except he be a man of singular merit and worth, which may compensate for the want of years. This shows, that the custom of the Church varied in this matter; and that persons of extraordinary qualifications were not always tied to be of such an age. Timothy was ordained young; as may be collected from what the apostle says to him, 1 Tim. iv. 12, "Let no man despise thy youth." The history of the Church affords many other such instances. Eusebius^r says, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and his brother Athenodorus, were both ordained bishops very young; *ἔτι νέους ἄμφω*. St. Ambrose^s says the same of Acholius, bishop of Thessalonica; that he was young in years, but of mature age in respect of his virtues. And Socrates^t gives the like account of Paulus, bishop of Constantinople. Theodoret^u observes also of Athanasius, that he was but young, when he attended his bishop Alexander at the Council of Nice; and yet, within five months after, he was chosen his successor at Alexandria. Which probably was before he was thirty years old: for the Council of Nice was not above 20 years after the persecution under Maximian; and yet Athanasius was so young, as not to remember the beginning of that persecution, (anno 303,) but only as he heard it from his fathers. For when he speaks of it, he says^v, "He learned

καὶ ἐν παροιμία μικρᾷ ὑπαρχούσῃ πον προβεβηκῶς τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ εὐρίσκηται μεμαρτυρημένος ὑπὸ τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ὡς ἄξιός ἐπισκοπῆς, διὰ τῆς νεότητος ἐν πραότητι καὶ εὐταξίᾳ γῆρας ἐπιδεικνύμενος δοκιμασθεὶς, εἰ ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων μαρτυρεῖται, καθιστάσθω ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

^r Euseb. lib. vi. c. xxx. (Vales. 1695. p. 187. B 2.) Πέντε ὅλοις ἔτεσιν αὐτῷ συγγενόμενοι, τοσαύτην ἀπηνέγκαντο περὶ τὰ θεῖα λόγια βελτίωσιν, ὡς ἔτι νέους ἄμφω ἐπισκοπῆς τῶν κατὰ Πόντον ἐκκλησιῶν ἀξιωθῆναι.

^s Ambros. Ep. lx. ad Anysium. Benedictus processus juventutis ipsius, in qua ad summum electus est sacerdotium, maturo jam probatus virtutum stipendio.

^t Socrat. lib. ii. c. vi. (Vales. Amstel. p. 69. D 5.) Ἐνετείλατο τοῖς καθήκουσιν ἐλέσθαι δυοῖν τὸν ἕτερον, ὃν αὐτὸς ὀνομάσειεν· καὶ εἰ μὲν βούλοιτο διδασκαλικὸν ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ βίου χρηστοῦ μαρτυρούμενον, Παῦλον τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθέντα πρεσβύτερον, ἄνδρα νέον μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν, προβεβηκότα δὲ ταῖς φρεσίν.

^u Theodoret. lib. i. c. xxvi. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 59.) Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ θαυμασίου ἐπισκόπου, . . τοῦ βίου τὸ τέρμα κατειληφότος . . τὴν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας Ἀθανάσιος διεδέξατο προεδρίαν . . συνῆν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ πάννυ, νέος μὲν ὢν τὴν ἡλικίαν, τοῦ χοροῦ δὲ τῶν διακόνων ἡγούμενος.

^v Athanas. Ep. ad Solitar. (Colon. 1686. tom. i. p. 853.) (p. 382, edit. Paris. 1691). Ἐγὼ ἤκουσα τῶν πατέρων, καὶ πιστὸν ἡγοῦμαι τὸν ἐκείνων λόγον, ὅτι

of his parents, that the persecution was raised by Maximian, grandfather to Constantius." So that if we compute from that time, we can hardly suppose him to be 30 years old, when he was ordained bishop, anno 326. It is agreed by all authors^x, that Remigius bishop of Rheims was but 22 years old, when he was ordained, anno 471. And Cotelierius^y, after Nicephorus, says, St. Eleutherius, an Illyrican bishop, was consecrated at twenty. Ignatius gives a plain intimation, that Damas, bishop of the Magnesians, was but a very young bishop; though he does not expressly mention his age. He calls his ordination^z, *νεωτερικὴν τάξιν*, 'a youthful ordination;' and therefore cautions the people not to despise him for his age, but to reverence and give place to him in the Lord. Salmasius^a and Ludovicus Capellus miserably pervert this passage, and force a sense upon it, which the author never so much as dreamt of: they will needs have it, that by the words *νεωτερικὴν τάξιν* Ignatius means the novelty of episcopacy in general, that it was but a new and late institution: which is not only contrary to the whole tenor and design of all Ignatius's epistles, but to the plain sense of this passage in particular; which speaks nothing of the institution of episcopacy, but of the age of this bishop, who was but young when he was ordained.

Now, from all this it appears, that though there was a rule in the Church, requiring bishops to be 30 years old when they were ordained; yet it was frequently dispensed with, either in cases of necessity, or in order to promote persons of more

τὸ πρῶτον, ὅτε γέγονε καὶ ἐπὶ Μαξιμιανῷ τῷ πάππῳ Κωνσταντίου διωγμὸς, κ. τ. λ.

^x Hincmar. Vit. Remig. apud Baron. an. cccclxxi. (tom. vi. p. 300.) Cum Remigius ad viginti et duos ætatis annos pervenit, defuncto Gennadio archiepiscopo, in hac urbe Rhemensi omnium generaliter votis ad pontificii culmen raptus fuisse dignoscitur potius quam electus.

^y Cotelier. Not. in Constitut. Apost. lib. ii. c. i.—Niceph. lib. iii. c. xxix. Τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ πολὺς τὴν ἀρετὴν κατὰ τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν διέτριβεν Ἐλευθέριος· . . τῷ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ ἐπίσκοπος προχειρίζεται.

^z Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. n. iii. (Russel, Patr. Apost. vol. ii. p. 122.) Καὶ ὑμῖν πρέπει μὴ συγχρᾶσθαι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δύναμιν Θεοῦ Πατρὸς πᾶσαν ἐντροπὴν αὐτῷ ἀπονέμειν, καθὼς ἔγνω καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους πρεσβυτέρους, οὐ προσηληφότες τὴν φαινομένην νεωτερικὴν τάξιν, ἀλλ' ὡς φρονίμους ἐν Θεῷ συγχωροῦντας αὐτῷ.

^a Pearson. Vindic. Ignat. Præf. ad lector.

extraordinary worth and singular qualifications. Yet such dispensations, as qualify boys of eleven or twelve years old to be made bishops, are no where to be met with in the primitive Church; though the history of the papacy affords frequent instances of such promotions; as those that please may see, in a catalogue of them, collected by Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Mason^b, two learned writers of our Church.

SECT. II.—*Bishops to be chosen out of the Clergy of the Church to which they were ordained.*

But to return to the bishops of the primitive Church: another qualification in a bishop, anciently very much insisted on, was, that he should be one of the clergy of the same Church, over which he was to be made bishop. For strangers, who were unknown to the people, were not reckoned qualified by the canons. This is plainly implied by Cyprian^c, when he says, “The bishop was to be chosen in the presence of the people; who had perfect knowledge of every man’s life and actions, by their conversation among them.” St. Jerome observes, that this was the constant custom of Alexandria^d, from St. Mark, to Dionysius and Heraclas, for the presbyters of the Church to choose a bishop out of their own body. And therefore Julius^e makes it a strong objection against Gregory, whom the Arians obtruded on the Church of Alexandria in the room of Athanasius, that he was a perfect stranger to the place; neither baptized there, nor known to any; whereas

^b Vide Rainold. Apolog. Thes. n. xxvi. Mason, of the Consecrat. of Bishops, lib. i. c. v.

^c Cypr. Ep. lxxviii. al. lxxvii. ad Fratr. Hispan. (Oxon. 1682. p. 172.) (p. 114, edit. Paris. 1666.) Episcopus deligatur plebe præsente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit, et uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit.

^d Hieron. Ep. lxxxv. ad Evangel. Alexandriae a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant. (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 1082. B 5.)

^e Jul. Ep. ad Oriental. ap. Apol. ii. (Colon. 1686. vol. i. p. 749.) (vol. i. p. 149, edit. Paris. 1698.) Ἀποσταλῆναι Γρηγόριον ξένον μὲν τῆς πόλεως, μήτε ἐκεῖ βαπτισθέντα, μήτε γνωσκόμενον τοῖς πολλοῖς, μὴ αἰτηθέντα παρὰ πρεσβυτέρων, μὴ παρ’ ἐπισκόπων, μὴ παρὰ λαῶν. οὐκ ἔδει τὴν κατάστασιν οὕτως παρανόμως καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα γενέσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱερατείου, ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κλήρου τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκόπους ἔδει καταστήσαι.

the ordination of a bishop ought not to be so uncanonical ; but he should be ordained by the bishops of the province in his own Church, and be ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱερατείου, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κλήρου, one of the clergy of the Church to which he was ordained. The ancient bishops of Rome were all of the same mind, so long as they thought themselves obliged to walk by the laws of the Church : for Cælestin^f, and Hilary^g, and Leo^h, insist upon the same thing, as the common rule and canon of the Church. And we find a law as late as Charles the Great, and Ludovicus Pius, to the same purpose. For in one of their capitularsⁱ it is ordered that bishops shall be chosen out of their own diocese, by the election of the clergy and the people : though, as Baluzius^k notes, this law did not extend to very many dioceses : for by this time, the French kings had the disposal of all bishoprics in their dominions (except some few Churches, which by special privilege retained the old way of electing) : and they did not bind themselves to nominate bishops always out of the clergy of that Church which was vacant, but used their liberty to choose them out of any other ; as now it is become the privilege and custom of kings and princes almost in all nations : which is the occasion of the difference betwixt the ancient and modern practice in this particular. For while

^f Cælestin. Ep. ii. ad Episcop. Narbon. n. iv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1620.) Alter in alterius provincia nihil præsumat : nec emeritis in suis ecclesiis clericis peregrini et extranei, et qui ante ignorati sint, ad exclusionem eorum qui bene de suorum civium merentur testimonio, præponantur. n. v. Tunc alter de altera eligatur ecclesia, si de civitatis ipsius clericis, cui est episcopus ordinandus, nullus dignus, quod evenire non credimus, poterit reperiri.

^g Hilar. Pap. Epist. i. ad Ascan. Tarracon. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. iv. Conc. p. 1036.) Talis protinus de clero proprio Barcinonensibus episcopus ordinetur.

^h Leo, Ep. lxxxiv. ad Anastas. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. iii. Conc. p. 1385. C.) Metropolitano defuncto, cum in locum ejus alius fuerit subrogandus, provinciales episcopi ad civitatem metropolitanam convenire debebunt, ut omnium clericorum atque omnium civium voluntate discussa, ex presbyteris ejusdem ecclesiæ, vel ex diaconibus optimus eligatur.

ⁱ Capitular. Karoli et Ludov. lib. i. c. xviii. Episcopi per electionem cleri et populi, secundum statuta canonum, de propria diocesi eligantur.

^k Baluz. Not. ad Concil. Gall. Narbon. p. 34. Ego animadverto eam (legem) non fuisse observatam, ac nihilominus reges dedisse episcopatus in universum ; si paucas quasdam ecclesias excipias, quibus ex speciali privilegio concessum est, ut vacantibus ecclesiis provideretur per electionem.—Item Not. ad Gratian. Dist. lxiii. c. xxxiv. p. 467.

the ancient way of elections continued, the general rule was for every Church to make choice of one of her own clergy to be her bishop, and not a stranger.

SECT. III.—*Some exceptions to this rule.*

Yet, in some extraordinary cases, this rule admitted of legal exceptions; particularly in these three cases: 1. When it was found for the benefit of the Church to translate bishops from one see to another. In this case, though the bishop was a stranger, yet his translation being canonical, was reckoned no violation of this law. 2. When the Church could not unanimously agree upon one in their own body, then to pacify their heats and end their controversies, the emperor or a council proposed one of another Church to their choice, or promoted him by their own authority. Upon this ground, Nectarius, Chrysostom, and Nestorius, all strangers, were made bishops of Constantinople. It was to end the disputes that arose in the Church, which was divided in their elections, as Socrates¹ and Sozomen give an account of them. 3. Sometimes men's extraordinary merit gave them preference, though strangers, before all the members of the Church to which they were chosen. As St. Ambrose^m observes of Eusebius Vercellensis, that he

¹ Socrat. lib. vi. c. ii. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 246.) Ὀλίγου διελθόντος χρόνου, καὶ Νεκτάριος ὁ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος ἐτελεύτησεν . . . εὐθὺς οὖν σπουδῇ περὶ χειροτονίας ἐπισκόπου ἐγίνετο· καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλον ἐπιζητούντων, περὶ τε τούτου πολλάκις προτεθείσης βουλῆς, τέλος ἐδόκει ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας μεταπέμπεσθαι Ἰωάννην τὸν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας πρεσβύτερον· φήμη γὰρ ἐκράτει περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὥς εἴη διδακτικὸς ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ ἐλλόγιμος, κ. τ. λ.—Sozom. lib. viii. c. ii. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 611.) Νεκταρίου τελευτήσαντος, καὶ βουλῆς οὖσης τίνα δεοὶ χειροτονεῖν, ἄλλοι μὲν ἄλλους ἐψηφίζοντο· καὶ οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει, καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἐτρίβετο. Ἦν δέ τις ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ παρ' Ὁρόντῃ πρεσβύτερος, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης . . . p. 613. B. Ἐπίσημος οὖν τοῖς μὲν εἰδόσι, τῇ πείρᾳ τοῖς δὲ ἀγνοοῦσι, τῇ φήμῃ, ἐκ τε τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν ἔργων γενόμενος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοον, ἔδοξε Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκοπεῖν.

^m Ambros. Ep. lxxxii. ad Eccles. Vercell. (Paris. 1836. vol. iv. p. 372.) (tom. v. p. 117. a. edit. Colon. 1616.) Cum sint in vobis dissensiones, quomodo possumus aliquid aut nos decernere, aut vos eligere, aut quisquam acquiescere, ut inter dissidentes suscipiat hoc munus, quod inter convenientes vix sustinetur? Hæc est illa confessionis institutio, hæc justorum soboles patrum, qui S. Eusebium, quem numquam ante cognoverant, posthabitis civibus, simul ut viderunt et probaverunt.

was chosen, 'posthabitis civibus,' before all that were citizens or bred in the place, though none of the electors had ever seen him before, but only heard of his fame and character. And there are many other instances of the like nature. But excepting some such cases as these, the rule was generally observed to choose no one bishop of any place, who was not known to the people, and a member of the same Church before.

SECT. IV.—*Bishops to go through the inferior orders of the Church.*

Another qualification required in a bishop was, that he should arise gradually to his honour, and not come to the throne 'per saltum;' but first pass through some, if not all the inferior orders of the Church. The Council of Sardica has a canonⁿ very full to this purpose: "If any rich man or pleader at the law desire to be made a bishop, he shall not be ordained till he has first gone through the offices of reader, deacon, and presbyter: that behaving himself worthily in each of these offices, he may ascend gradually to the height of the episcopal function: and in every one of these degrees he shall continue some considerable time, that his faith, and good conversation, and constancy, and moderation may be known." The same rule is prescribed by the Council of Bracara^o and some others. And that it was the ancient practice of the Church, appears from what Cyprian says^p of Cornelius, that he was not made bishop of Rome all of a sudden; but went, gradually, through

ⁿ Cone. Sardic. can. x. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 636. B 3.) "Ὡστε ἴάν τις πλούσιος, ἢ σχολαστικὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀξιοῖτο ἐπίσκοπος γίνεσθαι, μὴ πρότερον καθίστασθαι, ἴάν μὴ καὶ ἀναγνώστου, καὶ διακόνου, καὶ πρεσβυτέρου ὑπηρεσίαν ἐκτελέσῃ· ἵνα καθ' ἕκαστον βαθμὸν, ἴάνπερ ἄξιός νομισθεῖν, εἰς τὴν ἀψίδα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς κατὰ προκοπὴν διαβῇ δυνηθείη· ἔξει δὲ ἐκάστου τάγματος ὁ βαθμὸς οὐκ ἐλαχίστου δηλονότι χρόνου μῆκος, δι' οὗ ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ τῶν τρόπων καλοκάγαθία, καὶ ἡ στερότης, καὶ ἡ ἐπιείκεια γνῶριμος γενέσθαι δυνήσεται· καὶ αὐτὸς ἄξιός τῆς θείας ἱερωσύνης νομισθεὶς τῆς μεγίστης ἀπολαῦσαι τιμῆς.

^o Concil. Bracar. I. c. xxxix. Per singulos gradus eruditus ad sacerdotium venit.

^p Cyprian. Ep. lii. al. lv. ad Anton. (Oxon. 1682. p. 103.) (p. 67, edit. Paris.) Non iste ad episcopatum subito pervenit, sed per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus, et in divinis administrationibus Dominum sæpe promeritus, ad sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus adscendit.

all the offices of the Church, till his merits advanced him to the episcopal throne. Theodoret^q commends Athanasius upon the same account; and Gregory Nazianzen^r speaks it to the honour of St. Basil, with some reflection on several bishops of his age, that he did not, as soon as he was baptized, leap into a bishopric, as some other ambitious persons did, but rise to his honour by degrees. He adds, that in military affairs this rule was generally observed; every great general is first a common soldier, then a captain, then a commander: and it would be happy for the Church, says he, if matters were always so ordered in it.—By this time it seems this rule was frequently transgressed, without any reason or necessity; but only by the ambition of some who affected the office of bishop, yet were not willing to undergo the inferior offices that were preparative to it.

SECT. V.—*Deacons might be ordained Bishops, though never ordained Presbyters.*

But I must observe, that it was not always necessarily required that a man should be ordained presbyter first, in order to be made a bishop: for deacons were as commonly made bishops as any other. Cæcilian was no more than archdeacon^s of Carthage, when he was ordained bishop, as we learn from Optatus. And both Theodoret^t and Epiphanius^u say, that

^q Theodoret. lib. i. c. xxv. (Vales. Amstel. 1695.) Συνῆν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ πάννυ, νέος μὲν ὢν τὴν ἡλικίαν, τοῦ χοροῦ δὲ τῶν διακόνων ἡγούμενος.

^r Gregor. Naz. Orat. xx. in laud. Basil. (Colon. 1690. p. 335. B.) Οὐ σχεδιάσασα τὸν βαθμὸν (ἡ πολύτροπος τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπία) οὐδὲ ὁμοῦ τε πλήνασα καὶ σοφίσασα κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν νῦν τῆς προστασίας ἐφιεμένων, ἀλλὰ τάξει καὶ νόμῳ πνευματικῆς ἀναβάσεως τῆς τιμῆς ἀξιώσασα. (C 2.) ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔχει, στρατιώτης, ταξίαρχος, στρατηγός, αὕτη ἡ τάξις ἀρίστη καὶ λυσιτελεστάτη τοῖς ἀρχομένοις· τὸ δὲ ἡμέτερον, πολλοῦ ἀνὴρ ἦν ἄξιον, οὕτως εἶχε.

^s Optat. lib. i. p. 41. (pag. 20, edit. Paris. 1679.) (Antwerp. 1702. p. 18.) Iterum a Cæciliano mandatum est, ut si Felix in se, sicut illi arbitrabantur, nihil contulisset, ipsi tanquam adhuc diaconum ordinarent Cæcilianum.

^t Theodoret. lib. i. c. xxv. vide note (q).

^u Epiphan. Hæres. lxi. Arian. n. xi. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 735. D.) Τότε διαδέχεται Ἀχιλλᾶν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ποιήσαντα μῆνας τρεῖς Ἀθανάσιος ὁ μακαρίτης, ὢν τότε διάκονος Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπεσταλμένος ἐπὶ τὸ Κομητάτον, ᾧ ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρος, μέλλων τελευτᾶν, παρήγγειλεν ἀποδοθῆναι τὴν ἐπισκοπίαν.

Athanasius was but a deacon, when he was made bishop of Alexandria. Liberatus observes the same^v of Peter Moggus and Esaias, two other bishops of Alexandria; as also of Agapetus and Vigilius^x, bishops of Rome. Socrates^y and Theodoret^z relate the same of Felix, bishop of Rome, who was ordained in the place of Liberius. Eusebius^a takes notice of one of his own name, a deacon of Alexandria, who was made bishop of Laodicea. And Socrates^b says, “Chrysostom made Heraclides, one of his own deacons, bishop of Ephesus; and Serapion, bishop of Heraclea.” And that this was a general practice, and agreeable to canon, appears also from a letter of Pope Leo, where, speaking of the election of a metropolitan, he says^c, he ought to be chosen either out of the presbyters, or out of the deacons of the Church.

SECT. VI.—*Bishops, in cases of necessity, chosen out of the inferior orders.*

Sometimes, in cases of necessity, bishops were chosen out of the inferior orders, subdeacons, readers, &c. Liberatus says, Silverius, who was competitor with Vigilius for the bishopric

^v Liberat. Breviar. c. xvi. (Labbe, vol. v. Conc. p. 765. A 11.) Post cujus obitum ordinaverunt sibi hæretici episcopum Petrum, cognomento Moggum, qui fuerat archidiaconus.—Can. xviii. (ibid. p. 761. A.) Huic populo a Palæstina quidam diaconus, nomine Esaias, ordinatus est episcopus.

^x Liberat. ibid. c. xxi. (p. 774.) Mortuo Joanne Mercurio, Agapetus archidiaconus Romanæ ecclesiæ Papa ordinatur.—Can. xxii. A 9. Augusta vocans Vigilium, Agapeti diaconum, profiteri sibi secreto ab eo flagitavit, ut si Papa fieret, tolleretur synodum. . . . Favore Belissarii ordinatus est Vigilius.

^y Socrat. lib. ii. c. xxxvii. (Vales. Amstel. p. 116.) Πρῶτος μὲν Λιβέριος, ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος, παραιτησάμενος ἐκείνῃ τῇ πίστει συνθέσθαι, ἐξόριστος γίνεται, τῶν περὶ Οὐρσάκιον εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ καταστησάντων Φίληκα· ὃς διάκονος ὢν τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῇ Ἀρειανῇ δόξῃ προστεθείς, εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν προεβλήθη.

^z Theodoret. lib. ii. c. xvii. (Vales. Amstel. p. 96. B.) Ἐκεχειροτόνητο μετὰ τὸν μέγαν Λιβέριον, τῶν διακόνων τις τῶν ἐκείνου· Φίληξ ἦν ὄνομα τούτῳ.

^a Euseb. lib. vii. c. xi. (Vales. Amstel. p. 213. B 12.) Ἰστέον δὲ ὡς ὁ μὲν Εὐσέβιος, ὃν διάκονον προσεῖπεν, οὐ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐπίσκοπος ἐκκλησίας τῆς κατὰ Συρίαν Λαοδικείας καθίσταται.

^b Socrat. lib. vi. c. xi. (p. 259. B 6.) Αὐτὸς Ἡρακλείδην τινὰ διάκονον ἑαυτοῦ, γένει Κύπριον, εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν προεβάλλετο.

^c Leo, Ep. lxxxiv. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1385.) Ex presbyteris ejusdem ecclesiæ, vel ex diaconibus optimus eligatur.

of Rome, was but a subdeacon^d. And St. Austin himself, when he erected his new bishopric at Fussala, being disappointed of the person whom he intended to have had consecrated bishop, offered one Antonius, a reader, to the primate to be ordained bishop in his room; and the primate without any scruple immediately ordained him; though as St. Austin^e testifies, he was but a young man, who had never showed himself in any other office of the Church beside that of reader.

SECT. VII.—*And in some extraordinary cases ordained immediately from Laymen.*

There want not also several instances of persons who were ordained bishops immediately of laymen, when God, by his particular providence, seemed to point them out as the fittest men, in some certain junctures, to be employed in his service. Thus it was in the known case of St. Ambrose, who was but newly baptized, when he was ordained bishop, as both Paulinus^f and all the historians testify. When the people of Milan were

^d Liberat. c. xxii. De cujus decessu audiens Romana civitas, Silverium subdiaconum, Hormisdæ quondam Papæ filium, elegit ordinandum. (vol. v. p. 775.)

^e August. Ep. cclxi. ad Cælestin. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 592. A 3.) Obtuli non petentibus quemdam adolescentem, Antonium, qui mecum tunc erat, in monasterio quidem a nobis a parvula ætate nutritum; sed præter lectionis officium nullis clericatus gradibus et laboribus notum. At illi miseri, quod futurum fuerat ignorantes, offerenti eum mihi obedientissime crediderunt. Quid plura? Factum est: esse illis episcopus cœpit.

^f Paulin. Vit. Ambros. p. 3. (Paris. 1836. p. 11.) Per idem tempus, mortuo Auxentio, Arianæ perfidiæ episcopo . . cum populus ad seditionem surgeret in petendo episcopo, essetque illi cura sedandæ seditionis, ne populus civitatis in periculum sui verteretur, perrexit ad ecclesiam: ibique cum alloqueretur plebem, subito vox fertur infantis in populo sonuisse, ‘Ambrosium episcopum.’ Ad cujus vocis sonum totius populi ora conversa sunt, acclamantis ‘Ambrosium episcopum.’ . . Cum intelligeret circa se Dei voluntatem, nec se diutius posse resistere, postulavit se non nisi a catholico episcopo baptizari.—Theod. lib. iv. c. vii. (Vales. Amstel. p. 157. C 3.) Οἱ δὲ τῆς διαμάχης ἐκείνης παυσάμενοι, κοινὴν ἀφῆκαν φωνήν, ‘Ἀμβρόσιον σφίσιν ἐξαιτοῦντες προβληθῆναι ποιμένα’ ἔτι δὲ οὗτος ἀμύητος ἦν.—Socrat. lib. iv. c. xxx. (Vales. Amstel. p. 203. C 3.) Μηδὲν ὑπερθέμενοι συλλαμβάνουσι τὸν ‘Ἀμβρόσιον’ καὶ βαπτίσαντες, κατηχούμενος γὰρ ἦν, εὐθὺς πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἱερωσύνην προχειρίζεσθαι ἔμελλον.—Sozomen. lib. vi. c. xxiv. (Vales. Amstel. p. 544. A 3.) Οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῦ παυσάμενον περὶ τούτων δημηγορεῖν, ἐξαπίνης πάντες ἀφέμενοι τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀργῆς, ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τὸν σύμβουλον τῆς ὁμονοίας ἄγουσι τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ψῆφον· καὶ βαπτίζεσθαι παρεκελεύοντο· ἔτι γὰρ ἀμύητος ἦν· καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην παραλαμβάνειν ἔδεοντο.

so divided in the election of a bishop, that the whole city was in an uproar, he being prætor of the place, came in upon them to appease the tumult, as by virtue of his office he thought himself obliged to do; and making an eloquent speech to them, it had a sort of miraculous effect upon them: for they all immediately left off their dispute, and unanimously cried out, 'they would have Ambrose to be their bishop.' Which the emperor understanding, and looking upon it as a providential call, he ordered him to be baptized, (for he was yet but a catechumen,) and in a few days after, to be ordained their bishop. St. Cyprian was another instance of the like providential dispensation. For Pontius^g says in his life, that he was chosen bishop by the judgment of God, and the favour of the people, though he was but a Neophyte, or newly baptized. Socrates^h and Sozomenⁱ say the same of Nectarius, Gregory Nazianzen's successor at Constantinople, that he was chosen bishop by the second general council, whilst he had his mystical garments on him; meaning those white garments which the newly baptized were used to wear. Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea in Pontus, St. Basil's predecessor, was not baptized, but only a catechumen, when he was chosen bishop, as Nazianzen himself^k informs us. And Eucherius was but a monk, that is, a layman, when he was chosen and ordained bishop of Lyons, as Baronius^l says, from Hilarius Arelatensis in the life of Honoratus.

^g Pont. Vita Cyprian. (p. 3.) *Judicio Dei et plebis favore ad officium sacerdotii et episcopatus gradum, adhuc neophytus et, ut putabatur, novellus, electus est.*

^h Socrat. lib. v. c. viii. (Vales. Amstel. p. 217. D 2.) *Ἦν δὲ τις Νεκτάριος ὄνομα... ὃς ἀρπασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν προεβλήθη, τῶν τότε παρόντων ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἐπισκόπων χειροτονησάντων αὐτόν.*

ⁱ Sozom. lib. vii. c. viii. (Vales. Amstel. p. 580. A 2.) *Τὴν μυστικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἔτι ἡμφιεσμένος, κοινῇ ψήφῳ τῆς συνόδου ἀναγορεύεται Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος.*

^k Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xix. de Laud. Patr. (Colon. 1690. tom. i. p. 508. D.) *Τέλος συμφρονήσας ὁ δῆμος ἅπας, τὸν πρῶτον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἕνα βίῳ μὲν ἐξελεγμένον, οὐπω δὲ τῷ θείῳ βαπτίσματι κατεσφραγισμένον, τοῦτον ἄκοντα συναρπάσαντες, καὶ ἅμα στρατιωτικῆς χειρὸς συλλαβομένης αὐτοῖς τηνικαῦτα ἐπιδημούσης, ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἔθεσαν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπισκόποις προσήγαγον, τελεσθῆναί τε ἠξίου, καὶ κηρυχθῆναι, πειθοῖ βίαν ἀναμίξαντες.*

^l Baron. an. ccccxli. (tom. vi. p. 9. E.) *Ejusdem eremiticam vitam ecclesia præconio celebrat, dum ejus agens natalem diem hæc ait: 'Eucherius ex nobilissimo senatorum ordine ad religiosam vitam habitumque conversus diu inter*

Chrysostom^m seems to say the same of Philogonius bishop of Antioch, when he reports of him, that he was taken from the court of judicature, and carried from the judge's bench to the bishop's throne, ἀπὸ βήματος δικαστικοῦ ἐπὶ βῆμα ἱερόν. In all these instances there seems to have been the hand of God and the direction of Providence, which supersedes all ordinary rules and canons: and therefore these ordinations were never censured as uncanonical or irregular, though contrary to the letter of a common rule; because the rule itself was to be understood with this limitation and exception, as one of the ancient canonsⁿ explains itself, and all others that relate to this matter: saying, "One that is newly converted from Gentilism or a vicious life ought not presently to be advanced to a bishopric: for it is not fit, that he who has yet given no proof of himself should be made a teacher of others, unless it be so ordered by the grace and appointment of God himself, εἰ μὴ που κατὰ θείαν χάριν τοῦτο γένοιτο." For in this case there could be no dispute; the will of God being superior to all human canons whatsoever. And therefore, though the same limitation be not expressed in other canons, yet it is evident that they are always to be understood with this exception. Upon which account it was not reckoned any breach of canon, to make a layman bishop, when Providence seemed first to grant a dispensation, by directing the Church to be unanimous in the choice of such a person. They did not in such cases make a layman receive one order one day, and another the next, and so go through the several orders in the compass of

septa speluncæ sponte conclusus, in orationibus et jejuniis Christo servivit; et quæ sequuntur. At de Sancto Eucherio Lugdunensi episcopo hactenus.

^m Chrysostom. Hom. xxxi. de S. Philogon. (Benedict. vol. i. p. 495. D 4.) (tom. i. p. 397. C 10.) (p. 352, edit. Francof.) "Ὅτι δὲ ἐκεῖνον ὁ θεὸς ἐχειρό-
τόνησε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τρόπου, δῆλον· ἐκ μέσης γὰρ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀρπασθεὶς
ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον ἤγετο τοῦτον· οὕτω σεμνὸν καὶ λαμπρὸν τὸν πρότερον ἐπε-
δείξατο βίον· καὶ γυναῖκα ἔχων καὶ θυγατέρα, καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ στρεφόμενος·
οὕτως ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον ἔλαμψεν, ὥς εὐθέως ἐκεῖθεν ταύτης ἄξιός φανῆναι τῆς
ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ βήματος δικαστικοῦ ἐπὶ βῆμα ἤγετο ἱερόν.

ⁿ Can. Apost. lxxix. [lxxx.] (Labbe, vol. i. p. 44.) Τὸν ἐξ ἐθνικοῦ βίου
[ἐθνῶν] προσελθόντα καὶ βαπτισθέντα, ἢ ἐκ φαύλης διαγωγῆς, οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστι
παραντίκα προχειρίζεσθαι ἐπίσκοπον [εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν]· ἄδικον γὰρ, τὸν μηδὲ
πρόπειραν [μηδέπω πείραν] ἐπιδειξάμενον, ἐτέρων εἶναι διδάσκαλον· εἰ μὴ
που κατὰ θείαν χάριν τοῦτο γίνεται [γένοιτο].

a week ; but made him bishop at once, when need required, without any other ordination. The contrary custom is a modern practice, scarce ever heard of till the time of Photius, (ann. 858,) who to avoid the imputation of not coming gradually to his bishopric, was on the first day made a monk, on the second a reader, on the third a subdeacon, on the fourth a deacon, on the fifth a presbyter, and on the sixth a patriarch ; as Nicetas David^o, a writer of that age, informs us in the life of Ignatius. Spalatensis^p observes the same practice to be continued in the Romish Church, under pretence of complying with the ancient canons ; though nothing can be more contrary to the true intent and meaning of them ; which was, that men should continue some years in every order, to give some proof of their behaviour to the Church, and not pass cursorily through all orders, in five or six days' time ; which practice, as it does not answer the end of the canons, so it is altogether without precedent in the primitive Church.

^o Nicet. Vit. Ignat. (Labbe, vol. viii. Conc. p. 1199. A 7.) Ἦν ἀληθῶς ἐκεῖνον ὁρᾶν αὐθήμερον ἅγιον πλαττόμενον κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν· πρώτη γὰρ ἡμέρα μοναχὸς ἀντὶ λαϊκοῦ, τῇ δευτέρᾳ δὲ ἀναγνώστης, καὶ ὑποδιάκονος τῇ ἐξῆς, εἴτα διάκονος, εἴτα πρεσβύτερος· ἔπειτα τῇ ἑκτῇ, Χριστοῦ δὲ ἦν τὰ γενέθλια, καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ ἱερατικῷ προσβάς θρόνῳ, τὴν εἰρήνην τῷ λαῷ προσεφώνει, μηδὲν τῆς ἀληθινῆς εἰρήνης ἄξιον ἐννοούμενος.

^p Marc. Anton. de Dominis de Rep. lib. iii. c. iv. n. xix. p. 430. (p. 282. a. edit. Heidelb.) Non licuit, nisi ex gravissima causa, præsertim ubi ex clero persona apta non potuit haberi, et laicus insignis suppeteret, laicum in episcopali sede, non sine probatione præcedenti facta ordinatione, collocare. Sic enim in Concilio Sardicensi, c. x. Osius loquitur : Hoc quoque, etc. . . Admittitur ergo laicus : sed prius, non ad ludibrium, ut nunc fit, sed vere et non exiguo tempore, inferioribus est ordinibus re ipsa exercendus.

CHAPTER XI.

OF SOME PARTICULAR LAWS AND CUSTOMS OBSERVED ABOUT
THE ORDINATION OF BISHOPS.SECT. I.—*Bishoprics not to be void above three Months.*

WHEN any bishopric became void by the death or cession of its bishop, then, forasmuch as bishops were looked upon as a necessary constituent part of the Church, all imaginable care was taken to fill up the vacancy with all convenient speed. In the African Churches, a year was the utmost limits that was allowed for a vacancy: for if within that time a new election was not made, he that was appointed administrator of the Church during the vacancy, whose business it was to procure and hasten the election, was to be turned out of his office, and a new one put in his room, by a canon of the fifth Council of Carthage^q, which is also confirmed in the African Code^r. But in other places, this was limited to a much shorter time: for by a canon^s of the general Council of Chalcedon, every metropolitan is obliged to ordain a new bishop in the vacant see within the space of three months, under pain of ecclesiastical censure,

^q Concil. Carth. V. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1216.) Item constitutum est, ut nulli intercessori licitum sit cathedram, cui intercessor datus est, quibuslibet populorum studiis vel seditionibus retinere, sed dare operam, ut intra annum eisdem episcopum provideat. Quod si neglexerit, anno exempto, interventor alius tribuatur.

^r Cod. Can. Eccles. African. c. lxxiv. (Justell. Bibliothec. Juris Canon. Veter. p. 368. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 1094.) Ὁμοίως ὠρίσθη, ὥστε μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι μεσίτη τὴν καθέδραν κατέχειν, ἢ τινι μεσίτης δέδοται, διὰ οἰασδὴποτε τῶν λαῶν σπουδᾶς ἢ διχοστασίας, ἀλλὰ σπουδάζειν ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ τοῖς αὐτοῖς προνοεῖσθαι ἐπίσκοπον.

^s Conc. Chalced. can. xxv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 768. B 3.) Ἐδοξε τῇ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ ἐντὸς τριῶν μηνῶν γίνεσθαι τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, εἰ μὴ ποτε ἄρα ἀπαραίτητος ἀνάγκη παρασκευάσῃ ἐπιταθῆναι τὸν τῆς ἀναβολῆς χρόνον· εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσῃ, ὑποκεῖσθαι αὐτὸν κανονικῶς ἐπιτιμίᾳ.

unless some unavoidable necessity forced him to defer it longer.

SECT. II.—*In some places a new Bishop was chosen before the old one was buried.*

At Alexandria the custom was to proceed immediately to election, as soon as the bishop was dead, and before he was interred. Epiphanius^t hints at this custom, when he says, “They were used to make no delay after the decease of a bishop, but choose one presently, to preserve peace among the people, that they might not run into factions about the choice of a successor.” But Liberatus^u is a little more particular in describing the circumstances of it: he says, it was customary for the successor to watch over the body of the deceased bishop, and to lay his right hand upon his head, and to bury him with his own hands; and then take the pall of St. Mark, and put it upon himself, and so sit in his throne. To these authorities we may add that of Socrates, who^v says, that Cyril of Alexandria was enthroned the third day after the death of Theophilus: and he intimates, that the same thing was practised in other places: for Proclus, bishop of Constantinople^x was enthroned before Maximian his predecessor was interred, and after his enthronement he performed the funeral office for him. And this was done at the instance and command of the emperor Theodosius, that there might be no dispute or tumult raised in the Church about the election of a bishop.

^t Epiph. Hæres. lxix. n. xi. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 735. D 6.) “Ἔθος δὲ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, μὴ χρονίζειν μετὰ τελευτὴν ἐπισκόπου τοὺς καθισταμένους, ἀλλ’ ἅμα γίνεσθαι εἰρήνης ἕνεκα, τοῦ μὴ παρατριβὰς γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖς λαοῖς, τῶν μὲν τόνδε θελόντων, τῶν δὲ τόνδε.

^u Liberat. Brev. c. xx. (Labbe, vol. v. Conc. p. 773. D 11.) Consuetudo quidem est Alexandriae, illum qui defuncto succedit, excubias super defuncti corpus agere, manumque dexteram ejus capiti suo imponere, et sepulto manibus suis, accipere collo suo beati Marci pallium, et tunc legitime sedere.

^v Socrat. lib. vii. c. vii. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 280. D 11.) Τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν Θεοφίλου ὁ Κύριλλος ἐνθρονισθεὶς.

^x Socrat. lib. vii. c. xl. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 312, at bottom.) “Ἴνα μὴ πάλιν περὶ ἐπιλογῆς ἐπισκόπου ζήτησις ᾗ, καὶ ταραχὴν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κινήσῃ, μὴ μελλήσας, ἀλλ’ ἔτι κειμένον τοῦ σώματος Μαξιμιανοῦ, τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐπισκόποις ἐνθρονίσαι τὸν Πρόκλον ἐπέτρεψεν. . . ἐνθρονισθεὶς οὖν ὁ Πρόκλος τὴν ἐκκομιδὴν τοῦ Μαξιμιανοῦ σώματος ἐποιήσατο.

SECT. III.—*Some instances of longer Vacancies in times of difficulty and persecution.*

Yet notwithstanding this care and diligence of the Church in filling up vacant sees, it sometimes happened, that the election of bishops was deferred to a much longer season. For in Afric, at the time of the collation of Carthage, there were no less than threescore bishoprics void at once, which was above an eighth part of the whole. For the whole number of bishops was but 466, whereof 286 were then present at the conference, and 120 were absent by reason of sickness or old age; besides which, there were 60 vacant sees, which were unprovided of bishops at that time, as the catholics told^y the Donatists, who pretended to vie numbers with them, though they were but 279. What was the particular reason of so many vacancies at that juncture, is not said; but probably it might be the difficulty of the times, that catholic bishops could not there be placed, where the Donatists had gotten full possession. Or perhaps it might be the negligence of the people, who contented themselves with administrators during the vacancy, and would not admit of a new bishop. The Council of Macriana, mentioned by Fulgentius Ferrandus^z, takes notice of this dilatory practice in some Churches, and censures it by a canon, which orders the administrators, who were always some neighbouring bishops, to be removed; and condemns such Churches to continue without administrators, till they sought for a bishop of their own. Another reason of long vacancies, in some times and places, was the difficult circumstances the Churches lay under in time of persecution. For the bishops were the men chiefly aimed at by the persecutors: and therefore, when one bishop was martyred, the Church sometimes was forced to

^y Aug. Brevic. Collat. primæ diei, c. xiv. (Bened. 1700. vol. ix. p. 376. A.) Sane propter cathedras, quas episcopis vacuas apud se esse dixerunt, responsum est a catholicis, sexaginta esse, quibus successores episcopi nondum fuerant ordinati.

^z Ferrand. Brev. Canon. c. xxiii. ap. Justell. tom. i. p. 449. Ut interventores episcopi convenient plebis, quæ episcopum non habent, ut episcopum accipiant; quod si accipere neglexerint, remoto interventore sic remaneant, quamdiu sibi episcopum quærant.

defer the ordination of another, either because it was scarce possible to go about it in such time of exigency, or because she was unwilling to expose another bishop immediately to the implacable fury of a raging adversary, and bring upon herself a more violent storm of persecution. The Roman^a clergy give this for their reason to Cyprian, why, after the martyrdom of Fabian, they did not immediately proceed to a new election: the state of affairs and the difficulty of the times was such as would not permit it. Baronius^b reckons the time of this vacancy a year and three months; but others^c, who are more exact in the calculation, make it a year and five months: by either of which accounts it was above a year beyond the time limited by the canons. But this was nothing in comparison of that long vacancy of the bishopric of Carthage, in the time of the Arian persecution under Gensericus and Hunericus, two heretical kings of the Vandals, which Victor Uticensis^d says was no less than 24 years, during all which time the Church of Carthage had no bishop. But these were difficulties upon the Church, and matters of force, not her choice: for in times of peace she always acted otherwise, and did not think such extraordinary instances fit precedents to be drawn into example; much less to be drawn into consequence and argued upon, as some^e have done, that therefore the Church may be without bishops, because she subsisted in some extraordinary vacancies without them, when she could not have them: which argument would hold as well against any other order as that of bishops, did but they who urge this argument rightly consider it.

^a Epist. xxxi. al. xxx. ap. Cyprian, (Oxon. p. 58.) (p. 44, lin. ult. p. 45, lin. 1, edit. Paris. 1666.) Post excessum nobilissimæ memoriæ viri Fabiani, nondum est episcopus propter rerum et temporum difficultates constitutus.

^b Baron. an. ccliii. n. vi. Vacasse sedem ejus anno uno et amplius, dicemus anno sequenti in electione Cornelii. ann. ccliv. n. xlv. seqq.

^c Pearson, Annal. Cyprian. an. ccl. n. iii. et an. ccli. n. vi.

^d Victor. de Persecut. Vandal. lib. ii. (tom. vii. Bibliothec. SS. Patr. edit. Paris. 1589. p. 1899.) Dedit autem licentiam, Zenone imperatore atque Placidia, relicta Olibrii, rogantibus, ut Carthaginensis ecclesia sibi quem vellet episcopum ordinasset, quæ jam per xxiv. annos tali ornamento fuerat destituta.

^e Blondel, Apol.

SECT. IV.—*Three Bishops required to the Ordination of a Bishop.*

But to return to the ordination of bishops. At the time appointed for ordination, the metropolitan was used to send forth his circular letters, and summon all the bishops of the province to meet at the place where the new bishop was to be ordained, and assist at his consecration. The presence of them all was required, if they could conveniently attend; if not, they were to send their consent in writing: in which case three bishops, with the assistance or consent of the metropolitan, were reckoned a sufficient canonical number to perform the ceremony of consecration. St. Cyprian^f speaks of it as the general practice of the Church in his time, to have all the bishops of the province present at any such ordination. And Eusebius^g particularly takes notice of the ordination of Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, who succeeded Narcissus, that he was ordained μετὰ κοινῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων γνώμης, with the common consent of the bishops of his province. The Council of Chalcedon^h calls this a canonical ordination, when the metropolitan, with all or most of his provincial bishops, ordain the bishops of their own province, as the canons have appointed. And the general Council of Constantinopleⁱ justified the ordi-

^f Cypr. Ep. lxviii. al. lxvii. ad Fratr. Hispan. (Oxon. 1682. p. 172.) (p. 114, edit. Paris.) Quod apud nos quoque, et fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provinciae proximi quique convenient, et episcopus deligatur plebe præsentē, etc.

^g Euseb. lib. vi. c. xi. (Vales. 1695. p. 172. B 10.) Ἐδήλου προελθόντας ἔξω πυλῶν, τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ προωρισμένον αὐτοῖς ἐπίσκοπον ὑποδέξασθαι· τοῦτο δὲ πράξαντες μετὰ κοινῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων, οἱ τὰς πέριξ διεῖπον ἐκκλησίας, γνώμης, ἐπάναγκες αὐτὸν παραμένειν βιάζονται.

^h Concil. Chalced. act. xvi. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 817. C.) Τοὺς μὲν τοι κατὰ πόλιν ὁσιωτάτους ἐπισκόπους χειροτονεῖσθαι παρὰ πάντων, ἢ τῶν πλειόνων τῆς ἐπαρχίας εὐλαβεστάτων ἐπισκόπων, τὸ κῦρος ἔχοντος τοῦ μητροπολίτου κατὰ τὸν κείμενον τῶν πατέρων κανόνα.

ⁱ Ep. Synod. ap. Theodor. lib. v. c. ix. (Vales. 1695. p. 211. C 10.) Τῆς πρεσβυτάτης καὶ ὄντως ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας, ἐν ᾗ πρώτη τὸ τίμιον Χριστιανῶν ἐχρημάτισεν ὄνομα, τὸν αἰδεσιμώτατον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον ἐπίσκοπον Φλαβιανὸν, οἱ τε τῆς ἐπαρχίας καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως συνδραμόντες κανονικῶς ἐχειροτόνησαν, πάσης συμψήφου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὥσπερ διὰ μιᾶς φωνῆς ἄνδρα τιμησάσης· ἥνπερ ἔνθεσμον χειροτονίαν ἐδέξατο καὶ τὸ τῆς συνόδου κοινόν· τῆς δὲ γε μητρὸς ἀπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τὸν αἰδεσιμώτατον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον Κύριλλον ἐπίσκοπον εἶναι γνωρίζομεν, κανονικῶς παρὰ τῶν τῆς ἐπαρχίας χειροτονηθέντα.

nations of Flavian, bishop of Antioch, and Cyril of Jerusalem, as canonical in this respect, because they were ordained by the bishops of their provinces synodically met together. This was the ancient rule of the Council of Nice, which requires the assistance of all the bishops of the province, if they could conveniently^k attend the ordination: but forasmuch as that either through urgent necessity, or by reason of their great distance, it might happen that all of them could not be present, it is added, that in that case three bishops should be sufficient to ordain, provided the metropolitan and the rest sent their consent in writing. But under three, the canons did not generally allow of. The first Council of Arles^l and the third of Carthage^m require three besides the metropolitan. And the second Council of Arlesⁿ does not allow the metropolitan to be one of the three, but saith expressly, that he shall take the assistance of three provincial bishops beside himself, and not presume to ordain a bishop without them.—It is true, those called the Apostolical Canons^o and Constitutions^p allow the ordination that is performed by two bishops only: but this is contrary to all other canons; which are so far from allowing two bishops to ordain by themselves, that the Council of Orange^q orders

^k Concil. Nicæn. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 29.) Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι· εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτο, διὰ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, ἢ ἄπαντος τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένους, συμφύφων γινόμενων καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ συντιθεμένων διὰ γραμμάτων, τότε τὴν χειροτονίαν ποιῆσθαι.

^l Conc. Arelat. I. c. xx. (Labbe, vol. i. Conc. p. 1429.) Si non potuerit septem, infra tres non audeat ordinare.

^m Concil. Carthag. III. c. xix. [Erronea est allegatio, nec uspiam invenire hæc verba potui: *Grischov.*] Forma antiqua servabitur, ut non minus quam tres sufficiant, qui fuerint a metropolitano directi ad ordinandum episcopum. Vide etiam Conc. Carth. VI. (tom. ii. p. 1595.)

ⁿ Conc. Arelat. II. c. v. Nec episcopus metropolitanus sine tribus episcopis comprovincialibus præsumat episcopum ordinare. Labbe (vol. ii. p. 1012.) reads, Episcopum sine metropolitano, vel epistola metropolitani, vel tribus provincialibus, non liceat ordinare.

^o Can. Apost. c. i. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 26.) Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν.

^p Constit. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xxvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 494.) Ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ τριῶν ἢ δύο ἐπισκόπων χειροτονείσθω.

^q Concil. Arausic. I. can. xxi. (Labbe, vol. iii. Conc. p. 1450.) In nostris provinciis placuit de præsumptoribus, ut sicubi contigerit duos episcopos episcopum

both the ordaining bishops and the ordained to be deposed : and the Council of Riez^r actually deposed Armentarius for this very thing, because he had not three bishops to ordain him. All Churches indeed did not punish such ordinations with the same severity, but in all places they were reckoned uncanonical. When Paulinus ordained Evagrius bishop of Antioch, Theodoret^s takes notice that this was done against the laws of the Church, because he was ordained by a single person, and without the consent of the provincial bishops. And Synesius^t says the same of the ordination of Siderius bishop of Palæbisca, that it was irregular ; because he neither had the consent of the bishop of Alexandria, his metropolitan, nor three bishops to ordain him. It was to avoid this censure of irregularity, that Novatian, when he set himself up to be bishop of Rome against Cornelius, sent for three bishops out of the farthest corner of Italy to come and ordain him^{tt}, lest it should be objected against him, that he had not a canonical ordination. And upon this account, when Pelagius the First was to be ordained bishop of Rome, because three bishops could not be

invitum facere, auctoribus damnatis, unius eorum ecclesiæ ipse, qui vim passus est, substituatur, si tamen vita respondet ; et alter in alterius dejecti loco nihilo minus ordinetur. Si voluntarium duo fecerint, et ipse damnabitur, quo cautius ea quæ sunt antiquitus statuta servantur.

^r Conc. Regens. can. ii. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1286. A 11.) Ordinationem, quam canones irritam definiunt, nos quoque evacuandam esse censuimus : in qua prætermissa trium præsentia, nec expetitis comprovincialium litteris, metropolitani quoque voluntate neglecta, prorsus nihil, quod episcopum faceret, ostensum est.

^s Theodor. lib. v. c. xxiii. (Vales. 1695. p. 229, l. 5 from bottom.) Τοῦτο καὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις δυσμένειαν πρὸς τὴν ἐφ' ἃν μακροτάτην εἰργάσατο· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ Παυλίῳ θανάτῳ συγκατελύθη τὸ ἔχθος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον Εὐαγρίου τὸν ἐκείνου παρειληφότος θρόνον, διέμειναν τῷ μεγάλῳ Φλαβιανῷ χαλεπαίνοντες, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Εὐαγρίου παρὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν προβεβλημένου θεσμόν· μόνος γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Παυλῖνος προῦβάλετο, πολλοὺς κανόνας κατὰ ταυτὸν παραβάς· οὔτε γὰρ ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ τῷ τελευτῶντι χειροτονεῖν ἐπιτρέπουσι, καὶ πάντας συγκαλεῖσθαι τῆς ἐπαρχίας τοὺς ἐπισκόπους κελεύουσι· καὶ ἂν πάλιν δίχα τριῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐπισκόπῳ χειροτονίαν ἀπαγορεύουσι γίνεσθαι.

^t Synes. Ep. lxvii. (p. 210, edit. Paris. 1633.) Τοῦτον οὖν ἓνα καὶ μόνον ἀποδεδεῖχθαι Παλαιβίσκης ἐπίσκοπον· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτον ἐνθέσμως· ἐκθέσμως μὲν οὖν, ὅσα γε τῶν γερόντων ἠκούσαμεν· εἰ μήτε ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατέστη, μήτε παρὰ τριῶν ἐνθάδε, καὶ εἰ τὸ σύνθημα τῆς χειροτονίας ἐκεῖθεν ἐδέδοτο· μόνον γὰρ φασὶ δὴ τὸν μακάριον Φίλωνα θαρσῆσαι τὴν τοῦ συνιερέως ἀνάρρησιν.

^{tt} Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. ex ep. Cornel. See note (r), p. 169 of this volume.

procured, a presbyter^u was taken in to make up the number. In all which, the general practice of the Church is very clearly seen and descried.

SECT. V.—*Yet ordinations by one Bishop allowed to be valid, though not Canonical.*

Yet it must be observed, that though this was the common rule and practice of the Church, yet it was not simply and absolutely of the essence of ordination. For the Church many times admitted of the ordinations of bishops, that were consecrated only by one or two bishops. The Council of Orange^v, which orders both the ordaining bishops and the ordained to be deposed, in case two bishops only ordained a bishop with his consent, decrees notwithstanding, that if a bishop was ordained by any sort of violence against his will, though only by two bishops, in that case his ordination should stand good, because he was passive in the thing, and not consenting to the breach of the canons. And without this passivity, there are several instances of ordination by two bishops only, the validity of which we do not find disputed. Pelagius, bishop of Rome, was reckoned a true bishop, though, as we have just now heard, he had but two bishops and a presbyter to ordain him. Dioscorus of Alexandria was consecrated likewise by two bishops only, and those under ecclesiastical censure; as we learn from an epistle of the bishops of Pontus^x at the end of the Council of Chalcedon: yet neither that Council nor any others ever questioned the validity of his ordination, unless perhaps those Pontic bishops did, who call it “*nefandam atque imaginariam ordinationem.*” Siderius, bishop of Palæbisca, was ordained by one bishop; yet Athanasius not only allowed his ordination, and confirmed it, but finding him to be an useful man, he afterwards advanced him, as Synesius^y says, to the metropolitical

^u Lib. Pontific. Vit. Pelag. Dum non essent episcopi, qui eum ordinarent, inventi sunt duo episcopi, Joannes de Perusio et Bonus de Ferentino, et Andreas presbyter de Ostia, et ordinaverunt eum.

^v Conc. Arausican. I. c. xxi. vide p. 154. not. (q).

^x Labbe, vol. iv. p. 960. C. Ordinationem suam a damnatis episcopis, et hoc duobus, accepit, cum regulæ Patrum . . . vel tres episcopos corporaliter adesse in hujusmodi dispensationibus omnino prospiciant.

^y Synes. Ep. lxvii. (p. 210.) Τοῦτον ἦκοντα μόνον ἀποδείξαι τε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ

see of Ptolemais. Paulinus, bishop of Antioch, ordained Evagrius his successor, without any other bishop to assist him: which though it was done against canon, yet Theodoret assures us^z, that both the bishops of Rome and Alexandria owned Evagrius for a true bishop, and never in the least questioned the validity of his ordination. And though they afterwards consented to acknowledge Flavian, at the instance of Theodosius, to put an end to the schism; yet they did it upon this condition, that the ordinations of such as had been ordained by Evagrius should be reputed valid also: as we learn from the letters of Pope Innocent^a, who lived not long after this matter was transacted.

SECT. VI.—*The Bishop of Rome not privileged to ordain alone, any more than any other single Bishop.*

Hence it appears, that the ordination of a bishop, made by any single bishop, was valid, if the Church thought fit to allow it. Nor had the bishop of Rome any peculiar privilege in this matter above other men, though some pretend to make a distinction. There is indeed an ancient canon alleged in the collection of Fulgentius Ferrandus, out of the Council of Zella, and the letters of Siricius, which seems to make a reserve in behalf of the bishop of Rome: for it says^b, “One bishop shall not ordain a bishop, the Roman Church excepted.” But Cotelierius^c ingenuously owns this to be a corruption in the text of

θρόνου καθίσαι τὸν μακαρίτην Σιδήριον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐν καιροῖς ἀπερρήσιάστοις τὴν ἀκρίβειαν παραβαίνεσθαι· διὰ τοῦτο τὸν πάμμεγαν Ἀθανάσιον συγχωρῆσαι τε τῷ καιρῷ· καὶ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ, δεῖσαν ἐν Πτολεμαίδι τὸν ἐνόντα σμικρὸν ἔτι τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας σπινθῆρα θάλψαι τε καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐξάψαι, τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὡς μεῖζοσι πράγμασιν ἐπιτήδειον, ἐκεῖ διαβῆναι κελεῦσαι, τὴν μητροπολίτιν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτροπεύσαντα.

^z Theod. lib. v. c. xxiii. vide not. (s) p. 155.

^a Innoc. Ep. xiv. ad Bonifac. Ecclesia Antiochena . . . ita pacem postulavit, ut et Evagrianos suis ordinibus ac locis, intemerata ordinatione, quam acceperant a Memorato, susciperet. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1265.)

^b Ferrand. Brev. Canon. c. vi. Ut unus episcopus episcopum non ordinet; excepta ecclesia Romana.

^c Cotelier. Not. in Constitut. Apost. lib. iii. c. xx. (Antwerp. 1698. vol. i. p. 290.) Hoc loco celatum nolim lectorem errorem geminum, qui apparet in Breviatione Canonum Fulgentii Ferrandi, c. vi.: ‘U tunus episcopus episcopum non ordinet; excepta ecclesia Romana. Concilio Zellensi, ex Epistola Papæ Siricii.’ Etenim duo prima decreta Epistolæ iv. Siricii perperam commiscen-

Ferrandus, foisted in by the ignorance or fraud of some modern transcriber, who confounded two decrees of Siricius into one, and changed the word ‘*sedes apostolica primatis*,’ into ‘*sedes apostolica Romana*.’ For in the words of Siricius^d, there is no mention made at all of the Roman Church, but it is said, “that no one shall ordain without the consent of the apostolical see;” that is, the primate or metropolitan of the province; and that “one bishop alone shall not ordain a bishop, because that is arrogant and assuming, and looks like giving an ordination by stealth, and is expressly forbidden by the Nicene Council.” So that, in these times, the bishops of Rome were under the direction of the canons; and did not presume to think they had any privilege of ordaining singly, above what was common to the rest of their order.

SECT. VII.—*Every Bishop to be ordained in his own Church.*

The next thing to be taken notice of in this affair is, that every bishop by the laws and custom of the Church was to be ordained in his own Church, in the presence of his own people: which is plainly intimated by Cyprian^e, when he says, “that to celebrate ordinations aright, the neighbouring bishops of the province were used to meet at the Church where the new bishop was to be ordained, and there proceed to his election and ordination.” And this was so generally the practice of the whole Church, that Pope Julius^f made it an objection against Gregory of Alexandria, who was obtruded on the Church by the Eusebian party, in the room of Athanasius,

tur; et sedes apostolica *primatis*, seu metropolitana, mutatur in sedem apostolicam *Romanam*; non culpa (suspicio) Ferrandi, sed ignorantia vel fraude cujusdam recentioris.

^d Siric. Ep. iv. c. i. et ii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1029. C 11.) Ut extra conscientiam sedis apostolicæ, hoc est, primatis [seu metropolitanæ provincialis,] nemo audeat ordinare. . . Ne unus episcopus episcopum ordinare præsumat propter arrogantiam, ne furtivum beneficium præstitum videatur. Hoc enim in Synodo Nicæna constat esse [constitutum est atque] definitum.

^e Cypr. Ep. lxxviii. al. lxxvii. ad Fratr. Hispan. (Oxon. 1682. p. 172.) (p. 114, edit. Paris.) Ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, et episcopus deligatur plebe præsentē.

^f Jul. Ep. ad Orient. ap. Athan. Apol. ii. tom. i. p. 749. Vide supra c. x. § ii. not. (e) p. 139.

that he was ordained at Antioch, and not in his own Church, but sent thither with a band of soldiers: whereas by the ecclesiastical canon he ought to have been ordained ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, in the Church of Alexandria itself, and that by the bishops of his own province. This rule was very nicely observed in the African Churches, where it was the constant custom for the primate (whose office it was to ordain bishops) to go to the Church where the new bishop was to be settled, and ordain him there. Of this we have several instances in St. Austin, who himself was ordained in his own Church at Hippo^g by the primate of Numidia: and having divided his diocese, and erected a new bishopric at Fussala, and elected a bishop, he sent for the primate, though living at a great distance^{gg}, to come to the place and ordain him there.

SECT. VIII.—*The ancient Form of Ordination of Bishops.*

As to the manner and form of ordaining a bishop, it is thus briefly described by one of the Councils of Carthage^h: “When a bishop is ordained, two bishops shall hold the book of the Gospels over his head: and whilst one pronounces the blessing or consecration prayer, all the rest of the bishops that are present shall lay their hands upon his head.” The ceremony of laying the Gospels upon his head seems to have been in use in all Churches. For the author of the Apostolical Constitutionsⁱ

^g Possid. Vit. Aug. c. viii. (Bened. 1700. vol. x. append. p. 176. C 8.) Unde amplius formidans idem venerabilis senex, et sciens se corpore et ætate infirmisimum, egit secretis litteris apud primatem episcoporum Carthaginensem, allegans imbecillitatem corporis sui, ætatisque gravitatem, et obsecrans, ut Hipponensi ecclesiæ ordinaretur episcopus, quò suæ cathedræ non tam succederet, sed consacerdos accederet Augustinus. Et quæ beatus Valerius optavit et rogavit satagens, rescripto impetravit.

^{gg} August. Ep. cclxi. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 591. F 6.) Propter quem ordinandum, sanctum senem, qui tunc primatum Numidiæ gerebat, de longinquo ut veniret rogans litteris impetravi.

^h Conc. Carth. IV. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1199.) Episcopus cum ordinatur, duo episcopi ponant et teneant evangeliorum codicem super caput et cervicem [verticem] ejus, et uno super eum fundente benedictionem, reliqui omnes episcopi, qui adsunt, manibus suis caput ejus tangant.

ⁱ Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. iv. (i. 460.) Καὶ σιωπῆς γενομένης, εἰς τῶν πρώτων ἐπισκόπων ἅμα καὶ δυσὶν ἑτέροις πλησίον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἐστῶς, τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων σιωπῇ προσευχομένων, τῶν δὲ διακόνων τὰ θεῖα

(a Greek writer, who is supposed to relate the customs of the third century) makes mention of it, only with this difference, that instead of two bishops, there two deacons are appointed to hold the Gospels open over his head, whilst the senior bishop or primate, with two other bishops assisting him, pronounces the prayer of consecration. This ceremony of holding the Gospels over his head is also mentioned by St. Chrysostom^k, and the author of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, under the name of Dionysius, who says it was a peculiar ceremony, used only in the ordination of a bishop.

SECT. IX.—*A Form of Prayer used at their Consecration.*

The author of the Constitutions recites one of the ancient forms of prayer, the close of which is in these words^l: “Grant to him, O Lord Almighty, by thy Christ, the communication of the Holy Spirit, that he may have power to remit sins according to thy commandment, and to confer orders according to thy appointment, and to loose every bond according to the power which thou gavest to the apostles; that he may please thee in meekness and a pure heart, constantly, blameless, and without rebuke; and may offer unto thee that pure unbloody

εὐαγγέλια ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ χειροτονουμένου κεφαλῆς ἀνεπτυγμένα κατεχόντων, λεγέτω πρὸς Θεόν.

^k Chrysostom. de Laudib. Evangel. cited by Habertus, p. 79. Ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις τῶν ἱερέων, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τίθεται, ἵνα μάθῃ ὁ χειροτονούμενος, ὅτι τὴν ἀληθινὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τιάραν λαμβάνει· καὶ ἵνα μάθῃ, εἰ καὶ πάντων ἐστὶ κεφαλὴ, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τούτους πράττει τοὺς νόμους, πάντων κρατῶν καὶ τῷ νόμῳ κρατούμενος, πάντα νομοθετῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου νομοθετούμενος. Διὰ τοῦτο . . . Ἰγνάτιος . . . ἐπιστέλλων τινὶ ἱερεῖ ἔλεγε, Μηδὲν ἄνευ γνώμης σου γινέσθω, μηδὲ σὺ ἄνευ γνώμης Θεοῦ τι πράττει. Τὸ τοίνυν ἔχειν τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον σημεῖόν ἐστι τὸ ὑπ’ ἐξουσίαν εἶναι.

^l Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. v. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 460. E 2.) Δὸς αὐτῷ, Δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, τὴν μετουσίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ὥστε ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν ἀφίεναι ἁμαρτίας κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν σου· διδόναι κλήρους κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμά σου· λύειν δὲ πάντα σύνδεσμον κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἣν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· εὐαρεστεῖν δέ σοι ἐν πραότητι καὶ καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, ἀτρέπτως, ἀμέμπτως, ἀνεγκλήτως· προσφέροντά σοι καθαρὰν καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν· ἣν διὰ Χριστοῦ διετάξω τὸ μυστήριον τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, δι’ οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ σέβας, ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

sacrifice, which thou by Christ hast appointed to be the mystery or sacrament of the new covenant, for a sweet-smelling savour, through Jesus Christ thy holy Son, our God and Saviour, by whom be glory, honour, and worship to thee, in the Holy Spirit, now and for ever, Amen." It is not to be imagined that one and the same form was used in all churches: for every bishop having liberty to frame his own Liturgy, as there were different Liturgies in different churches, so it is most reasonable to suppose the primates or metropolitans had different forms of consecration, though there are now no remains of them in being, to give us any further information.

SECT. X.—*Of their Enthronement, Homilicæ Enthronisticæ, and Literæ Enthronisticæ.*

The consecration being ended, the bishops that were present conducted the new ordained bishop to his chair or throne; and there placing him, they all saluted him with a holy kiss in the Lord. Then the Scriptures being read (according to custom, as part of the daily service) the new bishop made a discourse or exposition upon them, which was usually called 'Sermo Enthronisticus,' from the time and circumstances in which it was spoken. Such was that famous homily of Meletius, bishop of Antioch, mentioned by Epiphanius^m and Sozomen, for which he was immediately sent into banishment by Constantius. Socrates frequently takes notice of such homilies made by bishopsⁿ at their instalment; and Liberatus^o, speaking of Severus of Antioch, mentions his exposition made

^m Epiphan. Hæres. lxxiii. n. xxix.—xxxiii. et xxxiv. Sozom. lib. iv. c. xxviii.

ⁿ Socrat. lib. ii. c. xliii. (Vales. 1700. p. 129. B 5.) Εὐδόξιος καθεσθεις εἰς τὸν θρόνον αὐτῆς, πρώτην ἐκείνην τὴν πολυθύλλητον ἀφῆκε φωνήν, φράσας· Ὁ Πατὴρ ἀσεβής· ὁ Υἱὸς εὐσεβής, κ. τ. λ.—Lib. vii. c. xxix. (Vales. 1700. p. 302. B 5.) Τριμήνου διαδραμόντος, ἄγεται ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ὁ Νεστόριος, ὅστις ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ μὲν παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ἐκηρύττετο· ὁποῖος δὲ ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἥθος, ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας οὐκ ἔλαθε. Χειροτονηθεὶς γὰρ τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Ἀπριλλίου μηνός, ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Φίληκος καὶ Ταύρου, εὐθὺς ἐκείνην τὴν περιβόητον ἀφῆκε φωνήν ἐπὶ τοῦ λαοῦ παντός, πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος· Δός μοι, φησὶν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καθαρὰν τὴν γῆν τῶν αἵρετικῶν, κἀγὼ σοι τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀντιδώσω· συγκαθέλε μοι τοὺς αἵρετικούς, κἀγὼ συγκαθελῶ σοι τοὺς Πέρσας.

^o Liberat. Brev. c. xix. Fertur expositio ejus, quæ ab eo dicta est in inthronismo, in qua et unitivum suscepit Zenonis, etc. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 762. C 7.)

upon that occasion, calling it, 'Expositio in Inthronismo.' It was usual also for bishops, immediately after their instalment, to send letters to foreign bishops, to give them an account of their faith and orthodoxy, that they might receive letters of peace and communion again from them; which letters were therefore called, 'Literæ Enthronisticæ,' or συλλαβαὶ ἐνθρονιστικαὶ, as Evagrius^p terms them, speaking of the circular letters, which Severus, bishop of Antioch, wrote to the rest of the patriarchs upon that occasion. These were otherwise called 'Communicatory Letters,' κοινωνικὰ γράμματα, as the Council of Antioch, that deposed Paulus Samosatensis, terms them: for the Fathers in that council having ordained Domnus in the room of Paul, gave notice thereof to all churches, telling them that they signified it to them for this reason, that they might write to Domnus, and receive κοινωνικὰ γράμματα^q, 'Communicatory Letters,' from him: which, as Valesius^{rs} rightly notes, do not mean there those letters of communion which bishops were used to grant to persons travelling into foreign countries; but such letters as they wrote to each other upon their own ordination, to testify their communion mutually with one another. These letters are also called 'Synodicæ' by Liberatus^{tu}, who says, this custom of every new bishop's giving intimation of his own promotion to those of his own order, was so necessary, that the omission of it was interpreted a sort of refusal to hold communion with the rest of the world, and a virtual charge of heresy upon them.

^p Evagr. lib. iv. c. iv. (Vales. 1700. p. 382.) Μάλιστα γε ἐν ταῖς καλουμέναις ἐνθρονιστικαῖς συλλαβαῖς, καὶ ταῖς τούτων ἀμοιβαίαις, ἃς διεπέμψατο τοῖς ἑκασταχοῦ πατριάρχαις, κ. τ. λ.

^q Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. p. 230. (Vales. 1695. p. 230. D 9.) Ἐδηλώσαμεν τε ὑμῖν, ὅπως τούτῳ γράφητε, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτου κοινωνικὰ δέχησθε γράμματα.

^{rs} Vales. Not. in loc. (Vales. 1695. p. 140.) Aliæ (litteræ communicatoriæ) clericis et laicis peregrinaturis dabantur, ut a peregrinis episcopis ad communionem admitterentur. Aliæ erant quas episcopi, testandæ communionis suæ causa, ad alios mittebant episcopos, et quas ipsi vicissim ab aliis accipiebant.

^{tu} Liberat. Brev. c. xvii. De quo etiam Acacius synodicam Romano Papæ misit epistolam, petens, ne etiam adulterum et hæreticum in episcopali dignitate reciperet. Verum Joannes Talaia de ordinatione sua neglexit per suas synodicas litteras Acacio episcopo Constantinopolitano destinare. . . . Mandavit ergo magistriano litteras synodicas, delegans ei omnia cum illius facere voluntate. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 766. A 8.)

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE RULE WHICH PROHIBITS BISHOPS TO BE ORDAINED
IN SMALL CITIES.SECT. I.—*The reason of the Law against placing Bishops in
small cities.*

BEFORE I end this discourse about bishops, I must give an account of two rules more respecting their ordination. The first of which was, that bishops should not be placed in small cities or villages; which law was first made by the Council of Sardica, with a design to keep up the honour and dignity of the episcopal order; as the reason is given in the canon made about it, which says, “It shall not be lawful to place a bishop in a village, or small city^v, where a single presbyter will be sufficient: for in such places there is no need to set a bishop, lest the name and authority of bishops be brought into contempt.” Some add to this the fifty-seventh canon of the Council of Laodicea, which forbids the placing of bishops in villages, and in the country^x, appointing visitors to be constituted in their room; but this canon speaks not of absolute bishops, but of the Chorepiscopi, who were subject to other bishops: of which I shall treat particularly hereafter. However, there is no dispute about the Sardican canon; for the reason annexed explains its meaning, that it prohibits universally the ordination of bishops in small cities and country places.

^v Concil. Sardic. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 632. C 5.) Μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ ἀπλῶς καθιστᾶν ἐπίσκοπον ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ ἢ βραχεῖα πόλει, ἢ τινι καὶ εἰς μόνος πρεσβύτερος ἐπαρκεῖ· οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἐπισκόπους ἐκεῖσε καθίστασθαι, ἵνα μὴ κατευτελίζηται τὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὄνομα καὶ ἡ αὐθεντία.

^x Concil. Laodic. can. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1505.) “Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι ἐπισκόπους, ἀλλὰ περιοδευτάς.

SECT. II.—*Some exceptions to this Rule in Egypt, Libya, Cyprus, Arabia, Asia Minor, &c.*

But it may be observed that this rule did never generally obtain: for both before and after the Council of Sardica, there were bishops both in small cities and villages. Nazianzum was but a very small city; Socrates^y calls it πόλις εὐτελής, a little one; and upon the same account Gregory Nazianzen^z styles his own father, who was bishop of it, μικροπολίτης, a little bishop, and one of the second order. Yet he was no Chorepiscopus, but as absolute a bishop in his own diocese as the bishop of Rome or Alexandria. Geræ, near Pelusium, was but a small city, as Sozomen^a notes; yet it was a bishop's see. Theodoret observes the same of Dolicha, where Maris was bishop^b, that it was but a very little city; πολίχνη σμικρά, he calls it. And he says the like of Cucusus^c, in Armenia, the place whither Chrysostom was banished; yet as small a city as it was, Chrysostom^d found a bishop there, who treated him very civilly and respectfully in his exile. Synesius makes mention of the bishop of Olbiæ in one of his epistles^e, and

^y Socrat. lib. iv. c. xi. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 179. D 4.) Βασίλειος καὶ Γρηγόριος ὧν ὁ μὲν Καισαρείας τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος ἦν· Γρηγόριος δὲ Ναζιανζοῦ πόλεως εὐτελοῦς, γειτνιαζούσης τῇ Καισαρείᾳ.

^z Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xix. de Laud. Patr. (Colon. 1690.) tom. i. p. 310. Τοῦτο τοῦ μικροπολίτου τὸ ἔργον καὶ τῆς καθέδρας τὰ δεύτερα ἔχοντας.

^a Sozom. lib. viii. c. xix. (Vales. Amstel. p. 634. B.) Ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους ὧδε συμβὰν, κατῆρεν εἰς Γέρας, πόλιν μικράν, ἀμφὶ πεντήκοντα στάδια τοῦ Πηλουσίου ἀφεστῶσαν· τελευτήσαντος δὲ τότε τοῦ ἐνθάδε ἐπισκόπου, οἱ μὲν πολῖται, ὡς ἐπυθόμην, ἐψηφίσαντο Νιλάμμωνα προστατεῖν τῆς αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίας, κ. τ. λ.

^b Theodoret. lib. v. c. iv. (Vales. Amstel. p. 203. B 8.) Ὁ δὲ θεῖος Εὐσέβιος ἔσχατον ἐπίσκοπον Μάριν τῇ Δολιχῇ κεχειροτόνηκε· πολίχνη δὲ αὕτη σμικρά, καὶ τῆς Ἀρειανικῆς νόσου κατ' ἐκείνο τοῦ καιροῦ μετελήφει.

^c Theod. lib. ii. c. v. (Vales. Amstel. p. 72. D 6.) Μετόκισαν εἰς Κουκουσὸν πόλις δὲ αὕτη μικρά.—Lib. v. c. xxxiv. Εἰς τινα πολίχνην σμικράν τε καὶ ἔρημον τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐξέπεμψαν· Κουκουσὸς ὄνομα ταύτη.

^d Chrysostom. Ep. cxxv. ad Cyriac. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 670. E 5.) (vol. iv. p. 764, edit. Francof.) Ταῦτά σοι ἀπέστειλα ἀπὸ Κουκουσοῦ τῆς Κιλικίας, ὅπου ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς ἡ βασίλισσα ἐξορισθῆναι. (B 8.) Πάννυ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐδεξιώσατο ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, καὶ πολλὴν ἀγάπην ἔδειξεν εἰς ἡμᾶς. (Paris. 1614. Front. Duc. p. 871. A 4.)

^e Synes. Ep. lxxvi. Ὀλβιάταις· οὗτοι δὲ δῆμός εἰσι κωμήτης· ἐδέησεν αἰρέσεως ἐπισκόπου, τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πατρὸς Ἀθάμαντος τῷ μακρῷ βίῳ τὴν ἱερωσύνην συγκαταλύσαντος.

at the same time tells us the place was but a village; for he calls the people *δῆμος κωμῆτης*, a country people. So he says in another epistle^f, that Hydrax and Palæbisca had for some time each of them their own bishop; though they were but villages of Pentapolis, formerly belonging to the diocese of Erythra, to which they were some time after annexed again. In Sozomen's time, among the Arabians and Cyprians it was an usual thing to ordain bishops not only in cities, but villages; as also among the Novatians and Montanists in Phrygia; all which he affirms^g upon his own knowledge. Some think Dracontius was such a bishop, because Athanasius^h styles his bishopric *χώρας ἐπισκοπήν*: but whether this means that he was an absolute bishop, or only a 'Chorepiscopus,' as others think, is not very easy to determine; as neither what kind of bishops those were, which the Council of Antiochⁱ, in their synodical epistle against Paulus Samosatensis, calls country bishops; for perhaps they might be only 'Chorepiscopi,' or dependent bishops, as Valesius conjectures. But this cannot be said by those mentioned by Sozomen, nor of the other instances I have given out of Synesius, and the rest of the fore-cited authors; from whose testimonies it plainly appears, that there were bishops in very small cities, and sometimes in villages, notwithstanding the contrary decree of the Sardican Council. It is also very observable, that in Asia Minor, a tract of land not much larger than the isle of Great

^f Synes. Ep. lxvii. p. 208. Γέγονα κατὰ Παλαιβισκάν τε καὶ "Υδρακὰ κῶμαι δὲ αὐταὶ Πενταπόλεως. — P. 210. Τοῦτον οὖν ἓνα καὶ μόνον ἀποδεδεῖχθαι Παλαιβίσκης ἐπίσκοπον. — P. 211. Ἐν "Υδρακι τῇ κώμῃ χώριόν ἐστι. τοῦτο τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἡμῶν ἤδη καὶ ἄλλοις τοῖς εὐλαβεστάτοις ἐπισκόποις, Διοσκώρῳ καὶ Παύλῳ, τὸ περιμάχητον ἦν, κ. τ. λ.

^g Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. (Vales. Amstel. p. 596. A.) Ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ ἔθνεσιν ἐστίν, ὅπη καὶ ἐν κώμαις ἐπίσκοποι ἱεροῦνται, ὡς παρὰ Ἀραβίοις καὶ Κυπρίοις ἔγνω.

^h Athan. Epist. ad Dracont. (Colon. 1686. tom. i. p. 954.) (p. 263, edit. Paris. 1698.) Καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἐκ παραδόξου γενομένη συμφωνία ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων χώρᾳ, ἐν τῇ σῇ καταστάσει, ἐξ ἀνάγκης σχισθήσεται διὰ τὴν σὴν ἀναχώρησιν· καὶ ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ δὲ τῆς χώρας αὐτῆς ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀρπαγήσεται, καὶ πολλῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶν, ἀλλ' ὧν οἶδας καὶ αὐτός.

ⁱ Ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. (Vales. Amstel. p. 229. D 6.) Οἷα καὶ τοὺς θωπεύοντας αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπους τῶν ὁμόρων ἀγρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν λαὸν ὁμιλίαις καθίησι, διαλέγεσθαι.

Britain, (including but two dioceses of the Roman Empire) there were almost four hundred bishops; as appears from the ancient *Notitiæ* of the Church. Whence it may be collected, that Cucusus and Nazianzum were not the only small cities in those parts; but that there were many other cities and dioceses, of no very great extent in such a number.

SECT. III.—*Reasons for erecting Bishoprics in small cities.*

One thing that contributed much to the multiplication of bishoprics, and that caused them to be erected sometimes in small places, was that in the primitive Church every bishop, with the consent of his metropolitan, or the approbation of a provincial council, had power to divide his own diocese, and ordain a new bishop in some convenient part of it, for the good of the Church, whenever he found his diocese too large, or the places to lie at too great a distance, or the multitude of converts to increase, and make the care and incumbrance of his diocese become too great a burden for him. This was the reason why St. Austin^k erected a new bishopric at Fussala, a town in his own diocese, about forty miles from Hippo. It was a place where great numbers had been converted from the schism of the Donatists, and some remained to be converted still: but the place lying at so great a distance, he could not bestow that care and diligence, either in ruling the one, or regaining the other, which he thought necessary: and therefore he prevailed with the primate of Numidia to come and ordain one Antonius to be bishop there. And this was consonant to the rules of the African Church, which allowed new bishoprics to be erected^l in any diocese where there was need, if the

^k Aug. Ep. cclxi. ad Cælestin. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 591. E 8.) Quod ab Hipponem memoratum castellum millibus quadraginta sejungitur, cum in eis regendis et eorum reliquiis licet exiguis colligendis . . . me viderem latius quam oportebat extendi, nec adhibendæ sufficerem diligentiae, quam certissima ratione adhiberi debere cernebam, episcopum ibi ordinandum constituendumque curavi.

^l Conc. Carth. II. c. v. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1160.) Si accedente tempore, crescente fide, Dei populus multiplicatus desideraverit proprium habere rectorem, ejus videlicet voluntate, in cujus potestate est diocesis constituta, habeat episcopum.—Item Conc. Carth. III. c. xlii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1173.) Multis in concilio hoc statutum est a coetu sacerdotali, ut plebes quæ in diocesis ab

bishop of the diocese and the primate gave their consent to it; or, as Ferrandus^m has it in his Collection, if the bishop, the primate, and a provincial council, by their joint consent and authority gave way to it. By virtue of these canons, during the time of the schism of the Donatists, many new bishoprics were erected in very small towns in Afric; as appears from the acts of the Collation of Carthage; where the Catholics and Donatists mutually charge each other with this practice; that they divided single bishoprics sometimes into three or four; and made bishops in country towns and villages, to augment the numbers of their parties. Thus, in one place, we find Petilian the Donatistⁿ complaining that the Catholics had made four bishops in the diocese of Januarius, a Donatist bishop, to outdo them with numbers. And, in another place, Alypius the Catholic orders it to be entered upon record^o, that a great many Donatist bishops there mentioned were not ordained in cities, but only in country towns or villages. To which Petilian replies^p, “That the Catholics did the same; ordaining bishops in country towns, and sometimes in such places where they had no people.” His meaning is, that in those places all the people were turned Donatists; and for that very reason the Catholic bishops thought themselves obliged to divide their dioceses, and ordain new bishops in small towns, that they might outdo the Donatists, both in number and zeal, and more effectually labour in reducing the straying people back again to their ancient communion with the Catholic Church. This was the practice of

episcopis retinentur, quæ episcopum numquam habuerunt, non nisi cum voluntate ejus episcopi, a quo tenentur, proprios accipiant rectores, id est, episcopos.

^m Ferrand. Breviar. Canon. c. xiii. Ut episcopus non ordinetur in diœcesi, quæ episcopum numquam habuit, nisi cum voluntate episcopi, ad quem ipsa diœcesis pertinet, ex concilio tamen plenario et primatis auctoritate.

ⁿ Collat. Carthag. I. c. cxvii. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 1377.) Petilianus episcopus dixit: In una plebe Januarii collegæ nostri præsentis, in una diœcesi, quatuor sunt constituti contra ipsum; ut numerus scilicet augeretur.

^o Ibid. c. clxxxi. Alypius dixit: Scriptum sit istos omnes in villis vel in fundis esse episcopos ordinatos, non in aliquibus civitatibus. (p. 1399.)

^p Ibid. c. clxxxii. Petilianus episcopus dixit: Sic etiam tu multos habes per omnes agros dispersos: immo crebros ubi habes, sane et sine populis habes.

Afric, and this their reason for erecting so many small bishoprics in those times of exigency: they had always an eye to the benefit and edification of the Church.

Gregory Nazianzen highly commends St. Basil's piety and prudence for the like practice. It happened in his time, that Cappadocia was divided into two provinces, and Tyana made the metropolis of the second province, in the civil account: this gave occasion to Anthimus, bishop of Tyana, to lay claim to the rights of a metropolitan in the Church; which St. Basil opposed, as injurious to his own Church of Cæsarea, which by ancient custom and prescription had been the metropolis of the whole province. But Anthimus proving a very contentious adversary, and raising great disturbance and commotions about it, St. Basil was willing to buy the peace of the Church with the loss of his own rights; so he voluntarily relinquished his jurisdiction over that part of Cappadocia which Anthimus laid claim to: and, to compensate his own loss in some measure, he erected several new bishoprics in his own province; as at Sasima, and some other such obscure places of that region. Now, though this was done contrary to the letter of a canon, yet Nazianzen extols the fact upon three accounts. First, because hereby a greater care was taken of men's souls^a. Secondly, by this means every city had its own revenues. And lastly, the war between the two metropolitans was ended. This, he says, was an admirable policy, worthy the great and noble soul of St. Basil, who could so turn a dispute to the benefit of the Church, and draw a considerable advantage out of a calamity, by making it an occasion to guard and defend his country with more bishops. Whence we may collect, that in Nazianzen's opinion it is an advantage to the Church to be well stocked with bishops; and that it is no dishonour to her to have bishops in small towns, when necessity and reason require it.

^a Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xx. de Laud. Basil. (Colon. 1690. vol. i. p. 356.)
 Σκοπῶμεν, ὡς μεγάλην καὶ θαυμασίαν (τοῦ κακοῦ λύσιν) καὶ τί γὰρ ἡ τῆς
 ἐκείνου ψυχῆς ἀξίαν προσθήκην γὰρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ποιεῖται τὴν στάσιν καὶ
 τὴν συμφορὰν ὡς κάλλιστα διατίθεται, πλείοσιν ἐπισκόποις τὴν πατρίδα
 καταπυκνώσας· ἐξ οὗ τί γίνεται, τρία τὰ κάλλιστα· ψυχῶν ἐπιμέλεια πλείων,
 καὶ τὸ πόλιν ἐκάστην τὸ ἐαυτῆς ἔχειν, καὶ τὸ λυθῆναι ταύτῃ τὸν πόλεμον.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE RULE WHICH FORBIDS TWO BISHOPS TO BE ORDAINED
IN ONE CITY.

SECT. I.—*The general Rule and Practice of the Church, to have but one Bishop in a city.*

ANOTHER rule generally observed in the Church was, that in one city there should be but one bishop, though it was large enough to admit of many presbyters. In the time of Cornelius there were forty-six presbyters^r in the church of Rome, seven deacons, as many sub-deacons, and ninety-four of the inferior orders of the clergy: and the body of the people, at a moderate computation, are reckoned by some^s to be about fifty thousand; by others^t, to be a far greater number; yet there was but one bishop over all these. So that when Novatian got himself ordained bishop of Rome, in opposition to Cornelius, he was generally condemned over all the world, as transgressing the rule of the Catholic Church. Cyprian^u delivers it as a maxim upon this occasion; that there ought to be but one bishop in a church at a time, and one judge as the vicerent of Christ. Therefore he says^v, Novatian was no bishop,

^r Cornel. Ep. ad Fabium, ap. Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. (Vales. Amstel. p. 198. D.)
'Ο ἐκδικητῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὐκ ἠπίστατο ἓνα ἐπίσκοπον δεῖν εἶναι ἐν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἡγνόει· πῶς γάρ; πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι τεσσαράκοντα ἕξ· διακόνους ἑπτὰ· ὑποδιακόνους ἑπτὰ· ἀκολουθούς δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· ἐξορκιστάς δὲ καὶ ἀναγνώστας ἅμα πυλῶροῖς δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα.

^s Bishop Burnet, Letter 4, p. 207.

^t Basnag. Exerc. ad Annal. Baron. an. xliv. p. 532.

^u Cyprian. Ep. lv. al. lix. ad Corn. Oxon. 1682. p. 129. (p. 79, lin. ult. edit. Par. 1666.) Unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus iudex vice Christi cogitatur.

^v Cyprian. Ep. lii. al. lv. ad Antonian. p. 104. (p. 68, edit. Paris.) Cum post primum secundus esse non possit, quisquis post unum [Cornelium] qui solus esse debeat, factus est [Novatianus]; non jam secundus ille, sed nullus est.

since there could not be a second after the first; but he was an adulterer^x, and a foreigner, and ambitious usurper of another man's Church, who had been regularly ordained before him. And so he was told not only by Cyprian^y, but a whole African council at once; who, in return to Novatian's communicatory letter, which (according to custom) he wrote to them upon his ordination, sent him this plain and positive answer: that he was an alien; and that none of them could communicate with him, who had attempted to erect a profane altar, and set up an adulterous chair, and offer sacrilegious sacrifice against Cornelius, the true bishop; who had been ordained by the approbation of God, and the suffrage of the clergy and people.—There were, indeed, some confessors at Rome, who at first sided with Novatian: but Cyprian^z wrote a remonstrating letter to them, wherein he soberly laid before them the sinfulness of their practice; and his admonition wrought so effectually on some of the chief of them, that not long after they returned to Cornelius, and publicly confessed their fault in these words: "We acknowledge our error; we have been imposed upon and deluded by treacherous and deceitful words: for

^x Ibid. p. 112. (p. 73, edit. Paris.) Nisi si episcopus tibi videtur, qui episcopo in ecclesia a sedecim coëpiscopis facto, adulter atque extraneus episcopus fieri a desertoribus per ambitum nititur.

^y Cyprian. Ep. lxvii. al. lxviii. ad Stephan. p. 177. (p. 111, edit. Paris.) Cum ad nos in Africam legatum misisset, optans ad communicationem nostram admitti, hinc a concilio plurimorum sacerdotum, qui præsentes eramus, sententiam retulerit; se foris esse coëpisse, nec posse a quoquam nostrum sibi communicari, qui episcopo Cornelio in Catholica ecclesia de Dei judicio et cleri ac plebis suffragio ordinato, profanum altare erigere, et adulteram cathedram collocare, et sacrilega contra verum sacerdotium sacrificia offerre tentaverit.

^z Cypr. Ep. xlv. al. xlvi. ad Nicostrat. et Maxim. (p. 58, edit. Paris.) Gravatus me atque contristatus, et intolerabilis percussus et pene prostratus pectoris moestitia perstringit; cum vos illic comperissem contra ecclesiasticam dispositionem, contra evangelicam legem, contra institutionis catholicæ unitatem, alium episcopum fieri consensisse, id est, quod nec fas est, nec licet fieri, ecclesiam aliam constitui; Christi membra discerpi, Dominici gregis animum et corpus unum discissa æmulatione lacerari. Quod quæso ut, in vobis saltem, illicitum istud fraternitatis nostræ discidium non perseveret, sed et confessionis vestræ et divinæ traditionis memores, ad matrem revertamini unde prodiistis, unde ad confessionis gloriam cum ejusdem matris exultatione venistis. Nec putetis, sic vos evangelium Christi adserere, dum vosmet ipsos a Christi grege et ab ejus pace et concordia separatis; etc. (Oxon. 1682, p. 89.)

though we seemed to communicate with a schismatical and heretical man, yet our mind was always sincerely in the Church. For we are not ignorant^a, that as there is but one God, one Christ the Lord, and one Holy Spirit; so there ought to be but one bishop in a Catholic Church.” Pamelius^b and others, who take this for a confession of the bishop of Rome’s supremacy, betray either gross ignorance or great partiality for a cause: for though this was spoken of a bishop of Rome, yet it was not peculiar to him, but the common case of bishops in all Churches. Ignatius and all the writers after him, who have said any thing of bishops, always speak of a single bishop in every Church: and though Origen^c seems to say otherwise, that there were two bishops in every church; yet as he explains his own notion, his meaning is the same with all the rest: for he says, “the one was visible, the other invisible; the one an angel, the other a man.” So that his testimony (though there be something peculiar in his notion) is a further confirmation of the Church’s practice.

The writers of the following ages do so frequently mention the same thing, that it would be as tedious as it is needless to recite their testimonies^d. Therefore I shall only add these two

^a Cornel. Ep. xlvi. al. xlix. ad Cyprian. p. 93. (apud Cyprian. p. 60, edit. Paris. 1666.) Nos (inquiunt) Cornelium episcopum sanctissimæ catholicæ Ecclesiæ, electum a Deo omnipotente et Christo Domino nostro, scimus. Nos errorem nostrum confitemur. Circumventi sumus perfidia et loquacitate captiosa; nam etsi videbamus quasi quamdam communicationem cum schismatico et hæretico homine habuisse, sincera tamen mens nostra semper in ecclesia fuit. Nec enim ignoramus unum Deum esse, unum Christum esse Dominum, quem confessi sumus, unum Spiritum Sanctum, unum episcopum in Catholica ecclesia esse debere.

^b Pamel. in loc.

^c Origen. Hom. xiii. in Luc. Per singulas ecclesias bini sunt episcopi, alius visibilis, alius invisibilis. . . Ego puto inveniri simul posse et angelum et hominem bonos (leg. binos) ecclesiæ episcopos.

^d Vide Chrysostom. Ep. cxxv. ad Cyriac. (Front. Duc. p. 870. D 6.) Ὁ προβατόσχημος ἐκεῖνος λύκος, ὁ σχῆμα μὲν ἔχων ἐπισκόπου, μοιχὸς δὲ ὑπάρχων· ὥς γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ μοιχαλὶς χρηματίζει, ἡ ζῶντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐτέρῳ συναφθεῖσα· οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς μοιχὸς ἐστίν, οὐ σαρκὸς, ἀλλὰ πνεύματος. ζῶντος γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἤρπασέ μου τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἐκκλησίας.—Homil. i. in Philipp. (Explan. in N. T. Paris. 1636. vol. v. p. 1203.) Συνεπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις· τί τοῦτο; μᾶς πόλειως πολλοὶ ἐπίσκοποι ἦσαν· οὐδαμῶς.—Hieron. Ep. iv. (?) ad Rusticum. (tom. i. p. 30. b. edit. Francof.) (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 942. B 9.) Singuli ecclesiarum episcopi, singuli archipresbyteri, singuli archidiaconi: et

things: first, that the Council of Nice^e repeats and confirms this ancient rule. For in the eighth canon, which speaks of the Novatian bishops that return to the Catholic Church, it is said, that any bishop may admit them to officiate as presbyters in the city, or as Chorepiscopi in the country, but not as city bishops, for this reason, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύο ἐπίσκοποι ᾤσιν, that there may not be two bishops in one city. Secondly, that, in fact, the people were generally possessed with the opinion of the absolute unlawfulness of having two bishops sit together; insomuch that Theodoret tells us^f, when Constantius proposed to the Roman people to have Liberius and Felix sit as co-partners, and govern the Church in common, they unanimously agreed to reject the motion, crying out, "One God, one Christ, one bishop!"

omnis ordo ecclesiasticus suis rectoribus nititur. In navi unus gubernator: in domo unus dominus.—Idem Ep. lxxxv. ad Evangelum. (vol. i. p. 1081.) Ne quis contentiose in una ecclesia plures episcopos fuisse contendat . . . Nam et Alexandriæ a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclam . . . presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant.—Pseud. Hieron. 1 Tim. iii. Cum una civitas plures episcopos habere non posset.—Hilar. Diac. Comm. in Phil. i. 1. Si episcopis scriberet et diaconibus, ad personas eorum scriberet, et loci ipsius episcopo scribendum erat, non duobus vel tribus.—Id. in 1 Cor. xii. 28. Quia ab uno Deo Patre sunt omnia, singulos episcopos singulis ecclesiis præesse decrevit.—In 1 Tim. iii. 12. Nunc septem diaconos esse oportet et aliquantos presbyteros, ut bini sint per ecclesias, et unus in civitate episcopus.—Pacian. Epist. iii. ad Sempron. (tom. iii. Biblioth. SS. Patrum, p. 430.) Ille (Novatus) sedente jam Romæ episcopo, adversum fas sacerdotii singularis, alterius episcopi nomen adsumit.—Socrat. lib. vi. c. xxii. (p. 270. C 4.) Ἰωάννου δὲ ποτὲ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἐγκαλοῦντος αὐτῷ, καὶ λέγοντος, ὅτι οὐ δύναται ἡ πόλις δύο ἐπισκόπους ἔχειν, ὁ Σισίννιος ἔφη, Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχει.—Sozom. lib. iv. c. xv. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 454. B. 7.) Ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον Φίληκος ἐπιβίωσαντος, μόνος Λιβέριος τῆς ἐκκλησίας προΐστατο· ταύτην πη τοῦ Θεοῦ διοικήσαντος, ὥστε τὸν Πέτρου θρόνον μὴ ἀδοξεῖν, ὑπὸ δύο ἡγεμόσιν ἰθυνόμενον· ὃ διχονοίας σύμβολόν ἐστι, καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ θεσμοῦ ἀλλότριον.—Theodoret. lib. iii. c. iv. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, διχῇ τὸ ὑγιαῖνον σῶμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας διήρητο, κ. τ. λ. (Vales. p. 127. D 3.)

^e Concil. Nicæn. can. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 33. B.) Ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος παρὰ τοῖς λεγομένοις Καθαροῖς ἐπίσκοπος, τὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τιμὴν ἔξει· πλήν εἰ μὴ ἄρα δοκοίῃ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτὸν μετέχειν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ μὴ ἀρέσκοι, ἐπινοήσῃ τόπον ἢ χωρεπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ὅλως δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύο ἐπίσκοποι ᾤσιν.

^f Theod. lib. ii. c. xvii. (Vales. Amstel. p. 96. C 8.) Εἰς Θεός, εἰς Χριστός, εἰς ἐπίσκοπος.

SECT. II.—*Yet two Bishops sometimes allowed by compromise, to end a dispute, or cure an inveterate Schism.*

Yet it must be observed, that as the great end and design of this rule was to prevent schism, and preserve the peace and unity of the Church; so on the other hand, when it manifestly appeared, that the allowing of two bishops in one city, in some certain circumstances and critical junctures, was the only way to put an end to some long and inveterate schism; in that case there were some Catholic bishops, who were willing to take a partner into their throne, and share the episcopal power and dignity between them. Thus Meletius, bishop of Antioch, made the proposal to Paulinus his antagonist, who though he was of the same faith, yet kept up a Church divided in communion from him. I shall relate the proposal in the words of Theodoret^s. “Meletius (says he) the meekest of men, thus friendly and mildly addressed himself to Paulinus: ‘Forasmuch as the Lord hath committed to me the care of these sheep, and thou hast received the care of others, and all the sheep agree in one common faith, let us join our flocks, my friend, and dispute no longer about primacy and government: but let us feed the sheep in common, and bestow a common care upon them. And if it be the throne that creates the dispute, I will try to take away this cause also. We will lay the holy Gospel upon the seat, and then each of us take his place on either side of it. And if I die first, you shall take the government of the flock alone: but if it be your fate to die before me, then I will feed them ac-

^s Theod. lib. v. c. iii. (Vales. Amstel. p. 201. D 8.) Μελέτιος ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πρῶτατος, φιλοφρόνως ἅμα καὶ ἡπίως ἔφη πρὸς τὸν Παυλῖνον· Ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ τῶνδε τῶν προβάτων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ὁ τῶν προβάτων ἐνεχείρισε Κύριος, καὶ σὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναδέδεξαι τὴν φροντίδα, κοινωνεῖ δὲ ἀλλήλοις τῆς εὐσεβείας τὰ θρέμματα, συνάψωμεν, ὦ φιλότης, τὰ ποίμνια, καὶ τὴν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καταλύσωμεν διαμάχην· κοινῇ δὲ τὰ πρόβατα νέμοντες, κοινὴν αὐτοῖς προσενέγκωμεν θεραπείαν· εἰ δὲ ὁ μέσος θῶκος τὴν ἔριν γεννᾷ, ἐγὼ καὶ ταύτην ἐξελάσαι πειράσομαι· ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τὸ θεῖον προτεθεικῶς εὐαγγέλιον, ἐκατέρωθεν ἡμᾶς καθῆσθαι παρεγγυῶ· καὶ εἰ μὲν πρῶτος ἐγὼ δεξαίμην τοῦ βίου τὸ πέρας, μόνος σχῆς, ὦ φίλος, τὴν τῆς ποίμνης ἡγεμονίαν· εἰ δὲ σὺ πρότερος τοῦτο πάθοις, ἐγὼ πάλιν εἰς δύναμιν τῶν προβάτων ἐπιμελήσομαι. Ταῦτα ἡπίως μὲν ἅμα καὶ φιλοφρόνως θεῖος εἶπε Μελέτιος· ὁ δὲ Παυλῖνος οὐκ ἔστερξεν.

ording to my power.' Thus spake the divine Meletius (says our author) lovingly and meekly; but Paulinus would not acquiesce, nor hearken to him."

We meet with another such proposal made to the Donatist bishops, by all the Catholic bishops of Afric assembled together, at the opening of the famous conference of Carthage. There they offered them freely before the conference began, that if they would return to the unity and communion of the Church, upon due conviction, they should retain their episcopal honour and dignity still^h: and because this could not be done, as the circumstances and case of the Church then were, without allowing two bishops for some time to be in the same city, it was further proposed, that every Catholic bishop should take the other to be his co-partner, and share the honour with him; allowing him to sit with him in his own chair, as was usual for bishops to treat their fellow bishops that were strangers; and also granting him a church of his own, where he might be capable of returning him the like civility: that so they might pay mutual respect and honour to each other, and take their turns to sit highest in the Church, till such times as one of them should die; and then the right of succession should be always in a single bishop, as it was before.—And this, they say, was no new thing in Afric: for from the beginning of the schism, they that would recant their error, and condemn their separation, and return to the unity of the Church, were, by the charity of Catholics, always treated in the same courteous manner. From hence it is plain, that this had been the practice of Afric for above one whole century; and the present bishops proposed to follow the example of their predecessors, in making this concession to the Donatists, in order to close

^h Collat. Carthag. I. die c. xvi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1352. C 11.) Sic nobiscum teneant unitatem, ut non solum viam salutis inveniant, sed nec honorem episcopatus amittant. (D 5.) Poterit quippe unusquisque nostrum, honoris sibi socio copulato, vicissim sedere eminentius, sicut peregrino episcopo juxta considente collega. Hoc cum alternis basilicis utrisque conceditur, uterque ab alterutro honore mutuo praevenitur: quia ubi praeceptio caritatis dilataverit corda, possessio pacis non fit angusta, ut uno eorum defuncto, deinceps jam singulis singuli pristino more succedant, nec hoc novum aliquid fiet: nam hoc ab ipsius separationis exordio, in eis qui damnato nefariae discissionis errore, unitatis dulcedinem vel sero sapuerunt, catholica dilectio custodivit.

up and heal the divisions of the Church. But they addⁱ, that forasmuch as this method might not be acceptable to all Christian people, who would be much better pleased to see only a single bishop in every church, and perhaps would not endure the partnership of two, which was an unusual thing, they therefore proposed in this case, that both the bishops should freely resign, and suffer a single bishop to be chosen by such bishops as were singly possessed of other churches. So that at once they testify both what was the usual and ordinary rule of the Church, to have but one bishop in a city; and also how far they were willing to have receded, in order to establish the peace and unity of the Church in that extraordinary juncture. I have been the more easily tempted to recite this passage at large, not only because it is a full proof of all that has been asserted in this chapter; but because it gives us such an instance of a noble, self-denying zeal and charity, as is scarce to be paralleled in any history; and shows us the admirable spirit of those holy bishops, among whom St. Austin was a leader.

SECT. III.—*The opinions of learned men concerning two Bishops in a city in the Apostolic Age, one of the Jews, and the other of the Gentiles.*

Some very learned persons^a are further of opinion, that this rule about one bishop in a city did not take place in the apostolical age: for they think that before the perfect incorporation and coalition of the Jews and Gentiles into one body, there were two bishops in many cities, one of the Jews, and another of the Gentiles. Thus they think it was at Antioch, where Euodius and Ignatius are said to be bishops ordained by the

ⁱ Aut si forte Christiani populi singulis delectantur episcopis, et duorum consortium, inusitata rerum facie, tolerare non possunt, utrique de medio secedamus; et ecclesiis in singulis, damnata schismatis causa, in unitate pacifica constitutis, ab his qui singuli in ecclesiis singulis inveniuntur, unitati factæ per loca necessaria singuli constituentur episcopi.

^a Pearson. Vind. Ignat. (Antwerp. 1698. vol. ii.) par. ii. c. xiii. p. 414. (p. 186, edit. Cantabrig. 1672.) Duas in quibusdam civitatibus, temporibus apostolorum, ecclesias, duos episcopos fuisse, donec gentiles cum Judæis in unum corpus coalescerent, probabilissimum ex ipsis scriptis apostolicis facit Hammondus noster.

apostles; as also Linus and Clemens at Rome; the one ordained by St. Peter, bishop of the Jews; and the other by St. Paul, bishop of the Gentiles. Epiphanius seems to have been of this opinion: for he says^b, 'Peter and Paul were the first bishops of Rome;' and he makes it a question whether they did not ordain two other bishops to supply their places in their absence. In another place^c he takes occasion to say, 'That Alexandria never had two bishops, as other churches had;' which observation, Bishop Pearson thinks^{cc}, ought to be extended to the apostolical ages; as implying, that St. Mark, being the only preacher of the Gospel at Alexandria, left but one bishop his successor: but in other Churches sometimes two apostles gathered churches, and each of them left a bishop in his place. Yet this does not satisfy other learned persons^d, who are of a different judgment, and think that though the apostles had occasion to ordain two bishops in some cities, yet it was not upon the account of different Churches of Jews and Gentiles, but in the ordinary way of succession; as Ignatius was ordained at Antioch after the death of Euodius; and Clemens at Rome, after the death of Linus. I shall not pretend to determine on which side the right lies in so nice a dispute^e, but leave it to the judicious reader; and only say, that if the former opinion prevails, it proves another exception to the common rule of having but one bishop in a city; or

^b Epiph. Hæres. xxvii. Carpocrat. n. vi. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 107. A 5.) 'Εν Ῥώμῃ γεγόνασι πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι.

^c Epiph. Hæres. lxviii. Melet. n. vi. (Colon. 1682. vol. ii. p. 722. C 10.) Οὐ γάρ ποτε ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια δύο ἐπισκόπους ἔσχεν, ὥς αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις.

^{cc} Pearson. Vit. Ign. par. ii. c. xiii. p. 414. b. Quæ observatio ad apostolica etiam tempora extendi sine dubio debet; quod Marcus, cum solus ibi (Alexandriæ) prædicaverit, unicum episcopum successorem reliquit; in aliis autem civitatibus aliquando duo apostoli ecclesias congregabant, et loco suo quisque episcopum reliquit.

^d Coteler. Not. in Constit. Apost. lib. vii. c. xlvi. (p. 383. a.) Ex Apostolici Constitutoris verbis concludunt viri docti, Evodium et Ignatium simul fuisse Antiochiæ episcopos, illum gentibus datum, hunc Judæis . . . Subtiliter profecto et ingeniose hæc, ac si vis etiam verisimiliter: mihi tamen res non persuadetur facile. Quia quod volunt, non dicit aperte Constitutio: immo magis videtur exponenda per communem successionis morem.

^e Bishop Pearson himself altered his opinion. See his Dissert. ii. de Successione Rom. Pontif. c. 111.

rather shows what was the practice of the Church before the rule was made.

SECT. IV.—*The case of Coadjutors.*

To these we may add a third exception in a case that is more plain, which was that of the coadjutors. These were such bishops as were ordained to assist some other bishops in case of infirmity or old age, and were to be subordinate to them as long as they lived, and succeed them when they died. Thus when Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, was disabled by reason of his great age, (being a hundred and twenty years old,) Alexander was made his coadjutor. Eusebius^f and St. Jerome both say it was done by revelation; but they do not mean, that Narcissus needed a revelation to authorize him to take a coadjutor, but only to point out to him that particular man: for Alexander was a stranger, and a bishop already in another country: so that without a revelation he could not have been judged qualified for this office: but being once declared to be so, there was no scruple upon any other account, but by the unanimous consent^g of all the bishops in Palestine, he was chosen to take part with Narcissus in the care and government of the Church. Valesius^h reckons this the first instance of any coadjutor to be met with in ancient history, but there are several examples in the following ages. Theotecnus, bishop of Cæsarea, made Anatolius his coadjutor, designing him to be his successor: so that for some time they bothⁱ

^f Euseb. lib. vi. c. xi. (Vales. Amstel. p. 172.) Καὶ δὴ μηκέθ' οἶοντε ὄντος λειτουργεῖν διὰ λιπαρὸν γῆρας, τὸν εἰρημένον Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπίσκοπον ἐτέρας ὑπάρχοντα παροικίας, οἰκονομία Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἅμα τῷ Ναρκίσσῳ λειτουργίαν ἐκάλει, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν νύκτωρ αὐτῷ δι' ὁράματος φανεῖσαν.

^g Hieronym. de Scriptor. Eccles. in Alexandro. (Venet. Vallars. vol. ii. p. 901. g.) Cunctis in Palæstina episcopis in unum congregatis, adnitente quoque ipso vel maxime Narcisso, Hierosolymitanæ ecclesiæ cum eo gubernaculum suscepit.

^h Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. vi. c. xi. (p. 102. C 4.) In hac Alexandri electione, duo contra ecclesiasticam regulam admissa sunt. Primum, quod ab uno episcopatu Alexander ad alium translatus est. Alterum, quod superstiti episcopo adjutor et coëpiscopus est adjunctus. Atque hoc primum exemplum occurrit coadjutorum episcoporum.

ⁱ Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxxii. (Vales. Amstel. p. 235. B 4.) Τούτῳ πρώτος ὁ τῆς

governed the same church together. Maximus^k is said by Sozomen to be bishop of Jerusalem, together with Macarius. Orion, bishop of Palæbisca, being grown old, ordained Siderius his coadjutor and successor, as Synesius^l informs us. So Theodoret^m takes notice that John, bishop of Apamea, had one Stephen for his colleague. And St. Ambroseⁿ mentions one Senecio, who was coadjutor to Bassus. In the same manner, Gregory Nazianzen was bishop of Nazianzum together with his aged father. Baronius, indeed^o, denies that ever he was bishop of Nazianzum, but St. Jerôme^p and all the ancient historians, Socrates^q, Sozomen^r, Ruffin^s, and Theodoret^t, ex-

Παλαιστινῶν Καισαρείας ἐπίσκοπος, Θεότεκνος, χεῖρας εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἐπιτίθεικε, διάδοχον ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ τελευτὴν ποριεῖσθαι τῇ ἰδίᾳ παροικίᾳ προνοοῦμενος· καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ σμικρόν τινα χρόνον ἄμφω τῆς αὐτῆς προὔστησαν ἐκκλησίας.

^k Sozom. lib. ii. c. xx. (Vales. Amstel. p. 383. C 12.) Ἐδοξεν εὖ ἔχειν, Διοσπολίταις μὲν ἕτερον αἰρεῖσθαι ἐπίσκοπον· Μάξιμον δὲ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μέναι, καὶ Μακαρίῳ συνιεῖσθαι.

^l Synes. Epist. lxvii. Καὶ ἐπειδὴν παρέτεινε ζῶν, οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι περιμεῖναι τοῦ δικαίου τὴν τελευτὴν, ἀλλὰ προβαλέσθαι μακαρίτην Σιδῆριον.

^m Theod. lib. v. c. iv. (Vales. Amstel. p. 202. D 6.) Οὗτος ἐν τῷ τῆς ζάλης καιρῷ, τὸν τῶν ὁμοπίστων ἐκυβέρνησε σύλλογον· σύνεργον δὲ εἶχε τὸν ἀξιεπαῖνον Στέφανον.

ⁿ Ambros. Ep. lxxix. ad Theophil. Fratri nostro et coëpiscopo Basso in consortium regendæ ecclesiæ datus est Senecio.

^o Baron. a. ccclxxi. n. cvi. (Antverp. 1601. vol. iv. p. 304.) At illud de Gregorio plane accidit admiratione dignum, quod omnes ipsum episcopum Nazianzenum adfirment, hæcque opinio apud omnes ferme adeo invaluerit, ut nec ea de re dubitandi saltem locum admiserint. Et quid mirum, si posteri eo errare lapsi sunt, cum hoc ipsum crediderint homines hujus temporis, ii que præsertim, qui in Concilio Constantinopolitano eidem refragati sunt, dicentes ipsum trium sedium episcopum esse, nempe Sasimorum, Nazianzi, atque Constantinopolis? Cum igitur id de eo creditum atque scriptum appareat, et ejusmodi causa eo statu collocata esse videatur, ut contrarium testem admittat neminem, in aliorum quoque sententiam et ego pedibus irem, nisi (quod instar omnium est, et plus omnibus æstimari debet) ipsemet Gregorius contrarium adfirmaret.

^p Hieron. de Scriptor. Eccles. Gregorius, primum Sasimorum, deinde Nazianzenus episcopus, etc. (Vallars. vol. ii. p. 943. c.)

^q Socrat. lib. vii. c. xxvi. p. 242, fin. (Vales. Amstel. p. 199. A 5.) Γρηγόριος τῆς Ναζιανζοῦ πόλεως εὐτελοῦς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ, ἥς καὶ ὁ αὐτοῦ πατὴρ πρότερον ἐκκλησίας προέστη, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Βασιλείῳ διεπράττετο.

^r Sozom. lib. vi. c. xvii. (Vales. Amstel. p. 536. B.) Γρηγόριος Ναζιανζοῦ πόλεως μικρᾶς ἐπισκοπεῖν μετὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα λαχών.

^s Ruffin. lib. ii. c. ix.

^t Theodoret. lib. v. c. viii. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 206.) Κατ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν

pressly assert it ; though some of them mistake in calling him his father's successor : for he was no otherwise bishop of Nazianzum, but only as his father's coadjutor. He entered upon the office with this protestation, that he would not be obliged to continue bishop there any longer than his father lived ; as he himself acquaints us^u in his own life, and other places : so that after his father's death he actually resigned ; and getting Eulalius to be ordained in his room, he betook himself to a private life^v. All which evidently proves that he was not his father's successor, but only his coadjutor. I will but add one instance more of this nature, which is the known case of St. Austin, who was ordained bishop of Hippo whilst Valerius was living, and sat with him^x for some time as his coadjutor ;

χρόνον ὁ τὴν Ναζιανζὸν τὰ τελευταῖα ποιμάνας ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει διέτριβε.

^u Nazianz. Carm. de Vita Sua : (Colon. 1690. vol. ii. p. 9.)

Ἐνουθέτησ' ἑμαυτὸν, ὥς οὐδὲν βλάβος
Ἔως καθέδρας πατρὸς ἐκπλήσαι πόθον.
Οὐ γὰρ καθέξει τοῦτ' (ἔφην) ἄκοντά με,
Ὅν οὔτε κήρυγμ', οὔθ' ὑπόσχεσις κρατεῖ.
Οὕτως ἀνήγαγέ με νικήσας φόβος.
Ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπέξῃλθον μὲν οἱ γονεῖς βίου,
Κλῆρον λαχόντες, εἰς δὲν ἔσπενδον πάλαι,
Ἐγὼ δ' ἐλείφθην οὐ καλῶς ἐλεύθερος,
Τῆς μὲν δοθείσης οὐ δόλως ἐκκλησίας
Προσηψάμην, οὐδ' ὅσσον λατρείαν μίαν
Θεῷ προσενεγκεῖν, ἢ συνεύξασθαι λαῷ,
Ἡ χεῖρα θεῖναι κληρικῶν ἐνὶ γέ τῳ.

Id. Orat. viii. ad Patr. (vol. i. p. 148. C 7.) Διὰ τοῦτο νῦν μὲν δέχομαι τῷ καλῷ πατρὶ συνδιαφέρειν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὥσπερ αἰετῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ὑψιπέτῳ νεοσσὸς οὐκ ἄχρηστος, ἐγγύθεν συμπариπτάμενος· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, δώσω τῷ πνεύματι τὴν ἐμὴν πτέρυγα, φέρειν ἣ βούλεται καὶ ὡς βούλεται, καὶ οὐδεὶς ὁ βιασάμενος οὐδὲ ἀπάξων ἐτέρωθι μετὰ τούτου βουλευόμενον.

^v Gregor. Nazianz. Ep. xlii. ad Gregor. Nyssen.

^x Possid. Vit. Aug. c. viii. (Bened. 1700. vol. x. append. p. 176. C 8.) Unde amplius formidans idem venerabilis senex, et sciens se corpore et ætate infirmisimum, egit secretis litteris apud primatem episcoporum Carthaginensem, allegans imbecillitatem corporis sui ætatisque gravitatem, et obsecrans, ut Hipponensi ecclesiæ ordinaretur episcopus, quò suæ cathedræ non tam succederet, sed consacerdos accederet Augustinus.—Paulin. xlii. ad Roman. (N. B. Erronea sine dubio allegatio : neque enim in Bibliotheca SS. Patr., neque in Monumentis Orthodoxogr., hæc epistola inter reliquos inveniri potuit : *Grischov.*)—August. Ep. xxxiv. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 43. A 3.) Qua ecclesiæ cura tenear, ex hoc vestra caritas oportet attendat, quod beatissimus pater Valerius . . . nec

which he did by the consent of the primate of Carthage, and the primate of Numidia, who ordained him. Possidius says, he had some scruple upon him at first, because he looked upon it as contrary to the custom of the Church: but being told that it was a thing commonly practised both in the African and Transmarine Churches, he yielded with some reluctancy to be ordained.—These instances are evident proof, that it was not thought contrary to the true sense of the canon, in case of infirmity or old age, to have coadjutors in the church: though, it is true, St. Austin was of opinion that his own ordination was not regular, when afterward he came to know the Nicene canon, which he did not know before; and for this reason he would not ordain Eraclius^y bishop whilst he himself lived, though he had nominated him with the consent of the Church to be his successor. But all men did not understand the canon in this strict and rigorous sense that St. Austin did, as absolutely forbidding two bishops to be in a Church at the same time in all cases whatsoever, but only when there was no just reason, and the necessities of the Church did not require it: but if there was a reasonable cause to have more bishops than one, as when a bishop was unable to execute his office, or in any the like case, the canon did not oblige, as appears from the instances that have been mentioned, and several others that might be added to them.

presbyterum me esse suum passus est, nisi majorem mihi coëpiscopatus sarcinam imponeret.

^y August. Ep. cx. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 601. B 7.) Quod reprehensum est in me, nolo reprehendi in filio meo . . . Erit presbyter, ut est, quando Deus voluerit, futurus episcopus.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE CHOREPISCOPI, Περιοδεῦται, AND SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS:
AND HOW THESE DIFFERED FROM ONE ANOTHER.

SECT. I.—*Of the reason of the name Chorepiscopi, and the mistake of some about it.*

As the bishops, when they were disabled by old age or infirmity, ordained themselves coadjutors in the city; so when their dioceses were enlarged by the conversion of Pagans in the country and villages at a great distance from the city church, they created themselves another sort of assistants in the country, whom they called ‘Chorepiscopi:’ who were so named, not because they were ‘ex choro sacerdotum,’ as a Latin writer^z by mistake derives the word, but because they were τῆς χώρας ἐπίσκοποι, country-bishops, as the word properly signifies; and not presbyters of the city-regions, as Salmasius understands it.

SECT. II.—*Three different opinions about the nature of this Order: 1st, that they were mere Presbyters.*

Now, though the name does, in some measure, determine their quality, yet great dispute has been among learned men concerning the nature of this order. Among the schoolmen

^z Raban. Maur. de Institut. Sacerdot. lib. i. c. v.—Salmas. de Primat. c. i. p. 10. Hinc c. xi. de officio archipresbyteri, ministerium ejus in eo constitui dicitur, ut diligenti cura provideat ministerium sacerdotum Cardinalium. Quod non de urbis tantum Romæ presbyteris accipiendum, sed de primis sacerdotibus aliarum urbium, quibus parœciæ, id est, tituli commissi. Græcorum infima ætas πρωτοπαστάδας vocavit, qui videntur in locum chorepiscoporum successisse, ut ex Balsamone clarum est, scholiis in Synodum Antiochenam can. viii., ubi τοὺς ἐν χώραις πρεσβυτέρους, qui in canone ipso χωρεπίσκοποι vocantur, πρωτοπαστάδας interpretatur.

and canonists it is a received opinion, that they were only Presbyters; as may be seen in Turrian^a, Estius^b, Antonius Augustinus^c, and Gratian^d, who are followed not only by Salmasius^e, but by Spalatensis^f, Dr. Field^g, and Dr. Forbes^h, the last of which brings several arguments to prove that they were mere Presbyters, and never had any episcopal ordination.

SECT. III.—*A second opinion, that some of them were Presbyters, and some of them Bishops.*

Others think there were two sorts of 'Chorepiscopi,' some that had episcopal ordination, and others that were simple presbyters: which is the opinion of Cabassutiusⁱ, Peter de Marca^k, and Bellarmin^l. They all allow that in some cases it happened that the 'Chorepiscopi' were bishops, because they were ordained bishops before they were made 'Chorepiscopi:' and thus much is certainly true; for in the primitive Church, sometimes bishops were ordained to a place, but not received, either through the perverseness of the people, or by reason of persecution, or the like cause: and such bishops (whom the ancient writers^m and canons term σχολαῖοι and σχολάζοντες ἐπίσκοποι, vacant bishops) not being permitted to officiate in their own church, were admitted to act as Chorepiscopi under any other bishop that would entertain them. The Council of Niceⁿ made the like provision for such of the No-

^a Turrian. Not. in Can. liv. Concil. Nic. Arabic.

^b Est. in iv. Sent. Dist. xxiv. § xxx.

^c Ant. Aug. Epit. Jur. Canon. lib. vi. tit. i. c. viii. xi. xiii.

^d Gratian. Distinct. lxviii. c. iv. v.

^e Walo, Messalin. c. v. p. 315.

^f Spalat. de Rep. part i. lib. ii. c. ix. n. xvii. xviii. xix.

^g Field, Of the Church, lib. v. c. xxix.

^h Forbes, Iren. lib. ii. c. xi. prop. xiv. p. 249. (p. 444, seqq. edit. Amstelod. 1703.)

ⁱ Cabassut. Notit. Concil. c. viii. p. 45.

^k Petr. de Marca, de Concord. lib. ii. c. xiii. tot.

^l Bellarm. de Cleric. lib. i. c. xvii. tot.

^m Socrat. lib. iv. c. vii. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 176. D 9.) Σχολαῖος δὲ ἐπίσκοπος ἦν.—Conc. Antioch. c. xvi. (vol. ii. p. 568.) Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος σχολάζων ἐπὶ σχολάζουσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβρίψας, ὑφαρπάξοι τὸν θρόνον δίχα συνόδου τελείας, τοῦτον ἀπόβλητον εἶναι.

ⁿ Concil. Nicæn. can. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 34. B.) Ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος παρὰ τοῖς λεγομένοις Καθαροῖς ἐπίσκοπος, τὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τιμὴν ἔχει πλὴν εἰ

vation bishops as would return to the Catholic Church; that the bishop of the place should admit them either to the office of a city-presbyter, or a 'Chorepiscopus;' that there might not be two bishops in one city. And so it was determined likewise by the same council^o in the case of the Meletian bishops, that upon their return to the unity of the Church, they should be allowed to officiate in subordination to the bishops of the Catholic Church. Now it is plain that all such 'Chorepiscopi' as these were properly bishops, because they were originally ordained bishops, before they came to act in the quality of country-bishops under others. But for all the rest, De Marca thinks they were only presbyters.

SECT. IV.—*The third opinion, that they were all Bishops, the most probable.*

Both these opinions (which differ little from one another) are rejected by Bishop Barlow^p, Dr. Hammond^q, Dr. Beveridge^r, Dr. Cave^s, and even by Mr. Blondel^t himself, who, though by some reckoned among those of the contrary opinion, has a long dissertation against De Marca, to prove that all the 'Chorepiscopi,' mentioned in the ancient councils, were properly bishops. And there needs no fuller proof of this than what Athanasius says in his second apology, where he puts a manifest distinction betwixt presbyters and the 'Chorepiscopi.'

μη ἄρα δοκοίη τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτὸν μετέχειν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ μὴ ἀρέσκοι, ἐπινοήσῃ τοῦτον ἢ χωρεπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ὅλως δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύο ἐπίσκοποι ᾖσιν.

^o Conc. Nic. Epist. Synod. ap. Socrat. lib. i. c. ix. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 24. B 7.) Τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασταθέντας, μυστικοτέρᾳ χειροτονίᾳ βεβαιωθέντας κοινωνῆσαι ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἔχειν μὲν αὐτοὺς τὴν τιμὴν καὶ λειτουργίαν, δευτέρους δὲ εἶναι ἐξάπαντος πάντων τῶν ἐν ἐκάστη παροικίᾳ τε καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξεταζομένων, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου προκεχειρισμένων.

^p Barlow's Letter to Bishop Usher, in Ush. Lett. 222, p. 520.

^q Hammond, Dissert. iii. contr. Blondel. c. viii.

^r Bevereg. Pandect. tom. ii. Not. in Conc. Ancy. can. xiii. p. 176. Nos eorum (chorepiscoporum) constitutionem atque officium ex hoc aliisque canonibus elicere molimur: quibus etiam conficere non dubitamus, veteres chorepiscopos, contra ac pluribus visum est, revera episcopos fuisse, etiamsi episcopalia quarundam functionum exercitia iis a canonibus denegentur, etc.

^s Cave, Prim. Christ. pt. i. c. viii. p. 224.

^t Blondel. Apol. p. 95, etc.

For speaking of the irregular promotion of Ischyra, who was made bishop of the region of Mareotis by the Eusebian faction, he says, Mareotis was only a region of Alexandria; and that all the churches of that precinct were immediately subject to the bishop of Alexandria, and never had either bishop or Chorepiscopus^u among them, but only presbyters fixed each in their respective villages or churches. This, as Blondel^v well observes, shows evidently that the Chorepiscopi were not the same with presbyters, however the forger of the Decretal Epistles, under the name of Pope Leo and Damasus, would have persuaded the world to believe so.

SECT. V.—*Some objections against this answered.*

But why then does the Council of Neocæsarea^x say that the Chorepiscopi were only in imitation of the Seventy?—I answer, because they were subject to the city-bishops, as the seventy elders were subject to Moses, or the seventy disciples to the apostles. For whatever the council means by the seventy, it cannot be proved thence that the Chorepiscopi were mere presbyters.

But it is said, that they could not be bishops, because the ordination of bishops was to be performed by three bishops, with the consent of the metropolitan and the provincial bishops; whereas the Council of Antioch^y says, that a Chorepiscopus was ordained by one bishop only, the bishop of the city to whose jurisdiction he belonged.—To this the reply is easy, that this was one principal difference between the city-bishops and country-bishops, who differed both in the manner of their ordination, and in their power; for the one was subordinate to the other: therefore those canons which require

^u Athan. Apol. ii. (Colon. 1686. vol. i. p. 802. B 2.) (vol. i. p. 200, edit. Paris. 1698.) 'Ο Μαρεώτης χώρα τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γέγονεν ἐπίσκοπος, οὐδὲ χωρεπίσκοπος· ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπῳ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι πάσης τῆς χώρας ὑπόκεινται· ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔχει τὰς ἰδίας κώμας, μεγίστας δὲ ἀριθμῷ δέκα πού καὶ πλέονας.

^v Blondel. Apol. p. 127.

^x Conc. Neocæs. c. xiv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1483.) Οἱ δὲ χωρεπίσκοποι εἰσὶ μὲν εἰς τύπον τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα.

^y Conc. Antioch. c. x. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 565. D 6.) Χωρεπίσκοπον δὲ γίνεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως, ᾧ ὑπόκειται, ἐπισκόπου.

three bishops to impose hands in the ordination of a bishop, speak only of such bishops as were to be absolute and supreme governors of their own diocese, and not of such who were subordinate to them, whom the city-bishops might ordain at their own discretion, yet so as to stand accountable to a provincial synod.

SECT. VI.—*The Chorepiscopi allowed to ordain the inferior Clergy, but not Presbyters or Deacons, without special licence from the City-bishop.*

The office of these Chorepiscopi was to preside over the country clergy, and inquire into their behaviour, and make report thereof to the city-bishop; as also to provide fit persons for the inferior service and ministry of the Church. And to give them some authority, they had certain privileges conferred on them. As first, they might ordain readers, sub-deacons, and exorcists for the use of the country churches. St. Basil^z requires of his Chorepiscopi that they should first acquaint him with the qualification of such persons, and take his licence to ordain them: but the Council of Antioch^a gives them a general commission to ordain all under-presbyters and deacons, without consulting the city-bishop upon every such promotion; and for presbyters and deacons, they might ordain them too, but not δίχα τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπισκόπου, without the special leave of the city-bishop, under whose jurisdiction both they and the country were. And this is the meaning of the Council of Ancyra^b, which says, “the Chorepiscopi shall not

^z Basil. ep. clxxxi. (Paris. 1638. vol. iii. p. 194. B.) Καὶ τοῦτο ἐξήταζον μὲν πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι οἱ συνοικοῦντες αὐτοῖς, ἐπανεφέρον δὲ τοῖς χωρεπισκόποις, οἱ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀληθινῶς μαρτυρούντων δεξάμενοι ψήφους, καὶ ὑπομνήσαντες τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, οὕτως ἐνηρίθμουν τὸν ὑπηρέτην τῷ τάγματι τῶν ἱερατικῶν· νῦν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς παρωσάμενοι, καὶ, μηδὲ ἐπαναφέρειν ἡμῖν καταδεχόμενοι, εἰς ἑαυτοὺς τὴν ὅλην περιεστήσατε αὐθεντίαν. . . Μὴ ἀριθμεῖτε δὲ πρὶν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπανενεγκεῖν ἢ γινώσκετε, ὅτι λαϊκὸς ἔσται ὁ ἄνευ ἡμετέρας γνώμης εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν παραδεχθεῖς.

^a Conc. Antioch. c. x. (vol. ii. Conc. p. 566.) Καθιστᾶν δὲ ἀναγνώστας, καὶ ὑποδιακόνους, καὶ ἐξορκιστάς, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρκεῖσθαι προσαγωγῇ, μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον χειροτονεῖν τολμᾶν, δίχα τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπισκόπου, ᾧ ὑπόκεινται αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ χώρα.

^b Conc. Ancyran. c. xiii. (Labbe, vol. i. Conc. p. 1462.) Χωρεπισκόπους μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν.

have power to ordain presbyters or deacons :” which we must interpret by the explication given in the Council of Antioch, that they should not be authorized to do it without the particular direction of the city-bishop, but by his leave they might.

SECT. VII.—*They had power to confirm.*

2. They had power to minister confirmation to such as were newly baptized in country churches. This is expressly provided by the Council of Riez^c in the case of Armentarius, whom they reduced to the quality of a Chorepiscopus, but still allowed him the privilege of confirming Neophytes ; which argues that confirmation might then be administered by the hands of the Chorepiscopi in country churches.

SECT. VIII.—*And power to grant Letters Dimissory to the Clergy.*

3. They had power to grant letters dimissory, or, as they were otherwise called, Canonical and Irenical letters, to the country clergy, who desired to remove from one diocese to another. Thus I understand that canon of the Council of Antioch^d which says, “Country presbyters shall not grant canonical letters, κανονικὰς ἐπιστολὰς, or send letters to any neighbouring bishop ; but the Chorepiscopi may grant εἰρηνικὰς, letters dimissory, or letters of peace.”

SECT. IX.—*They had power to officiate in the presence of the City-bishop.*

4. They had liberty to officiate in the city-church, in the presence of the bishop and presbyters of the city, which country-presbyters had not. For so the Council of Neocæ-

^c Concil. Reiens. can. iii. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1287. B 10.) Nec usquam ipsi quidquam de episcopalibus officiis usurpare, præterquam in ecclesia, quam cujusquam misericordia fuerit indeptus : in qua ei solum neophytos confirmare, et ante presbyteros offerre conceditur.

^d Concil. Antioch. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 564.) Μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐν ταῖς χώραις κανονικὰς ἐπιστολὰς διδόναι, ἢ πρὸς μόνους τοὺς γείτονας ἐπισκόπους ἐπιστολὰς ἐκπέμπειν· τοὺς δὲ ἀνεπιλήπτους χωρεπισκόπους διδόναι εἰρηνικὰς.

sarea determined in two canons to this purpose^e: “The country-presbyters shall not offer the oblation, nor distribute the bread and wine in time of prayer in the city-church, when the bishop and presbyters are present: but the country-bishops, being in imitation of the seventy, as fellow-labourers, for their care of the poor, are admitted to offer.”

SECT. X.—*And to sit and vote in Councils.*

5. They had the privilege of sitting and voting in synods and councils: of which there are several instances still remaining in the acts of the ancient councils. In the first Nicene council^f, Palladius and Selucius subscribe themselves Chorepiscopi of the province of Coelosyria: Eudæmon, Chorepiscopus of the province of Cilicia: Gorgonius, Stephanus, Euphronius, Rhodon, Theophanes, Chorepiscopi of the province of Cappadocia: Hesychius, Theodore, Anatolius, Quintus, Aquila, Chorepiscopi of the province of Isauria: Theustinus and Eulalius, of the province of Bithynia: so again in the Council of Neocæsarea^g, Stephanus and Rudus or Rhodon, two of the same that were in the Council of Nice, subscribed themselves Chorepiscopi of the province of Cappadocia. And in the Council of Ephesus^h, Cæsarius, Chorepiscopus of Alce.

SECT. XI.—*The power of the Chorepiscopi not the same in all times and places.*

But here I must observe, that the power and privileges of the Chorepiscopi varied much, according to the difference of times and places. For when the synod of Riez in France (an. 439) had deposed Armentarius from his bishopric, because he was uncanonically ordained, they allowed him the privilege of being a Chorepiscopus, after the example of the Nicene fathers, but limited him as to the exercise of his power. For though

^e Concil. Neoc. can. xiii. et xiv. (Labbe, vol. i. Conc. p. 1484.) Ἐπιχώριοι πρεσβύτεροι ἐν τῷ κυριακῷ τῆς πόλεως προσφέρειν οὐ δύνανται, παρόντος ἐπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρων πόλεως, οὔτε μὴν ἄρτον διδόναι ἐν εὐχῇ οὔδὲ ποτήριον. Οἱ δὲ χωρεπίσκοποι εἰσι μὲν εἰς τύπον τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα· ὥς δὲ συλλειτουργοὶ, διὰ τὴν σπουδὴν εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς, προσφέρουσι τιμώμενοι.

^f Concil. Nic. I. in Subscript. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 51, seqq.)

^g Concil. Neocæs. in Subscript. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1488.)

^h Conc. Ephes. act. i. (Labbe, vol. iii. Conc. p. 539.)

they gave him authority to confirm neophytes, and consecrate virgins, and celebrate the eucharist in any country-church with preference to any presbyter of the religion; yet, 1st, they denied himⁱ the privilege of consecrating the eucharist in the city-church, which, by the 13th canon of the Council of Neocæsarea, was allowed to other Chorepiscopi. 2dly, They confined him to a single church in the exercise of his Chorepiscopal power; whereas others had power over a whole region. 3dly, They forbid him to ordain any of the inferior clergy even in his own Church, which other Chorepiscopi were allowed to do by the 13th canon of the Council of Ancyra. And hence it appears, that as their power was precarious and depending upon the will of councils and city-bishops, from whom they received it, so by this time their authority began to sink apace in the Church.

SECT. XII.—*Their power first struck at by the Council of Laodicea, which set up περιουδευταὶ in their room.*

The Council of Laodicea gave them the first blow, an. 360. For there it was decreed^k that for the future no bishops should be placed in country villages, but only περιουδευταὶ, itinerant or visiting presbyters; and for such bishops as were already constituted, they should do nothing without the consent and direction of the city-bishop. In the Council of Chalcedon, we meet with some such presbyters expressly styled περιουδευταὶ, as Alexander^l and Valentinus^m, each of which has the title of presbyter and περιουδευτήs. And so in the fifth general Council at Constantinopleⁿ, one Sergius a presbyter has the same title

ⁱ Concil. Reiens. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1287. B 2.) Ne umquam in civitatibus, vel sub episcoporum absentia, offerre præsumat . . nec usquam ipsi, etc. vide not. (c) p. 186.

^k Concil. Laod. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. Conc. p. 1506.) "Οτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι ἐπισκόπους, ἀλλὰ περιουδευτάs, τοὺς μὲν τοι ἤδη προκατασταθέντας μηδὲν πράττειν ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει.

^l Concil. Chalced. act. iv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 535. B.) 'Ο εὐλαβέστατος πρεσβύτερος καὶ περιουδευτήs 'Αλέξανδρος.

^m Ibid. act. x. p. 647. D. Βαλέντιόν τινα ἐπίρρητον ἄνδρα . . ἐχειροτόνησε πρεσβύτερον καὶ περιουδευτήν.

ⁿ Concil. Constantinop. sub Menna, act. i. p. 563. (Labbe, vol. v. Concil. p. 37. C 3.) Σέργιος πρεσβύτερος καὶ περιουδευτήs, κ. τ. λ.

of *περιοδευτῆς*, curator or visitor of the Syrian Churches: yet still the order of the Chorepiscopi was preserved in many places. For not only mention is made of them by Gregory Nazianzen^o and St. Basil in the fourth century, but also by Theodoret^p, who speaks of Hypatius and Abramius, his own Chorepiscopi; and in the Council of Chalcedon, in the fifth century, we find the Chorepiscopi sitting and subscribing in the name of the bishops that sent them. But this was some diminution of their power: for in former councils they subscribed in their own names, as learned men agree^q: but now their power was sinking, and it went on to decay and dwindle by degrees, till at last in the ninth century, when the forged Decretals were set on foot, it was pretended that they were not true bishops, and so the order by the pope's tyranny came to be laid aside in the western Church.

SECT. XIII.—*Of the attempt to restore the Chorepiscopi in England, under the name of Suffragan Bishops.*

Some attempt was made in England, at the beginning of the Reformation, to restore these under the name of Suffragan Bishops. For, as our histories inform us^r, by an act of the 26th of Henry VIII., an. 1534, several towns were appointed for suffragan sees, viz. Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Gilford, Southampton, Taunton, Shaftsbury, Molton, Marl-

^o Nazianz. Ep. lxxxviii. (Colon. 1609. vol. i. p. 843. D 3.) Παρὰ τῶν κυρίων μου τῶν συμπρεσβυτέρων μαθήσῃ Εὐλαλίου τοῦ χωρεπισκόπου καὶ Κελευσίου, οὗς ἐξ ἔργου πρὸς τὴν σὴν εὐλάβειαν ἀπεστάλκαμεν.

^p Theodoret. Ep. cxiii. ad Leon. Ταῦτα διὰ τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων καὶ θεοφιλεστάτων πρεσβυτέρων Ὑπατίου καὶ Ἀβραμίου τῶν χωρεπισκόπων, καὶ Ἀλυπίου τοῦ ἐξάρχου τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν μοναζόντων τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγιωσύνην ἐδίδαξα. (Schulze, Halæ, vol. iv. p. 1192.)

^q Blondel. Apol. p. 113.—Bevereg. Not. in Conc. Ancy. c. xiii. Plures hujusmodi chorepiscopus constitutos fuisse, ex Actis Conciliorum patet, utpote quibus ipsi, æque ac alii episcopi, non interfuerunt modo, sed et subscripserunt. Exempli gratia, synodo Nicænæ I. subscripserunt ex provincia Coelosyriæ Palladius chorepiscopus et Seleucius chorepiscopus. . . . Et sic in aliis comitiis chorepiscopi ipsos inter episcopos subscripserunt, idque non ut aliorum episcoporum locum tenentes, sed pro seipsis. Qui enim aliorum vices gerunt, illud in subscriptionibus significare solent, quod a chorepiscopis nuspiam fit.

^r Burnet, History of the Reformation, Oxford, 1829, vol. i. p. 319.

borough, Bedford, Leicester, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Penreth, Bridgwater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Huntington, Cambridge, Pereth, Berwick, St. German's in Cornwall, and the Isle of Wight. These suffragans were to be consecrated by the archbishop, and two other bishops, and by the act to have the same episcopal power as suffragans formerly had within this realm: but none of them either to have or act any thing properly episcopal, without the consent and permission of the bishop of the city, in whose diocese he was placed and constituted.

SECT. XIV.—*Suffragan Bishops different from the Chorepiscopi in the primitive Church.*

Now any one that compares this with the account that I have given of the ancient 'Chorepiscopi,' will easily perceive that these suffragans were much of the same nature with them. But then I must observe that this was a new name for them: for anciently suffragan bishops were all the city-bishops of any province under a metropolitan, who were called his suffragans, because they met at his command to give their suffrage, counsel, or advice, in a provincial synod. And in this sense, the word was used in England, at the time when Linwood wrote his 'Provinciale,' which was not above an hundred years before the Reformation, an. 1430, in his comment upon one of the constitutions of John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, which begins with these words, "Omnibus et singulis coëpiscopis suffraganeis nostris:" "To all and singular our fellow-bishops and suffragans:" upon the word *Suffragans* he has this note^s: "They were called suffragans, because they were bound to give their suffrage and assistance to the archbishop, being summoned to take part in his care, though not in the plenitude of his power." Whence it is plain that, in his time, suffragan bishops did not signify Chorepiscopi, or rural bishops; but all the bishops of England under their archbishops or metropolitans. Thus it was also in other Churches: the seventy bishops

^s Linwood, Provinc. lib. i. tit. ii. c. i. Suffraganeis sic dictis, quia archiepiscopo suffragari et adsistere tenentur, etc.

who were immediately subject to the bishop of Rome, as their primate or metropolitan, were called his suffragans, because they were frequently called to his synods; as the reason of the name is given in an ancient Vatican MS. cited by Baronius^t.

SECT. XV.—*The Suffragan Bishops of the Roman Province called by a technical name, 'Libra.'*

And here it will not be amiss to observe, whilst we are speaking of suffragan bishops, that these seventy bishops, who were suffragans to the bishop of Rome, were, by a peculiar technical name, called 'Libra;' which name was given them for no other reason, but because of their number seventy. For the Roman Libra, as antiquaries note^u, consisted of seventy solidi, or so many parts; and therefore the number seventy in any other things or persons thence took the name of 'Libra:' as the seventy witnesses which are introduced deposing against Marcellinus, in the Council of Sinuessa, that they saw him sacrifice, are by the author of those acts^v termed 'Libra Occidua,' for no other reason, as Baronius^x conceives, but because they were seventy in number. And Grotius^y gives the same reason for affixing this title on the seventy bishops, who were assessors or suffragans to the bishop of Rome; they were, as one might say, his 'Libra,' or ordinary provincial council.

^t Baron. ann. mlvii. n. xxiii. (Antverp. 1608. vol. xi. p. 243.) Præter septem collaterales episcopos erant alii episcopi, qui dicuntur suffraganei Romani pontificis, nulli alii primati vel archiepiscopo subjecti, qui frequenter ad synodos vocarentur.

^u Brerewood, de Ponder. et Pret. c. xv.

^v Concil. Sinuess. ap. Crab. tom. i. p. 190. Hi omnes electi sunt viri, libra occidua, qui testimonium perhibent, videntes Marcellinum turificasse.

^x Baron. a. cccii. n. xcii. (Antverp. 1597. vol. ii. p. 739.) Quod inferius acta synodi in causa Marcellini numerum lxxii. testium, libram Occiduam nominant: inde patet, quod heic dicitur; omnes electi sunt viri libra Occidua, qui testimonium perhibent. [Numerum septuaginta duorum testium esse significatum, eumque esse dictum Libram Occiduam, quod scilicet ea libra septuaginta duos solidos contineret, ut ea lege declaratur, qua dicitur: Quotiescunque certa summa solidorum pro tituli qualitate debetur, aut auri massa transmittitur, in septuaginta duos solidos libra feratur accepta.]

^y Grot. in Luc. x. i. Romanis episcopis jam olim lxx. episcopi adsessores 'Libra' dicti, quod libra Romana tot solidos contineret.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE INTERCESSORES AND INTERVENTORES IN THE
AFRICAN CHURCHES.SECT. I.—*Why some Bishops called Intercessors in the African Churches.*

THERE is one appellation more given to some bishops in the African councils, which must here be taken notice of, whilst we are speaking of bishops; which is the name Intercessor and Interventor; a title given to some bishops upon the account of a *pro tempore* office, which was sometimes committed to them. In the African Churches, and perhaps in others also, upon the vacancy of a bishopric, it was usual for the primate to appoint one of the provincial bishops to be a sort of procurator of the diocese, partly to take care of the vacant see, and partly to promote and procure the speedy election of a new bishop. And from this he had the name of Intercessor and Interventor.

SECT. II.—*The office of an Intercessor not to last above a year.*

The design of this office was manifestly to promote the good of the Church; but it was liable to be abused two ways. For the Intercessor, by this means, had a fair opportunity given to ingratiate himself with the people, and promote his own interest among them, instead of that of the Church; either by keeping the see void longer than was necessary, or if it was a wealthier, or more honourable place than his own, by getting himself chosen into it. To obviate any such designs, the African Fathers in the fifth Council of Carthage made a decree, that no intercessor should continue in his office for above a year; but if he did not procure a new bishop to be chosen within that time, another intercessor should be sent in his room.

SECT. III.—*No Intercessor to be made Bishop of the place where he was constituted Intercessor.*

And the more effectually to cut off all abuses, and prevent corruption, they enacted it also into a law^z, that no intercessor should be capable of succeeding himself in the vacant see, whatever motions or solicitations were made by the people in his behalf. So extremely cautious were these holy African Fathers to prevent abuses in matters of this nature.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF PRIMATES OR METROPOLITANS.

SECT. I.—*Some derive the original of Metropolitans from Apostolical constitution.*

THE same reasons which first brought in Chorepiscopi and coadjutors, as subordinate to bishops in every city-church, made the bishops of every province think it necessary to make one of themselves superior to all the rest, and invest him with certain powers and privileges for the good of the whole: whom they therefore named their Primate or Metropolitan, that is, the principal bishop of the province. Bishop Usher^a derives the origin of this settlement from apostolical constitution. So also Bishop Beveridge^b, Dr. Hammond^c, Peter de Marca, and

^z Concil. Carth. V. can. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1216.) Constitutum est, ut nulli intercessori licitum sit cathedram, cui intercessor datus est, quibuslibet populorum studiis vel seditionibus retinere; sed dare operam, ut intra annum eisdem episcopum provideat. Quod si neglexerit, anno exempto [expleto] inter-ventor alius tribuatur.

^a Usser. de Orig. Episcop. et Metropolit.

^b Bevereg. Cod. Can. Vindicat. lib. ii. c. v. n. xii. (p. 203, Amstelod. 1697.) Cum apostoli, cœlitus evocati et adjuti, ecclesiæ, a Christo fundatæ, per universum terrarum orbem propagandæ operam navarent, imperium Romanum, ubi religio Christiana multo citius faciliusque quam apud rudiores gentes suscepta est, ita dispositum invenientes, omnes ejusdem provincias sigillatim peragrabant; et ubicumque aliquos ad fidem Christianam converterant, ecclesiam ibidem insti-tuebant, ab ista provincia denominabant, in qua constituta est, vel a primaria

some others. And there are several passages in Eusebius and Chrysostom which seem to favour this. For Eusebius says^d, Titus had the superintendency of all the Churches in Crete: and Chrysostom in like manner^e, that the apostle committed to him the whole island, and gave him power to censure all the bishops therein. He says the same of Timothy^f, that he was entrusted with the government of the Church in the whole region or province of Asia. And it is certain the Cyprian bishops in the Council of Ephesus^g pleaded the privileges of their metropolitan to be as ancient as the apostles.

SECT. II.—*Others from the age next after the Apostles.*

But it may be doubted whether the apostles made any such general settlement of metropolitans in every province: and the records of the original of most Churches being lost, it cannot

aliqua ejusdem civitate. Hierosolymis, quæ istis diebus nondum deleta, provinciae Palæstinæ metropolis erat et Judææ caput, ecclesia prima fundata est, quæ propterea 'Ecclesia Hierosolymitana' dicitur, 'Ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, Act. viii. 1. xi. 22. Sic etiam ecclesia in Antiocha, Syriæ metropoli, memoratur, Act. xiii. 1. Et alia in Corintho, metropoli Achaïæ, 1 Cor. i. 1. 2 Cor. i. 1. Ad hæc D. Paulum Syriam et Ciliciam peragrasse legimus ecclesias confirmantem, Act. xv. 41: necnon Galatiam et Phrygiam, c. xviii. 23. Syria, Cilicia, Galatia, et Phrygia, quatuor erant provinciae imperio Romano subditæ.

^c Hammond. Præfat. ad Tit. That Titus, a convert of Paul's, after employed by him, was at length ordained by him the archbishop of Crete, there to ordain bishops in every city, etc.—Id. Dissertat. iv. contra Blondel. c. v.

^d Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. iv. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 58. D 2.) Τιμόθεός γε μὴν τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας ἱστορεῖται πρῶτος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν εἰληχέναι· ὡς καὶ Τίτος τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν.

^e Chrysostom. Hom. i. in Tit. (Explan. in N. T. Paris. 1616. vol. v. p. 1692.) Νῆσον ὀλόκληρον . . καὶ τοσούτων ἐπισκόπων κρίσιν ἐπέτρεψεν.

^f Chrysost. Hom. xv. in 1 Timoth. (Explan. in N. T. Paris. 1616. vol. v. p. 1606.) (p. 510. vol. vi. edit. Francof.) Δῆλον δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντεῦθεν, ὅτι ἐκκλησίαν λοιπὸν ἦν ἐμπεπιστευμένος ὁ Τιμόθεος, ἡ καὶ ἔθνος ὀλόκληρον τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας.

^g Concil. Ephes. act. vii. (Labbe, vol. iii. Conc. p. 800. E.) Sancta synodus dixit: Docete, annon jus ordinandi ex more veteri apud vos habet Antiochenus. Zenon episcopus dixit: Prius adfirmavimus, quod numquam vel adfuerit vel ordinaverit, neque in metropoli neque in alia civitate; sed synodus nostræ provinciae congregata constituebat metropolitanum: et oramus, ut vestra sancta synodus sua sententia nobis consentiat, . . . ita ut vetus mos, sicut hactenus robur habuit, ita et nunc habeat, et nullam novitatem in nostra provincia fieri sinat.

be certainly proved they did. De Marca^h thinks that though the apostles gave a model or specimen in Timothy and Titus, yet they left it to following ages to finish and complete it. Dr. Cave saysⁱ, it commenced not long after the apostolic age; when sects and schisms began to break in apace, and controversies multiplying between particular bishops, it was found necessary to pitch upon one in every province, to whom the umpirage of cases might be referred, and by whom all common and public affairs might be directed. Perhaps it took its rise from that common respect and deference, which was usually paid by the rest of the bishops, to the bishop of the civil metropolis in every province; which, advancing into a custom, was afterward made into a canon by the Council of Nice.

SECT. III.—*Confessed by all to have been long before the Council of Nice.*

This is certain, that the Nicene Council speaks of metropolitans as settled by ancient custom long before, when it ushers in the canon about them with, τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατεῖτω, ‘Let ancient customs^k be continued:’ and then goes on to speak of the custom in Egypt, which was for the bishop of Alexandria to have power over all the Churches of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis: which was metropolitical, if not patriarchal, power. Epiphanius^l mentions the same; speaking of Alexander and Peter, bishops of Alexandria before the Council

^h Marca de Concord. lib. vi. c. i. n. ix. p. 778. Licet, ut ego quidem existimo, formam distribuendarum provinciarum, et metropolitaram instituendorum, apostoli tradiderint; quia tamen id nullibi in sacris scripturis præceptum est, et præterea exsecutio et singularis institutio processu dein temporis facta est episcoporum cura, qui ecclesiis apostolicis præsidebant fundatis ab apostolis, duo quædam notatu valde digna contigere. Primum enim inde factum est, ut veteres hanc provinciarum divisionem, non ipsis apostolis, sed patribus et vetustæ consuetudini, tribuerint. (Paris. 1663. vol. ii. p. 61.)

ⁱ Cave, Anc. Chr. Gov. p. 92.

^k Concil. Nicæn. can. vi. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 31.) Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατεῖτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν.

^l Epiphan. Hæres. lxviii. n. i. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 717. B 7.) Τοῦτο ἔθος ἐστὶ, τὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἀρχιεπίσκοπον πάσης τε Αἰγύπτου καὶ Θηβαίδος, Μαραιώτου τε, καὶ Λιβύης, Ἀμμωνιακῆς, Μαραιώτιδος τε καὶ Πενταπόλεως, ἔχειν τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν διοίκησιν. Conf. etiam Hæres. lxix. n. iii.

of Nice, he says, they had ἐκκλησιαστικὴν διοίκησιν, the administration of ecclesiastical affairs throughout all Egypt, Thebais, Mareotes, Libya, Ammoniaca, Mareotis, and Pentapolis. And Athanasius^m, speaking of Dionysius, who was bishop of Alexandria above sixty years before this council, says he also enjoyed this power, having the care of the Churches of Pentapolis and Libya, when Sabellius broached his heresy, and that he wrote letters of admonition to several bishops of those parts, who began to be infected with his heresy. These are undeniable evidences that the bishops of Alexandria were not first invested with metropolitical power by the Council of Nice, but only confirmed in those rights which by ancient custom and prescription they had long enjoyed. And this was also the case of other Churches.

The Council of Eliberis, in Spainⁿ, speaks of a 'Primæ Cathedræ Episcopus,' a primate or bishop of the first see: and those called the Apostles' Canons (which were the canons of the Greek Church in the third century) mention a πρῶτος, or chief bishop in every province, whom the rest were to look upon as their head^o, and do nothing without him. And it appears from several of Cyprian's epistles^p, that the bishop of Carthage had a presidency over all the other African bishops, and power to send his mandates among them. And St. Austin speaks of the primate of Numidia, as well as the primate of Carthage, before the schism of the Donatists; and says, they gave that for one reason of their schism^q, that the primate of

^m Athan. de Sentent. Dionys. (Colon. 1686. tom. i. p. 552. A 4.) (tom. i. p. 246, edit. Paris. 1698.) Ἐν Πενταπόλει τῆς ἁνω Λιβύης τηνικαὐτὰ τινες τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐφρόνησαν τὰ Σαβελλίου . . τοῦτο μαθὼν Διονύσιος, αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶχε τὴν μέριμναν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐκείνων, κ. τ. λ.

ⁿ Concil. Illiberritan. an. cccv. can. lviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 976.) Placuit, ubique, et maxime in eo loco, in quo prima cathedra constituta est episcopatus, etc.

^o Can. Apost. c. xxxiii. (Labbe, vol. i. Conc. p. 32.) Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἐκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν, καὶ μηδὲν πράττειν περιττὸν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης.

^p Cyprian. Ep. xlii. ad Cornel. (Oxon. 1682. p. 87.) Per provinciam nostram hæc eadem collegis singulis in notitiam perferentes, ab his quoque fratres nostros cum litteris dirigendos esse mandavimus.—See also Epist. xl. ad Pleb. Carthag. Epist. xlv. ad Cornel. (p. 91.) Placuit ut per episcopos . . . per omnes omnino istie positos litteræ fierent, etc.

^q Aug. Brevic. Collat. Tert. die c. xvi. (Bened. 1700. vol. ix. p. 338. C.)

Numidia was not called to elect and consecrate the primate of Carthage. And therefore, as both the same St. Austin^r and Optatus^s take notice, the Donatists, pretending that the ordination of Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage, was not valid, because not performed by a primate, sent for Secundus Tigisitanus, who was then primate of Numidia, to ordain Majorinus in his room. Now as all this was transacted several years before the Council of Nice, so it proves that primates were in Afric antecedent to the establishment of that council.

SECT. IV.—*Proofs of Metropolitans in the second Century.*

If we ascend higher yet, and look into the second century, there are some footsteps of the same power, though not so evident as the former. Lyons, in France, was a metropolis in the civil account; and Irenæus, who was bishop of it, is said to have the superintendency of the Gallican Parœciæ, or Dioceses, as Eusebius^t words it. Philip, bishop of Gortyna, in Crete, is styled by Dionysius^u of Corinth, bishop of all the Cretian Churches. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, presided^v

(vol. vii. p. 393, edit. Froben.) Donatistæ longa prosecutione agebant, ut ex illius auctoritate Carthaginensis concilii confirmaretur Cæciliani damnatio, quod ad tot sacerdotes venire noluerit; quasi non et Primianus ad eos a quibus damnatus est, cum eorum factionem cognosceret, simili voluntate non venerit: et quod non expectaverit Cæcilianus, ut princeps a principe ordinaretur; cum aliud habeat ecclesiæ catholicæ consuetudo, ut non Numidiæ, sed propinquiores episcopi episcopum ecclesiæ Carthaginis ordinent: sicut nec Romanæ ecclesiæ ordinat aliquis episcopus metropolitanus, sed de proximo Ostiensis episcopus.

^r Aug. contr. Parmen. lib. i. c. iii. (Bened. 1700. vol. ix. p. 9. B 7.) Qui venientes cum Primate suo tunc Secundo Tigisitano . . . Cæcilianum . . . traditorem esse censuerunt . . . Ita contra sedentem in cathedra . . . episcopum alterum ordinaverunt.

^s Optat. lib. i. p. 41. (p. 19, 20, edit. Paris. 1679.) Suffragio totius populi Cæcilianus eligitur: et manus imponente Felice Autumnitano [Aptungitano,] episcopus ordinatur. . . . Ab his tribus personis causæ confictæ sunt, ut vitiosa ejus ordinatio diceretur. Ad Secundum Tigisitanum missum est, ut Carthaginem veniretur: etc. (Dupin, p. 17.)

^t Euseb. H. E. lib. v. c. xxiii. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 155. A 8.) Τῶν κατὰ Γαλλίαν παροικιῶν, ὧς Εἰρηναῖος ἐπεσκόπει.

^u Dionys. apud Euseb. lib. iv. c. xxiii. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 116, last line.) Καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δὲ τῇ παροικούσῃ Γόρτυναν ἅμα ταῖς λοιπαῖς κατὰ Κρήτην παροικίαις ἐπιστείλας, Φίλιππον ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν ἀποδέχεται.

^v Euseb. lib. v. c. xxiv. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 155.) Τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας

in council over all the bishops of Asia; Palmas, bishop of Amastris, over the bishops of Pontus; and Theophilus^x, of Cæsarea, with Narcissus of Jerusalem, over the rest of the bishops of Palestine.

These are the common proofs which are ordinarily alleged in this case. Yet I shall freely own, that the three last of them do not cogently prove the thing in dispute. For presiding in council does not necessarily infer metropolitical power; because they might preside as senior bishops, as Eusebius says expressly one of them did, viz. Palmas, bishop of Amastris, ὡς ἀρχαιότατος προϋτέτακτο, "he presided as the most ancient bishop among them." Which seems to be noted by Eusebius not without good reason; for Heraclea, and not Amastris, was the civil metropolis of Pontus. Blondel from this passage concludes, that at this time the senior bishops in all places were the metropolitans. But this does not sufficiently appear to have been the custom any where else but in the African Churches, of which I shall presently give an account: for the other instances that have been given, seem rather to make it evident that the bishops of the civil metropolises were generally the primates or metropolitans in the Church also.

SECT. V.—*By what names Metropolitans were anciently called.*

It is true, indeed, none of these are expressly called Metropolitans: for that name scarcely occurs in any ancient record before the Council of Nice: but they were at first termed πρῶτοι, and κεφαλαί, chief bishops, and heads of the province, as the Apostolical Canon^y styles them. After-ages gave them other names, as that of archbishops, at Alexandria^z and other

ἐπισκόπων τὸ πάλαι πρότερον αὐτοῖς παραδοθὲν διαφυλάττειν ἔθος χρῆναι δι᾽ ἰσχυριζομένων, ἡγεῖτο Πολυκράτης.

^x Euseb. lib. v. c. xxiii. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 155. A.) Φέρεται εἰσέτι νῦν τῶν κατὰ Παλαιστίνην τῆνικαδὲ συγκεκροτημένων γραφῇ, ὧν προϋτέτακτο Θεόφιλος τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ Νάρκισσος τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. . . . Τῶν τε κατὰ Πόντον ἐπισκόπων ὧν Πάλμας ὡς ἀρχαιότατος προϋτέτακτο.

^y Can. Apost. c. xxxiii. vide supra not. (o). p. 196.

^z Eriph. Hær. lxviii. n. i. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 717. A 11.) Ὁ μὲν Μελέτιος ἐν τῇ δεσμωτηρίῳ καθειργμένος ἦν, αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ προειρημένοι μάρτυρες,

places, till that name became appropriate to the Patriarchs. The Council of Sardica^a styles them ἑξαρχοὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας, Exarchs of the province. St. Austin sometimes calls them Principes^b, princes; and Pope Hilary^c, Monarchs. But these being titles of secular grandeur, and savouring too much of absolute sovereignty and dominion, were expressly prohibited by the third Council of Carthage, which ordered, that no superior bishop should be called High-Priest, or Prince of the Priests^d, but only 'Primæ Sedis Episcopus,' Primate, or Senior Bishop. Hence it was that those bishops, who in other parts of the world were called Metropolitans, in Afric had commonly the name of Primates; though we sometimes meet with the name Metropolitan^e in the African councils also.

SECT. VI.—*Primates in Afric called 'Senes,' because the oldest Bishop was always Metropolitan.*

But these primates in Afric are frequently called Patres and Senes. As in the African code Xantippus, primate of Numidia, is once and again^f styled 'Senex' Xantippus. And

ἄμα τῷ προειρημένῳ Πέτρῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ.—Hæres. lxi. n. i. "Ὅσαι ἐκκλησίαι τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὑπὸ ἑνα ἀρχιεπίσκοπον οὔσαι, κ. τ. λ. (p. 727. C 9.)

^a Concil. Sardic. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 632. B 4.) Χρὴ πρότερον ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐναπομείναντα ἐπίσκοπον ὑπομιμνήσκεσθαι διὰ γραμμάτων τοῦ ἐξάρχου τῆς ἐπαρχίας, λέγω δὴ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς μητροπόλεως, ὅτι ἀξιοῖ τὰ πλήθη ποιμένα αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι· ἡγοῦμαι καλῶς ἔχειν καὶ τοῦτον ἐκδέχεσθαι, ἵνα παραγένηται.

^b August. Brevic. c. xvi. (Bened. 1700. vol. ix. p. 388. C 6.) (tom. vii. p. 393, edit. Basil. 1528.) Quod non exspectaverat Cæcilianus, ut princeps a principe ordinaretur.

^c Hilar. Ep. ad Leont. Arelat. Baron. a. cccclxii. tom. vi. p. 263. Miramur fraternitatem tuam ita legis catholicæ immemorem esse, ut quæque iniqua et contra patrum nostrorum statuta in provincia, quæ ad monarchiam tuam pertinet, si ipse aut non vis, aut non potes, etiam nec nos silentii tui taciturnitate permittas corrigere. (Antwerp. 1603. vol. vi. p. 258.)

^d Conc. Carth. III. c. xxvi. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 1171.) Primæ sedis episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdotum, aut summus sacerdos, aut aliquid hujusmodi, sed tantum primæ sedis episcopus.

^e Conc. Carth. III. c. xxxix. Conc. Carth. IV. c. i. (tom. ii. p. 1199. C 8.) Cum in his omnibus examinatus, inventus fuerit plene instructus, tunc cum consensu clericorum et laicorum, et conventu totius provinciæ episcoporum, maximeque metropolitani vel auctoritate vel præsentia ordinetur episcopus.

^f Cod. Can. Afric. Eccles. c. xc. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 1105. A 9.) Τῷ

St. Austin, writing to him, inscribes his epistle^g ‘Patri et Consacerdoti Seni Xantippo.’ And thus in many other epistles^h, writing to the primates, or speaking of them, he gives them the name of Senes. And there was a peculiar reason for giving them this name in Afric. For here the primacy was not fixed, as in other places, to the civil metropolis, but always went along with the oldest bishop of the province, who succeeded to this dignity by virtue of his seniority, whatever place he lived in. In other parts of the world the bishop of the civil metropolis was commonly metropolitan in the Church also; and so it was ordered to be by several canons both of the Eastern and Western Churches. The Council of Antiochⁱ bids all bishops observe, that the bishop of the metropolis has the care of the whole province, because all men that have business or controversies to be decided, resort from all parts to the metropolis. And the Council of Turin^k upon this foot determined a dispute about primacy betwixt the two bishops of Arles and Vienna; decreeing that he that could prove his city to be the metropolis, should be the primate of the whole province. The Council of Chalcedon has two canons^l, appoint-

ἀγιωτάτῳ γέροντι Ξαγκτίππῳ. Can. c. (ibid. p. 1117. A.) Πρὸς τὸν γέροντα Ξάγκτιππον.

^g August. Ep. ccxxxvi. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 116. C.) Domino beatissimo et venerabiliter suscipiendo patri et consacerdoti Seni Xantippo, in Domino salutem.

^h Aug. Ep. cxlix. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 63. A.) Quod Senex Megalius defunctus sit, jam vos audivisse quis dubitet?—clii. Silvanus Senex, etc.—ccxxxv. (p. 115. D 7.) Nec ego tamen tacui apud venerabilem et debita mihi pro ejus meritis honorificentia suscipiendum fratrem et collegam meum Senem Aurelium, etc.—cclxi. Habebam de quo cogitabam paratum presbyterum, propter quem ordinandum, sanctum Senem, qui tunc primatum Numidiæ gerebat, de longinquo ut veniret rogans litteris impetravi. (ii. p. 591. F 5.)

ⁱ Concil. Antioch. can. ix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 565.) Τοὺς καθ’ ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας, διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει πανταχόθεν συντρέχειν πάντα τοὺς πράγματα ἔχοντας.

^k Conc. Taurin. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1156.) Qui ex eis approbaverit suam civitatem esse metropolim, is totius provinciæ honorem Primatus obtineat.

^l Concil. Chalced. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 762. C 3.) Ὅσαι ἤδη πόλεις διὰ γραμμάτων βασιλικῶν τῷ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐτιμήθησαν ὀνόματι, μόνης ἀπολαύεωσαν τῆς τιμῆς, καὶ ὁ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτῆς διοικῶν ἐπίσκοπος, δηλονότι σωζομένων τῇ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν μητροπόλει τῶν οἰκείων δικαίων.—Can. xvii. Εἰ δέ

ing those cities to be metropolises in the Church which were so in the civil division of the empire. And the Council of Trullo^m has one to the same purpose.

But in the African Churches it was otherwise: for they were governed by rules and canons of their own; and their rule was, to let the primacy remove from city to city, and still go along with the senior bishop, without any regard to the civil metropolis, except only at Carthage, where the Bishop was a fixed and standing metropolitan for the province of Africa, properly so called. But in Numidia and Mauritania this honour was moveable; as may appear from this one instance. Constantina was the civil metropolis of Numidia, as we learn both from the ancient Notitia of the empire, and one of the canonsⁿ of the African code, which expressly styles it so: yet the primacy was so far from being settled here, that we never so much as find that the bishop of Constantina was at any time the primate; but in Constantine's time, Secundus Tigisitanus^o was primate of Numidia; in St. Austin's time Megalius, bishop of Calama, was primate, who, by virtue of his office^p, ordained St. Austin bishop; afterwards Xantippus, of Tagasta^q, suc-

τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκαινίσθη πόλις, ἡ αὖθις καινισθείη, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παροικιῶν ἡ τάξις ἀκολουθείτω.

^m Conc. Trull. c. xxxviii. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1159.) Τὸν ἐκ τῶν πατέρων τεθέντα κανόνα καὶ ἡμεῖς παραφυλάττομεν, τὸν οὕτω διαγορεύοντα εἴ τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας, κ. τ. λ. Vide not. (l) p. 200.

ⁿ Cod. Can. Eccles. Afric. c. lxxxvi. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 1001. C 2.) Ἦρεσε πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπισκόποις τοῖς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ συνόδῳ ὑπογράψασιν, ἵνα τὸ ματρικίον καὶ ἀρχέτυπον τῆς Νουμιδίας, καὶ εἰς τὴν πρώτην καθέδραν ᾗ, καὶ εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν Κωνσταντίναν.

^o Aug. contr. Parmen. lib. i. c. iii. (Bened. 1700. vol. ix. p. 9.) Qui venientes cum primate suo tunc Secundo Tigisitano, etc.—Epist. lxxviii. ad Januar. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 62. D 2.) Illud tamen nullo modo prætermittendum est, quomodo Felicis Aptungensis, quem fontem omnium malorum in concilio Carthaginensi, ab Secundo Tigisitano primate patres vestri fuisse dixerunt, urgentibus apud Imperatorem vestris, publico judicio caussa discussa atque finita sit.

^p Possid. Vit. Aug. c. viii. (Bened. 1700. vol. x. append. p. 176. D 3.) Adveniente ad ecclesiam Hipponensem tunc primate Numidiæ Megalio Calamensi episcopo.

^q Conc. Milevit. I. in Cod. Afr. c. lxxxiv. Xantippus primæ sedis Numidiæ episcopus.—August. Epist. ccxvii. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 111.) Collega noster Xantippus Tagosensis [Thagastensis] dicit, quod eum primatus ipse contingat, &c.

ceeded by virtue of his seniority, whence he is always styled in St. Austin^r, and the African councils^s, Senex Xantippus. This is sufficient to show that the primacy in Afric was not confined to the civil metropolis, but was always conferred upon the senior bishop, whose seniority was reckoned from the time of his consecration. Some there are who pretend to say, that these African primates, notwithstanding this, were subject to the bishops of the civil metropoles, who were properly the metropolitans. But there is no ground for this opinion; and it is justly exploded by De Marca^t and others, who have occasionally touched upon this subject.

SECT. VII.—*How African Bishops might forfeit their Title to the Primacy.*

It is true, indeed, by the African discipline a bishop might lose his primogeniture, and so forfeit his title to the primacy; as is evident from a passage in St. Austin^u, which speaks of such a punishment inflicted upon one Priscus, a Mauritanian bishop, who for some misdemeanour was denied this privilege, though he still kept his bishopric: but in such cases the primacy did not devolve to the bishop of the civil metropolis, but

^r August. Ep. ccxxxvi. vide supra not. (g) p. 200.

^s Cod. Can. Afr. c. xc. et c. vide not. (f) p. 199.

^t Marca, Dissert. de Primat. Lugdun. n. iii. p. 11. (Venet. 1770. p. 6.) Licet e sex provinciis, ex quibus Africana diocesis constabat, duæ Mauritanie, Numidie, Byzacena, et Tripolitana, sua quæque metropoli in ordine imperii non carerent, prima tamen sedes ecclesiastica non erat illi addicta, sed episcopum seniore sequebatur. . . . Solius Carthaginis splendor id obtinuerat, ut illius civitatis episcopus primas esset proconsularis provincie, immo vero et caput reliquarum quinque provinciarum, quas enumeravi. Non moror in probando speciali isto Africanarum ecclesiarum usu, qui primatum provincie non civitatibus, sed personis dabat. Abunde id præstiterunt eruditi viri, adductis et discussis locis ex Augustino, Africanis conciliis, Gregorio primo, et Leone nono petitis: explosa recentiori quadam opinione, quæ primates vagos et desultores in Africa ratione antiquioris ordinationis fatetur, sed metropoleon episcopis subditos fuisse frustra contendit.—Albaspin. Not. in Optat. lib. i. p. 121.—Stillingfl. Hist. of Separ. pt. iii. § ix. p. 253. Fell. Not. in Conc. Carth. ap. Cypr. p. 230.

^u Aug. Epist. cclxi. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 592. F 11.) Exsistunt exempla, ipsa sede apostolica judicante, vel aliorum judicata firmante, quosdam pro culpis quibusdam, nec episcopali spoliatos honore, nec relictos omnimodis impunitos. Quæ ut a nostris temporibus remotissima non requiram, recentia memorabo. Clamet Priscus, provincie Cæsariensis episcopus, Aut ad Primatum locus, sicut cæteris, et mihi pater debuit; aut episcopatus mihi remanere non debuit, etc.

to the next in order, who could prove himself senior by consecration.

SECT. VIII.—*A Register of Ordinations to be kept in the Primate's Church. And all Bishops to take place by seniority, &c.*

And because disputes sometimes arose about seniority; to prevent these, several good orders were made by the African Fathers relating to this matter. As first, that a *Matricula*, or *Archivus*, as they called it, should be kept both in the primate's church^v, and in the metropolis of the province, for bishops to prove the time of their ordination by.

Then secondly, every bishop was to have his letters of ordination subscribed by his ordainers, and dated with the year and day of his consecration^x. Thirdly, all bishops were to take place according to seniority, and so sit and vote, and have their names subscribed in council; which was a rule not only in *Africa*^y, but in all other Churches, being enacted by several councils^z, and inserted into the civil law^a by Justinian the emperor. But they were the more nice in observing this in *Africa*, where the primacy went by seniority, lest the neglect of it should have bred confusion among them. Insomuch that St. Austin^b blames Victorinus, (who pretended to be

^v Concil. Milevit. in Cod. Afr. c. lxxxvi. vide supra not. (n) p. 201.

^x Conc. Milevit. c. xiv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1541.) Placuit, ut quicumque ab episcopis ordinantur, litteras accipiant ab ordinatoribus suis, manu eorum subscriptas, continentes consulem et diem, ut nulla altercatio de posterioribus vel anterioribus oriatur.

^y Conc. Milevit. c. xiii. ibid. B 5. Posteriores anterioribus deferant, nec eis inconsultis aliquid agere præsumant.—Vit. Fulgent. c. xx. Inter episcopos, tempore ordinationis inferior, ultimus sedebat.

^z Concil. Bracar. I. can. xxiv. (Labbe, Conc. ii. c. vi. vol. v. p. 840.) Item placuit, conservato metropolitani episcopi primatu, cæteri episcoporum, secundum suæ ordinationis tempus alius alio sedendi deferat locum.—Tolet. IV. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1704.) Hora prima diei ante solis ortum ejiciantur omnes ab ecclesia, obseratisque foribus cuncti ad unam januam, per quam sacerdotes ingredi oportet, ostiarii stent; et convenientes omnes episcopi pariter introëant, et secundum ordinationis suæ tempora resideant.

^a Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iv. c. xxix. (Amstel. 1663. p. 29.) Τριῶν ἅμα τῷ μητροπολίτῃ συνιόντων θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων τῶν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῆς χειροτονίας πρωτευόντων.

^b Augustin. Ep. ccxvii. ad Victorin. (Bened. 1700. vol. iii. p. 111. A 3.) Legi in eadem tractoria etiam ad Mauritanias esse scriptum, quas provincias scimus

primate of Numidia) only because in his Tractoria, or letter of summons to a provincial council, he wrote the names of the Numidian bishops in a confused order, and put Austin's name before many of his seniors: which was a thing, he says, equally injurious to them, and invidious to himself.—So cautious was he of doing any thing that might seem to entrench upon this rule, for fear of breeding confusion in the government of their Churches.

SECT. IX.—*Three sorts of Honorary Primates, besides the Primate in power.*

1. *Primates Ævo.*

I must here take notice further, that besides the primacy of power, there was in most provinces also a primacy of honour; whence some bishops had the name and title of primates, who had not the jurisdiction. And these were of three sorts: 1. The 'Primates ævo,' the oldest bishop in each province next to the metropolitan. They had no power above others, except when the metropolitan was some way disabled, or unqualified for discharging his office, by irregularity or suspension: then his power of course devolved to the senior bishop of the province. And this, I conceive, was the reason why the bishop of Amastris^c presided in council over the bishops of Pontus, when yet Heraclea, and not Amastris, was the metropolis of the province.

SECT. X.—2. *Titular Metropolitans.*

The second sort of honorary primates were the titular metropolitans, which were the bishops of such cities as had the name and title of civil metropoles bestowed on them by

suos habere primates. Quod si et ex eis ad Numidiam convocandum esset concilium, oportuit utique ut aliquorum Maurorum episcoporum, qui illic priores sunt, nomina in tractoria ponerentur: quod in ista tractoria non reperiens, multum miratus sum. Deinde ad ipsos Numidas ita perturbato et neglecto ordine scriptum, ut nomen meum tertio loco invenerim, qui novi quam post multos episcopos factus sim: quæ res et aliis injuriosa est satis, et mihi invidiosa.

^c Euseb. lib. v. c. xxiii. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 155. A 7.) Τῶν κατὰ Πόντον ἐπισκόπων ὧν Πάλμας ὧς (he presided as the senior bishop) ἀρχαιότατος προὔτετακτο.

some emperor, without the power and privileges, which were still retained to the ancient metropolis of the province. Thus Marcian the emperor dignified the city Chalcedon with the title of a metropolis, and the honour was confirmed to the bishop by the Council of Chalcedon^d itself, only with a 'salvo jure' to the rights of Nicomedia the old metropolis: from that time therefore the bishop of Chalcedon styled himself Metropolitan of Bithynia, as may be seen in the acts^e of the sixth general council. The same honour was done to the city and bishop of Nice, in the Council of Chalcedon^f likewise. So that here were three metropolitans in one province, but one only had the power; the privileges of the other two were only honorary, to sit and vote in council next to their metropolitan. Yet this gave such bishops an opportunity to exalt themselves; and sometimes they so far encroached upon the rights of the first metropolitan, as to draw off his suffragans, and divide the province with him. Thus it was with the bishop of Nice, who before the time of the sixth general council, had got a synod of suffragans under him. For so Photius subscribed himself, in that council, bishop of Nice^g and metropolitan of Bithynia, for himself and the synod that was under him.

^d Concil. Chalced. act. vi. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 612. B 4.) 'Ο θεϊότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον εἶπεν· Εἰς τιμὴν τῆς τε ἁγίας μάρτυρος Εὐφημίας, καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὁσιότητος, τὴν Καλχηδονέων πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ τῆς ἁγίας πίστεως σύνοδος διεκροτήθη, μητροπόλεως ἔχειν πρεσβεῖα ἐθεσπίσαμεν, ὀνόματι μόνῳ ταύτην τιμήσαντες, σωζομένου δηλαδὴ τῇ Νικομηδέων μητροπόλει τοῦ ἰδίου ἀξιώματος. Πάντες ἐβόησαν· Δικαία ἡ κρίσις τοῦ βασιλέως.

^e Conc. Gen. VI. act. xviii. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1030. E 7.) 'Ιωάννης ἐλάχιστος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Καλχηδονέων μητροπόλεως τῆς Βιθυνῶν ἐπαρχίας ὀρίσας ὑπέγραψα. See following note, (g.)

^f Conc. Chalced. act. xiii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 716. B.) Τὸ θεῖον γράμμα τῆς θείας λέξεως Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος, τηνικαῦτα τῇ Νικαέων παρασχὼν τὸ μητροπολιτικὸν δίκαιον, ἰδικῶς παρακελεύεται τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν ὑφαιρεῖσθαι πόλεων.—Ibid. Αἱ νομοθεσίαι ὀνόματι μητροπόλεως μόνῳ ἐτίμησαν τὴν Νικαέων, προτιμᾶται δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς ἐπαρχίας τῇ τιμῇ μόνῳ.

^g Conc. Gen. VI. act. xviii. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1080. C.) Φώτιος, ἐλέῳ Θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Νικαέων μητροπόλεως τῆς Βιθυνῶν ἐπαρχίας, ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς ὑπ' ἐμὲ συνόδου ὁμοίως ὑπεσημηνάμην.

SECT. XI.—3. *The Bishops of some Mother-Churches, which were honoured by ancient custom.*

Besides these there were a third sort of primates, who though they were neither bishops of titular metropolises, nor the oldest bishops of the province, yet took place of all the rest, by a general deference that was paid to them, out of regard to the eminency of their see, being some mother-church, or particularly honoured by ancient prescription. This was the case of the bishop of Jerusalem. That city was no metropolis of the empire, but subject to Cæsarea the metropolis of Palestine: yet in regard that it was the mother-church of the world, this peculiar honour was paid to it, that the bishop thereof was always next in dignity to the metropolitan of Cæsarea, and took place of all the other bishops of the province: and this privilege was confirmed to him by the Nicene Council^h, which made a canon to this purpose: that whereas by ancient custom and tradition, the bishop of Ælia had a particular honour paid him, the same should be continued to him, still reserving to the metropolis the dignity and privilege which belonged to it. Some fondly imagineⁱ that this canon gave the bishop of Jerusalem patriarchal power; whereas it does not so much as make him a metropolitan, but leaves him subject to the metropolis of Palestine, which was Cæsarea, as St. Jerome^k informs us: whose words clear the sense of this canon, and prove that the bishop of Jerusalem was no metropolitan, nor independent of his metropolitan, as Valesius^l imagines, but had

^h Conc. Nicæn. c. vii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 32.) Ἐπειδὴ συνήθεια κεκράτηκε καὶ παράδοσις ἀρχαία, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Αἰλίας ἐπίσκοπον τιμᾶσθαι, ἐχέτω τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς τιμῆς, τῇ μητροπόλει σωζομένου τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος.

ⁱ Sylvius, Addit. ad Carranz. Summ. Concil. p. 70, edit. Colon. Habeat consequenter honorem, id est, post Romanum, Alexandrinum, et Antiochenum episcopum.

^k Hieron. Ep. lxi. ad Pammach. Hoc ibi decernitur, ut Palæstinæ metropolis Cæsarea sit.

^l Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. v. c. xxiii. (p. 92. C 2.) Cæsariensis episcopus, ante concilium Nicænum et diu postea, metropolitani honorem et dignitatem semper obtinuit; ita ut omnibus Palæstinæ conciliis præsideret tamquam primæ sedis episcopus. Nihilominus tamen Hierosolymorum episcopis honor semper est habitus, utpote apostolicæ ecclesiæ, quæ prima episcopum habuisset.

only the second place of honour assigned him next to his metropolitan, which was that honorary primacy which the bishops of Jerusalem had always enjoyed, because, as the Council of Constantinople words it^m, Jerusalem was the mother of all other Churches.

SECT. XII.—*The Offices of Metropolitans.* 1. *To ordain their Suffragan Bishops.*

But leaving these honorary primates, who had little more than a name, I am here to show what were the offices and privileges of those who were properly metropolitans: and they were these that follow. First, they were to regulate the elections of all their provincial bishops, and either ordain, or authorize the ordination of them. No bishop was to be elected or ordained without their consent and approbation: otherwise the canons pronounce both the election and ordination null. The *κῦρος*, or ratification of all that is done, says the Council of Niceⁿ, belongs to the metropolitan in every province. And again, if any bishop is made without the consent of the metropolitan, this great synod pronounces such an one to be no bishop^o. The same rule is repeated in the Councils of Antioch^p, Laodicea^q, Arles^r, Turin^s, Sardica^t, Ephesus^u, and Chalcedon^v.

Itaque quodam honoris privilegio fruebantur ejus sedis episcopi; nec Cæsariensi episcopo subjacebant, sed erant *αὐτοκέφαλοι*.

^m Conc. Constantinop. I. Ep. ad Damas. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 966. B 2.) *Τῆς δὲ μητρὸς ἀπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.*

ⁿ Conc. Nic. c. iv. *Τὸ δὲ κῦρος τῶν γινομένων διδοσθαι καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ.*

^o Ibid. c. vi. p. 31. D. *Καθόλου δὲ πρόδηλον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι εἴ τις χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ μητροπολίτου γένοιτο ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἡ μεγάλη σύνοδος ὥρισε μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον.*

^p Conc. Antioch. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 569.) *Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι δίχα συνόδου καὶ παρουσίας τοῦ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τῆς ἐπαρχίας.*

^q Conc. Laod. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1497.) *Περὶ τοῦ, τοὺς ἐπισκόπους κρίσει τῶν μητροπολιτῶν, καὶ τῶν πέριξ ἐπισκόπων, καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀρχήν.*

^r Concil. Arelat. II. c. v. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1011.) *Episcopum sine metropolitano, vel epistola metropolitani, vel tribus comprovincialibus, non liceat ordinare.—Can. vi. Illud ante omnia clareat, eum qui sine conscientia metropolitani constitutus fuerit episcopus, juxta magnum synodum esse episcopum non debere.*

And whereas some pretend that the African primates had not this power, the contrary appears evidently from several canons of their councils. The second Council of Carthage says^x, No one shall presume to ordain a bishop without consulting the primate of the province, and taking his precept, though many other bishops should join with him. The third Council of Carthage requires but three bishops to the ordination of a bishop: but then they must be such as are expressly authorized by the metropolitan^y. And the fourth Council requires either his presence^z, or at least his authority and commission. Here a primate and a metropolitan are the same thing, viz. the senior bishop of the province, who usually went to the Church, where the new bishop was to be placed, and consecrated him with his own hands, as St. Austin and Possidius^a testify, who are good witnesses of their practice.

^s Conc. Taurin. c. i. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1155.) Cum primum omnium vir sanctus Proculus Massiliensis episcopus civitatis se tamquam metropolitanum ecclesiis, quæ in secunda provincia Narbonensi positæ videbantur, diceret præesse debere, atque per se ordinationes in memorata provincia summorum fieri sacerdotum, etc.

^t Concil. Sardic. c. vi. Χρὴ πρότερον κ. τ. λ. Vide supra not. (a) p. 199.

^u Concil. Ephes. Decret. de Episc. Cypr. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 802.) "Εξουσι τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον καὶ ἀβίαστον οἱ τῶν ἀγίων ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον προεστῶτες, κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ὁσίων πατέρων καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν, δι' ἐαυτῶν τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ποιοῦμενοι.

^v Conc. Chalced. act. xiii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 713.) Τὸ κῦρος τῶν γινομένων διοίσει καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῇ μητροπολίτῃ.—Can. xxv. p. 768. 'Επειδὴ τινες τῶν μητροπολιτῶν . . ἀναβάλλονται τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, κ. τ. λ.

^x Concil. Carthag. II. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1162.) Inconsulto primatu cujuslibet provinciae, nemo præsumat, licet cum multis episcopis, sine ejus præcepto episcopum ordinare.

^y Conc. Carth. III. c. xxxix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1173.) Non minus quam tres sufficiant, qui fuerint destinati [a metropolitano directi] ad ordinandum episcopum.

^z Concil. Carth. IV. c. i. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1199. C 11.) Conventu totius provinciae episcoporum, maximeque metropolitani vel auctoritate vel præsentia ordinetur episcopus.

^a Aug. Ep. cclxi. Propter quem ordinandum, sanctum Senem, qui tunc primatum Numidiae gerebat, de longinquo ut veniret rogans litteris impetravi. —Possid. Vit. Aug. c. viii. Adveniente ad ecclesiam Hipponensem tunc primatu Numidiae Megalio, episcopatum suscipere contra morem ecclesiae, suo vivente episcopo, presbyter recusabat.

SECT. XIII.—*This power continued to them after the setting up of Patriarchs.*

Nor was this power at all infringed by the setting up of patriarchs above them. For though the metropolitans were then to be ordained by the patriarchs, and obliged to attend on them for it, who before were ordained by their own provincial synod; yet still the right of ordaining their own suffragans was all along preserved to them, and expressly confirmed by the Council of Chalcedon^b; nor do we ever find any patriarch assuming this power, except the bishop of Alexandria, for a particular reason; of which I shall give an account in the following chapter, sect. 11.

SECT. XIV.—*Yet this power not arbitrary, but determined by the major Vote of a Provincial Synod.*

But here I must observe, that this power of metropolitans was not arbitrary: for though no bishop was to be elected or ordained without their consent, yet they had no negative voice in the matter, but were to be determined and concluded by the major part of a provincial synod. For so the Council of Arles^c decreed, that if there arose any doubt or hesitation betwixt the parties, the metropolitan should side with the greater number. And the Council of Nice^d to the same purpose: “If two or three out of a contentious humour shall oppose the common election, duly and regularly made according to the canons of the Church, in this case let the majority of voices prevail.”

SECT. XV.—*Metropolitans to be chosen and ordained by their own Provincial Synod.*

And the same rule was to be observed in the ordination of metropolitans themselves, who were to be chosen and conse-

^b Conc. Chalced. act. xvi. fin. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 818, tot.)

^c Concil. Arelat. II. c. v. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1012.) Si inter partes aliqua nata fuerit dubitatio, majori numero metropolitanus in electione consentiat.

^d Conc. Nic. can. vi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 32. D 4.) Ἐὰν μέντοι τῇ κοινῇ πάντων ψήφῳ, εὐλόγῳ οὐσῃ, καὶ κατὰ κανόνα ἐκκλησιαστικόν, δύο ἢ τρεῖς δι' οἰκίαν φιλονεικίαν ἀντιλέγωσι, κρατεῖτω ἡ τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφος.

crated by their own provincial bishops; who were not obliged to send for a metropolitan out of another province to do it, but they had power to do it in their own provincial synod among themselves. This, St. Austin says, was the custom of the Catholic Church, both in Afric and at Rome. And therefore, when the Donatists objected against Cæcilian primate of Carthage, that his ordination was uncanonical, because he had not sent for the neighbouring primate of Numidia to come and ordain him, his answer was^e, that Cæcilian had no need of this; since the custom of the Catholic Church was otherwise, which was not to have the Numidian bishops to ordain the bishop of Carthage, but the neighbouring bishops of the province of Carthage; as it was not the custom at Rome to send for a metropolitan out of another province, to ordain the bishop of Rome, but he was always ordained by the bishop of Ostia, a neighbouring bishop of the same province.

It is true there is a canon in the Council of Sardica^f, which orders the bishops of the next province, as some interpret it, to be called in to the ordination of a metropolitan, τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πλησιοχώρου ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπους. But this perhaps may as well be rendered, 'the neighbouring^g bishops of the same province;' and since custom and the practice of the Church, which is the best interpreter of doubtful canons, does manifestly favour this sense, there is some reason so to understand it. But however it be, here is no mention of one metropolitan having a right to ordain another. From which it appears, that in these times no metropolitan was obliged to go or send out of his own province, much less to Rome, for his ordination; but all was to be done by his suffragans in his own Church.

^e Aug. Brevic. Collat. tert. die, c. xvi. (Bened. 1700. vol. ix. p. 388.) Non exspectavit Cæcilianus, ut princeps a principe ordinaretur; cum aliud habeat ecclesiæ catholicæ consuetudo, ut non Numidiæ, sed propinquiore episcopi episcopum ecclesiæ Carthaginis ordinent: sicut nec Romanæ ecclesiæ ordinat aliquis episcopus metropolitanus, sed de proximo Ostiensis episcopus.

^f Conc. Sardic. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 632. C 2.) Χρὴ δὲ μετακαλεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πλησιοχώρου ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπους πρὸς τὴν κατάστασιν τοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπου.

^g Harmenopulus so understood it: for in his Epitome he thus words it: Οἱ πλησιόχωροι τῆς ἐπαρχίας παρέστωσαν. Vide Harmen. Epit. Canon. ap. Leunclav. Jur. Gr. Rom. tom. i. p. 2.

Nor was any bishop obliged to go for ordination to his metropolitan's Church: but ordinarily the metropolitan and the rest of the bishops met synodically in the vacant Church, and there elected and consecrated a new bishop in the presence of the people for whom they ordained him. This was the first part of the metropolitan's office.

SECT. XVI.—2. *The second office of Metropolitans, to decide controversies arising among their Provincial Bishops, and take appeals from them.*

2. Their next office was to preside over their provincial bishops, and if any controversies arose among them, to interpose their authority to end and decide them: as also to hear the accusations of others, who complained of injury done them by their own bishops, from whom there was liberty always to appeal to their metropolitan. Thus in Afric it was ordained by the Council of Milevis^h, that if two bishops disputed about the bounds of their dioceses, the metropolitan should appoint a committee of bishops to hear and determine their controversy. If a presbyter or deacon was excommunicated by his own bishop, the Council of Sardicaⁱ allows him liberty to appeal to the metropolitan of his province; or if he were absent, to the metropolitan of the next province, to desire a new hearing of his cause. In such cases as these, the metropolitan had three ways of proceeding: either first, he was to appoint a select number of bishops to be judges; which was the practice of Afric, where such judges were therefore called^k 'Judices electi,' and their number assigned to be twelve^l, if a bishop's cause was to be tried before them. Or secondly, he was to refer the

^h Concil. Milevit. c. xxi. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 1542. E.) Per episcopos judices causa finiatur, sive quos eis primates dederint, sive quos ipsi vicinos ex consultu primatis delegerint.

ⁱ Concil. Sardic. c. xiv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 640. B.) 'Ο ἐκβαλλόμενος ἐχέτω ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς μητροπόλεως τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας καταφυγεῖν· εἰ δὲ ὁ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἄπαιστος, ἐπὶ τὸν πλησιόχωρον κατατρέχειν, καὶ ἀξιοῦν, ἵνα μετὰ ἀκριβείας αὐτοῦ ἐξετάζεται τὸ πρᾶγμα.

^k Concil. Carth. III. c. vii. [Nihil ibi de istis judicibus: c. ix., vero hæc leguntur: 'cui ad eligendos judices undique patet auctoritas:' Grischov.] (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1169.)

^l Concil. Carth. I. c. xi. Episcopus a duodecim consacerdotibus audiatur.

matter to a provincial synod, which seems to have been the general practice, when those called the Apostolical Canons were made; one of which orders^m, that when a bishop is accused, he shall be convened before a synod of bishops. Another saysⁿ, “The primate shall do nothing without the consent of all the other bishops; so concord will be preserved, and God will be glorified.” And another, “Twice a year let there be a synod of bishops to examine doctrines of religion^o, and terminate all ecclesiastical controversies that may happen.” But thirdly, by Justinian’s law^p the metropolitan has power to hear causes upon appeal himself without a synod: yet whether he could proceed so far as to depose a bishop by his sole authority, is questioned: Spalatensis^q gives some instances of

^m Can. Apost. c. lxxiii. (Labbe, vol. i. Conc. p. 42.) Ἡ σύνοδος ἀποφαινέσθω κατ’ αὐτοῦ τὰ δοκοῦντα.—Concil. Constantin. Gen. II. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 950. D 10.) Εἰ συμβαίῃ ἀδυνατῆσαι τοὺς ἐπαρχιώτας πρὸς διόρθωσιν τῶν ἐπιφερομένων ἐγκλημάτων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, τότε αὐτοὺς προσίεναι μείζονι συνόδῳ τῶν τῆς διοικήσεως ἐπισκόπων ἐκείνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης συγκαλουμένων.

ⁿ Can. Apost. cxxxiii. Ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἄνευ τῆς πάντων γνώμης ποιείτω τί· οὕτως γὰρ ὁμόνοια ἔσται, καὶ δοξασθήσεται ὁ Θεὸς διὰ Κυρίου ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι.—Conc. Antioch. c. ix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 565. C.) Περαιτέρω μηδὲν πράττειν ἐπιχειρεῖν δίχα τοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ αὐτὸν ἄνευ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν γνώμης.

^o Can. Apost. xxxvi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 34.) Δεύτερον τοῦ ἔτους σύνοδος γινέσθω τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἀνακρινέτωσαν ἀλλήλους τὰ δόγματα τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ τὰς ἐμπιπτούσας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἀντιλογίας διαλυέτωσαν.

^p Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iv. c. xxix. (Amstel. 1663. p. 29.) Θεσπίζομεν μηδένα τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων κληρικῶν, εἴτε παρὰ τινος συγκληρικοῦ, εἴτε παρὰ τῶν καλουμένων λαϊκῶν τινὸς, εὐθὺς καὶ ἐκ πρώτης ἐν αἰτιάσει γίνεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς μακαριωτάτοις πατριάρχαις διοικήσεως ἐκάστης· ἀλλὰ πρῶτον κατὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς θεσμοὺς παρὰ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπῳ, καθ’ ἣν ὁ κληρικὸς διάγει· εἰ δὲ ὑπόπτως ἔχει πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, παρὰ τῷ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο πράττειν.

^q Spalat. de Rep. Eccles. part. i. lib. iii. c. vii. n. xix. Nunc factis ipsis, ac præsertim poenis, nec levibus illatis, metropolitanorum potestatem erga suos episcopos confirmemus. Et sane censuris omnibus posse metropolitanum in suos suffraganeos ex causa agere, concedunt apertissime canonistæ. Facta vero catholicorum metropolitanorum jam accipe, quum mihi occurrunt insigniora. In civitate Ephesina, quando in ea tertia œcumenica synodus celebrabatur, inventi sunt aliquot episcopi, qui gravibus de causis a suis metropolitanis erant depositi: ut narrant patres illius concilii in sua synodica ad Cælestinum Romanum pontificem, apud Cyrill. Alex. ep. xii. synodali: dum conqueruntur, Joannem Antiochenum, conciliabulum quoddam ex his depositis et ex aliis extorribus, qui nullas habentes ecclesias vagabantur, et ex ejectis, et Pelagianis,

bishops that were deposed by their metropolitans; but for aught that appears, it was done in synod: but whether it was, or was not, matters not much; for still in all cases, by the same law of Justinian^r and the canons, there lay an appeal from the metropolitan to a provincial synod, of which he was only the president, or moderator and director of business in it.

SECT. XVII.—3. *Their third Office to call Provincial Synods, which all Suffragans were obliged to attend.*

3. And this leads us to a third office of the metropolitans, which was to call provincial synods, and preside in them. For since the canons^s appointed two synods to be held ordinarily every year in each province (besides such as might be called upon extraordinary occasions), it was necessary some one should be appointed to give notice of the time and place, and have authority both to convocate and preside in them. All things therefore relating to this matter were by common consent put into the primate's power, whose circular letters (which sometimes are called Synodicæ and Tractoriæ^t, as the emperors were called Sacræ) were a legal summons, which no bishop of the province might disobey under pain of suspension, or some

ac Cælestianis congregasse. Basilius vero (epist. lxxvi.) depositionem minatur suis suffraganeis, si propter pecuniam faciant ordinationes. Ibas Edessenus a suis clericis accusatus (Conc. Chalced. c. ix.), judicatus fuit ab Antiocheno primate in Synodo: Florentinus Epidaurensis episcopus (Gregor. lib. ii. ind. ii. ep. ix. et lib. vii. ind. i. ep. xiii.) a Natali Solomitano in exilium pulsus est, etc.

^r Cod. Justin. ibid. Εἰ δὲ (ὡς εἰκὸς) οὐτε τὰ κατ' ἐκεῖνον αὐτῷ ἀρέσκοι, τηνικαῦτα πρὸς τὴν εὐαγῇ σύνοδον τὴν τῆς χώρας ἄγειν αὐτὸν δικάζομενον, κ. τ. λ.

^s Conc. Nicæn. c. v. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 32. A 8.) Καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξεν, ἐκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν δις τοῦ ἔτους συνόδους γίνεσθαι.—Concil. Antioch. c. xx. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 569.) Καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξε συνόδους καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῶν ἐπισκόπων γίνεσθαι δεύτερον τοῦ ἔτους.—Concil. Agathens. c. xxxv. (Labbe, vol. iv. Conc. p. 1389.) Si metropolitanus episcopus ad comprovinciales epistolas direxerit, in quibus eos aut ad ordinationem summi pontificis, aut ad synodum invitet, postpositis omnibus, excepta gravi infirmitate corporis, aut præceptione regia, ad constitutam diem adesse non differant.—Conc. Arelat. II. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1013.) Ad Arelatensis episcopi arbitrium synodus congreganda.—Can. Apost. can. xxxvi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 33.) Δεύτερον τοῦ ἔτους σύνοδος γινέσθω τῶν ἐπισκόπων.

^t Aug. Ep. ccxvii. ad Victorin. Tractoria quinto Idus Novembris ad me venit, etc. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 110, at bottom.)

such canonical censure, which is left to the discretion of the metropolitan and the council^u.

SECT. XVIII.—4. *Metropolitans to publish imperial laws and canons, visit dioceses, and correct abuses.*

4. It belonged to metropolitans to publish and disperse such imperial laws and canons, as were either by councils or emperors made for the common good of the Church. This they are required to do by several laws^v both of the Church and state, the better to diffuse the knowledge, and enforce the practice of them. Nor were they only to disperse the canons that were made, but to see that they were observed: which gave them right to visit and inquire into neglects, abuses, and disorders, committed by any bishop throughout the whole province. The metropolitan in this respect is said to have the care of the whole province, by the Council of Antioch^x. Not that this gave him power to officiate in any other bishop's Church, or perform such acts as the bishop himself might perform alone, such as the ordaining of presbyters and deacons, and the like; which are specialties of every bishop, reserved to them by the same Council: but in case of omission or scandalous neglect,

^u Conc. Chalced. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 766. A 4.) Τοὺς μὴ συνιόντας ἐπισκόπους, ἐκδημοῦντας ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πόλεσι, καὶ ταῦτα, ἐν ὑγείᾳ διάγοντας, καὶ πάσης ἀπαραιτήτου καὶ ἀναγκαίας ἀσχολίας ὄντας ἐλευθέρους, ἀδελφικῶς ἐπιπλήττεσθαι.—Conc. Carth. IV. c. xxi. (vol. ii. p. 1201.) Ut episcopus ad synodum ire non sine satis gravi necessitate inhibeat. —Theod. ep. lxxxii. (Schulze, Halæ, vol. iv. p. 1139.) Αἰτία οὐδεμία τῇ δοκούσῃ πρόσκειται τιμωρίᾳ, ἀλλ' ὅτι συνόδους ἐπισκοπικὰς συναθροίζω.—Ibid. (1140.) Καὶ ὑπήκουον τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ κανόνι πειθόμενος, ὃς κινδυνεύειν παρακελεύεται τὸν καλούμενον εἰς σύνοδον, καὶ παραγίνεσθαι μὴ βουλόμενον.

^v Justin. Novell. vi. Epilog. (Amstel. 1663. p. 15.) Οἱ δὲ αὐθις καὶ αὐτοὶ προθήσουσί τε αὐτὰ κατὰ τὴν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀγιωτάτην ἐκκλησίαν, τοῖς τε ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπισκόποις φανερά ταῦτα καταστήσουσι.—Novell. xlii. Epilog. (Amstel. 1663. p. 78.) Ἡ τοίνυν σὴ μακαριότης τὰ ὀρθῶς ἡμῖν παραστάντα φυλαττέτω τε καὶ εἰς ἔργον ἀγέτω, καταπέμπουσα αὐτὰ διὰ θεοφιλῶν αὐτῆς γραμμάτων πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν τεταγμένοις ὀσιωτάτοις μητροπολίταις· ὧν ἐκάστῳ γενήσεται φροντὶς ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτοὺς τεταγμέναις ἀγιωτάταις ἐκκλησίαις ταῦτα ποιῆσαι φανερά.

^x Conc. Antioch. c. ix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 565.) Τοὺς καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας.

the bishop of the metropolis was to manifest his care with the advice of the rest of his brethren.

SECT. XIX.—5. *Bishops not to travel without the Letters of their Metropolitan.*

5. In Afric all bishops paid a peculiar deference to the primate in taking his license to travel, whenever they were called into a foreign country upon extraordinary occasions. This was expressly provided by a canon of the third Council of Carthage^y, that no bishop should go beyond sea without consulting his primate, and taking his *Formatæ*, or letters of commendation. Nor was this so peculiar to Afric, but that we may meet with the same rule and practice in other places, even as low as the time of Gregory the Great; who, in one of his epistles^z, gives the same direction to some bishops in reference to their metropolitan, that they should not travel upon urgent occasion, without his letters of concession.

SECT. XX.—6. *Metropolitans to take care of vacant Sees within their province.*

6. It belonged to metropolitans to take care of all vacant sees within their province; to administer the affairs of the Church during the vacancy, to secure the revenues of the bishopric, and procure a speedy election of a new bishop. In Afric the primate commonly appointed one of the neighbouring bishops to be his vicegerent in such a case; whom therefore the canons (as has been observed before) call an *Interventor*^a.

^y Conc. Carth. III. c. xxviii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1171.) Ut episcopi transmare non proficiscantur, nisi consulto primæ sedis episcopo suæ cujusque provinciae, ut ab eo præcipue possint sumere formatam.

^z Gregor. M. lib. vii. ep. viii. Additur, quod ex vobis aliqui, pro ecclesiæ suæ emergentibus causis, transmarina petentes, sine prædicti metropolitani sui cognitione vel epistolis, sicut canonum ordo constituit, audeant ambulare. Hortamur ergo fraternitatem vestram, ut antiquam ecclesiarum vestrarum consuetudinem exsequentes, tam de suscipienda paschali denuntiatione, quam etiam si quemdam vestrum pro causis propriis ubicumque compulerit ambulare necessitas, ab eodem metropolitano vestro secundum indictam vobis regulam petere licentiam debeatis. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1315. B 10.)

^a Concil. Carth. V. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1216.) Dare operam, ut intra annum eisdem episcopum provideat: quod si neglexerit, anno exempto, interventor alius tribuatur.

The Council of Riez^b in France in like manner puts the administration of a vacant see into the hands of a neighbouring bishop, under the inspection of the metropolitan. And the Council of Valencia^c in Spain authorizes the metropolitan to punish purloiners of the revenues in the vacancy, and to send an administrator till a new bishop is chosen. By a canon of the Council of Chalcedon^d, the care of the revenues of the Church is committed to the steward of the Church, the *Œconomus*; but the care of supplying the vacant see with a new bishop within three months, is the business of the metropolitan.

SECT. XXI.—7. *Metropolitans to calculate the time of Easter.*

7. It belonged to the metropolitan yearly to review the calculation of the time of Easter, and give notice to his suffragans of it. The care of composing the cycle indeed was, by the Nicene Fathers, particularly committed^e to the bishop of

^b Concil. Reiens. can. vi. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1288.) Ne quis ad eam ecclesiam, quæ episcopum perdidisset, nisi vicinæ ecclesiæ episcopus, exsequiarum tempore accederet; qui (visitatoris vice) tamen statim ecclesiæ ipsius curam districtissime gereret, ne quid ante ordinationem discordantium in novitatibus clericorum subversioni liceret. Itaque cum tale aliquid accidit, vicinis vicinarum ecclesiarum inspectio, recensio, descriptioque mandatur.

^c Conc. Valent. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1618.) Hoc etiam placuit, ut episcopo ab hoc sæculo, jubente Domino, accersito, clerici ab omni omnino suppellectili, vel quæcumque sunt in domo ecclesiæ, vel episcopi, in libris, in speciebus, utensilibus, vasculis, frugibus, gregibus, animalibus, vel omni omnino re rapaces manus abstineant, et nihil latronum more diripiant. Qui si nec canonum auctoritate cohibiti fuerint, omnia quæ pervaserint, metropolitani vel omnium comprovincialium sacerdotum districtione coacti, in pristinum statum reddere integra cogantur. . . . Dehinc ad metropolitani notitiam habita ordinatio vel descriptio deferatur: ut ejus electione talis persona ordinandæ domus ecclesiasticæ procuratur, quæ vel consueta clericis stipendia dispenset, et creditarum sibi rerum metropolitano congruis temporibus reddere possit rationem.

^d Conc. Chalced. c. xxv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 768.) Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τινες τῶν μητροπολιτῶν, . . . ἀναβάλλονται τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ ἐντὸς τριῶν μηνῶν γίνεσθαι τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων. . . τὴν μέντοι πρόσδοον τῆς χηρευούσης ἐκκλησίας σώαν φυλάττεσθαι παρὰ τῷ οἰκονόμῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

^e Leo, Epist. lxxii. al. lxx. ad Marcian. Imperat. (Labbe, vol. iv. Conc. p. 886. A 12.) Petitionem de festivitate paschali gaudeo ita a vestra pietate susceptam, ut confestim Nectarium agentem in rebus Alexandriam mitteret, de errore removendo, quem sanctæ memoriæ Theophili constitutio videtur inferre.

Alexandria, as pope Leo and others inform us: and he was to give notice to other Churches. But due care was not always taken in this matter; and therefore the metropolitan in every province was concerned to settle the time, and acquaint the whole province with it. As we find St. Ambrose^f did for the province of Milan; and the bishop of Carthage^g, for the province of Afric: and the Spanish councils^h order their metropolitans first to concert the matter among themselves, and then communicate it to their comprovincials.

SECT. XXII.—*How the power of Metropolitans grew in after-ages.*

Some later canonsⁱ make it the privilege of metropolitans to consecrate all Churches throughout the province. But I have showed before that this was originally the privilege of every bishop in his own diocese; and being a private act, which only concerned his own Church, and not the whole province, the metropolitan was to have no hand in it, no more than in the consecration of presbyters and deacons, by the ninth canon of the Council of Antioch. Other canons^k bind

^f Ambros. Ep. lxxxiii. ad episcop. per Æmiliam.

^g Conc. Carth. III. c. i. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1167.) Placuit in principio, propter errorem qui sæpe solet oboriri, ut omnes Africanæ provinciæ episcopi observationem paschalem ab ecclesia Carthaginensi curent accipere.—Can. xli. (p. 1173.) Adjicimus etiam de die paschæ nobis esse mandatum, ut de ecclesia semper Carthaginensi instruamur.

^h Concil. Bracar. II. c. ix. — Concil. Tolet. IV. c. v. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1706.) Placuit, ut ante tres menses Epiphaniarum metropolitani sacerdotes literis invicem se inquirant: ut communi scientia edocti, diem resurrectionis Christi et comprovincialibus suis insinuent, et uno tempore celebrandum adnuntient.

ⁱ Gelas. Ep. i. c. iv. — Montan. Toletan. Ep. ad Palentinos ap. Blondel. Apol. p. 150.

^k Concil. Gerundens. c. i. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1568.) De institutione missarum, ut quomodo in metropolitana ecclesia fuerit, ita Dei nomine in omni Tarracoenensi provincia, tam ipsius missæ ordo, quam psallendi vel ministrandi consuetudo servetur. — Concil. Epaonens. c. xxvii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1579.) Ad celebranda divina officia ordinem, quem metropolitani tenent, provinciales eorum observare debebunt. — Conc. Toletan. xi. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 546.) De his qui, contra apostoli voluntatem, circumferuntur omni vento doctrinæ, placuit huic sancto concilio, ut metropolitanæ sedis auctoritate coacti uniuscujusque pontifices, rectoresque ecclesiarum, unum eundemque in psallendo

the whole province to follow the forms and rites of divine service used in the metropolitan Church: but I have observed before, that anciently every bishop had liberty to prescribe for his own diocese, and was under no limitation as to this matter, unless it were the order of a provincial council.

SECT. XXIII.—*The Primate of Alexandria had the greatest power of any other.*

By this we see that the power of metropolitans in some places exceeded others. And I must here observe, that the primate of Alexandria was the greatest metropolitan in the world, both for the absoluteness of his power, and the extent of his jurisdiction. For he was not metropolitan of a single province, but of all the provinces of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, in which there were at least six large provinces, out of which sometimes above a hundred bishops were called to a provincial council. Alexander summoned near that number to the condemnation of Arius¹ before the Council of Nice. And Athanasius^m speaks of the same number meeting at other times: particularly the Council of Alexandria, an. 339, which heard and justified the cause of Athanasius after his return from his banishment, had almost an hundred bishops in it; which was above thirty more than the bishop of Rome's Libra, which was but sixty-nine. Nor was the primate of Alexandria's power less than the extent of his jurisdiction: for he not only ordained all his suffragan bishops, but had liberty to ordain presbyters and deacons in all Churches throughout the whole district. Mr. Basnageⁿ and Launoy will have it that he had

teneant modum, quem in metropolitana sede cognoverint institutum; nec aliqua diversitate cujusque ordinis vel officii a metropolitana se patiantur sede disjungi.

¹ Alexand. Ep. Encycl. ap. Socrat. lib. i. c. vi. (p. 10. C 2.) ἐγγὺς ἑκατὸν ὄντων.

^m Athan. Apol. ii. (p. 187, edit. Paris. 1698.) Ἐπίσκοποι εἰσιν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ἐγγὺς ἑκατόν.

ⁿ Basnag. Exercit. in Baron. p. 307. Patriarchæ, fatentibus clarissimis viris quibus concurrimus, illi sunt, qui, metropolitanos exercentes metropolitanorum, habent et sibi subjectas plurimas metropolitanas provincias. Hac ex descriptione, si Nicænæ synodi temporibus nulli erant in Alexandrini episcopi ditione metropolitani quibus præesset, utique nil nisi metropolitanum agebat. Nullos vero Nicænis temporibus apud Ægyptum fuisse metropolitanos eo apparet, quod

the sole power of ordaining, and that not so much as a presbyter or deacon could be ordained without him. Valesius^o thinks his privilege was rather that he might ordain, if he pleased; but not that he had the sole power of ordaining presbyters and deacons. But either way it was a great privilege, and peculiar to the bishop of Alexandria: for no other metropolitan pretended to the like power besides himself.

SECT. XXIV.—*All metropolitans called ‘Apostolici,’ and their Sees, ‘Sedes Apostolicæ.’*

I have but one thing more to observe concerning metropolitans, which is, that they were anciently all dignified with the name ‘Apostolici;’ which was then no peculiar title of the bishop of Rome. For pope Siricius himself gives all primates this appellation^p: and it continued to be their title to the days of Alcuin, who, speaking of the election of bishops, says^q, ‘When the clergy and people have chosen one, they draw up an instrument, and go with their elect to the Apostolicus:’ by whom he means, not the pope, but the primate or metropolitan of every province, who had the right and power of consecration.

creandorum et presbyterorum et episcoporum omnium facultas soli episcopo Alexandrino competeret.

^o Vales. Observat. in Socrat. lib. iii. c. v. p. 32.

^p Siric. Epist. iv. c. i. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 1029. C 11.) Ut extra conscientiam sedis apostolicæ, hoc est, primatis, nemo audeat ordinare.

^q Alcuin. de Divin. Offic. c. xxxvii. Cum episcopus civitatis fuerit defunctus, eligitur alius a clero seu populo, fitque decretum ab illis, et veniunt ad Apostolicum cum suo electo. (Froben. 1777. p. 492.)

CHAPTER XVII.

OF PATRIARCHS.

SECT. I.—*Patriarchs anciently called Archbishops.*

NEXT in order to the metropolitans or primates were the patriarchs; or, as they were at first called, Archbishops and Exarchs of the diocese. For though now an archbishop and a metropolitan be generally taken for the same, to wit, the primate of a single province; yet anciently the name archbishop was a more extensive title, and scarce given to any but those whose jurisdiction extended over a whole imperial diocese, as the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, &c. That this was so, appears evidently from one of Justinian's Novels, where erecting the bishopric of Justiniana Prima into a patriarchal see, he says, "Our pleasure is, that the bishop of Justiniana shall not only be a metropolitan^r, but an archbishop." Here the names are clearly distinguished, and an archbishop reckoned superior to a metropolitan. And hence it was, that after the setting up of patriarchal power, the name archbishop was appropriated to the patriarchs. Liberatus^s gives all the patriarchs this title of archbishops. So does the Council of Chalcedon frequently, speaking of the patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople^t, under the name of archbishops also.

^r Justin. Novell. xi. (Amstel. 1563. p. 28.) Volumus, ut non solum metropolitanus, sed etiam archiepiscopus fiat.

^s Liberat. Breviar. c. xvii. (Labbe, vol. v. Conc. p. 766. D 6.) Nec prius hoc faceret, nisi susceperet henoticon principis, et synodicas destinaret epistolas Constantinopolitano Accio, et Simplicio Romano, et cæteris archiepiscopis.

^t Conc. Chalced. act. xvi. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 818. B 2.) Ἐκ τῶν πεπραγμένων, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκάστου καταθέσεως, συννορῶμεν, πρὸ πάντων μὲν τὰ πρωτεῖα καὶ τὴν ἐξαίρετον τιμὴν, κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας, τῷ τῆς πρεσβυτίδος Ῥώμης θεοφιλεστάτῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ φυλάττεσθαι· χρῆναι δὲ τὸν ὀσιώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον

SECT. II.—*And Exarchs of the Diocese.*

These were otherwise called ἑξαρχοὶ τῆς διοικήσεως, exarchs of the diocese, to distinguish them from the ἑξαρχοὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας, the exarchs of a single province, which were only metropolitans. Thus Domnus bishop of Antioch is styled ‘exarch of the eastern diocese^u,’ by the Councils of Antioch and Chalcedon. And in the subscriptions of the sixth general council at Constantinople, Theodore, bishop of Ephesus, subscribes himself both metropolitan of Ephesus^v, and exarch of the Asiatic diocese: as also Philalethes, bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, styles himself exarch of the Pontic diocese. Which shows, that as the exarch of a province is a metropolitan, so the exarch of a diocese is a patriarch in the ancient language of the Church. And by this we understand the meaning of the ninth and seventeenth canons of the Council of Chalcedon, which allow of appeals from the metropolitan to the exarch of the diocese.

SECT. III.—*Salmasius’s mistake about the first use of the name Patriarch.*

As to the name Patriarch, there is some dispute among learned men, when first it began to be used as an appropriate title of any Christian bishops. Salmasius^x and some others are of opinion, that the bishop of Alexandria had this title from the

τῆς βασιλίδος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως νέας Ῥώμης τῶν αὐτῶν πρεσβείων τῆς τιμῆς ἀπολαύειν.—Act. iv. ibid. p. 471. C 2. Συνάδει ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου καὶ θεοφιλεστάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Λέοντος τῷ συμβόλῳ τῷ ἐν Νικαίᾳ τριακοσίων δέκα ὀκτὼ ἀγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν. See ibid. p. 473. A. p. 511. E. et passim.—Can. xxx. (p. 772. A 9.) Ἀχρὶς ἂν χειροτονηθῇ ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἀρχιεπίσκοπος. (Differently worded in Labbe.)

^u Conc. Antioch. in act. xiv. Conc. Chalcedon. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 746. D 11.) Διὰ τοῦτο πάλιν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ἐξάρχου τῆς ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως κληθεὶς, κ. τ. λ.

^v Concil. VI. Gen. act. xviii. (Labbe, vol. vi. Conc. p. 1079. A 3.) Θεόδωρος ἐλέφ Θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἐφεσίων μητροπόλεως, καὶ ἑξαρχος τῆς Ἀσιανῶν διοικήσεως, ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς ὑπ’ ἐμὲ συνόδου ὁμοίως ὑπεσημηνάμην.

^x Salmas. de Primat. c. iv. p. 43. Si quis patriarcha tum vocatus est, ut de episcopo Alexandrino constat, quem Adriani imperatoris ævo sic appellatum epistola ejus ostendit in Saturnini vita a Flavio Vopisco posita, non eam per illud tempus habuisse significationem certum est, quam habuit postea. Item Not. in Vopiscum.

time of the emperor Adrian, which was in the beginning of the second century. Their reason is, because that emperor, in an epistle mentioned by Vopiscus, speaks of a patriarch at Alexandria. But the patriarch there spoken of, was not any Christian, but a Jewish patriarch; as may appear from Adrian's words, and the character which he gives of him^y. For he says he was one who was compelled to worship both Christ and Serapis: which agrees very well to the character of a Jewish patriarch, who neither acknowledged the heathen nor the Christian religion, and therefore needed as much compulsion to bring him to worship Christ, as Serapis: but it does not at all agree to the character of a Christian bishop, who, however he might need force to compel him to worship Serapis, yet must be supposed willing of his own accord to worship Christ. Besides, the patriarch which the emperor speaks of, was one who came only occasionally into Egypt out of another country; which cannot be said of the bishop of Alexandria, who had his fixed and continual residence there: but it suits exactly the state and condition of the Jewish patriarch, who resided at Tiberias in Palestine, and came but accidentally, or at some certain times, into Egypt. These and the like reasons make others conclude against Salmasius, that whoever is meant, it is not any Christian patriarch that is here spoken of. Baronius^z fancies it was the heathen pontifex, or high-priest of Egypt: but the same reasons will hold against his opinion as against the other: for the high-priest of Egypt lived in Egypt, and needed no compulsion to worship Serapis, as this patriarch did. So that it must be the Jewish patriarch, and no other,

^y Adrian. Epist. ap. Vopiscum, Vit. Saturnin. Illi, qui Serapin colunt, Christiani sunt: et devoti sunt Serapi, qui se Christi episcopos dicunt. Nemo illic archisynagogus Judæorum, nemo Samarites, nemo Christianorum presbyter, non mathematicus, non aruspex, non aliptes. Ille ipse patriarcha, quum Ægyptum venerit, ab aliis Serapidem adorare, ab aliis cogitur Christum.

^z Baron. Annal. tom. ii. an. cxii. p. 50. (Antwerp. 1597. vol. ii. p. 52.) Nomen (patriarchæ) antiquissimum est, tum a Judæis, tum etiam a Gentilibus usurpatum; quod, sicut alia multa, in ecclesiam feliciter transiit: non tantum enim Judæi, sed et Ægyptii utebantur eo nomine atque primaria dignitate: nam Herodotus, cum agit de sacris Ægyptiorum, Patriarchas illos nominat, qui principem locum in sacris tenent. Insuper usus est eo nomine Adrianus imperator, Trajani successor, in epistola ad Servianum consulem, etc.

which Adrian speaks of, as Mr. Basnage^a and bishop Pearson with some others have observed.

SECT. IV.—*Of the Jewish Patriarchs, their first rise, duration, and extinction.*

These Jewish patriarchs, from whom, as is generally agreed, the Christian patriarchs borrowed their names, were a sort of governors among the Jews, set up upon the destruction of Jerusalem; one of which had his residence at Tiberias, and another at Babylon, who were the heads of the Jews dispersed throughout the Roman and the Persian empire. Of these there is frequent mention made in the ancient writers of the Church, Origen^b, Epiphanius^c, Cyril of Jerusalem^d, Theo-

^a Basnag. Exercitat. Histor. p. 284. An ad patriarchas Judæos nec ne referendum sit Adriani rescriptum, in quæstione positum est. Magnus ille Salmasius, 'En,' inquit, 'episcopum Alexandrinum Adriani temporibus patriarcham appellatum. Non igitur tam recens est patriarchæ nomen in ecclesia Christiana, quam quidem videri volunt, quibus placet, nec Nicæni temporis ætate, tanto post Adrianum intervallo, usitatum illud inter Christianos fuisse pro eo, qui toti diœcesi præerat, et diœceseos exarchus dicebatur : ' quæ viri eruditissimi hunc in locum adnotatio est. Verum, pace cinerum ejus, in gravissimum errorem lapsus est. Non Alexandrinum episcopum, sed Judæorum patriarcham designabat Adrianus, verbis adeo propriis et significantibus, ut mirum sit Cl. Salmasium ibi Christianum episcopum vidisse, etc.—Pearson. Vindic. Ignat. part. i. c. xi. ap. Coteler. tom. ii. p. 328. (edit. Cantab. part. i. p. 174, 175.) Miror cuiquam in mentem venire potuisse hæc de episcopo Alexandrino dicta fuisse; quasi ille Ægyptum aliquando tantum peteret, et cum ibi esset, Christum colere cogeretur: præsertim cum utrumque Judæorum patriarchæ ea ætate notissimo tam probe conveniat. Judæorum patriarcham intelligo, qui in Palæstina vivebat, non qui Alexandriæ constitutus fuit, ut putabant Petitus et Petrus a Marca, etc.—Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. verbo πατριάρχης, p. 640. Hæc (Adriani verba) non possunt intelligi neque de episcopo Alexandrino, qui non necesse habuisset in Ægyptum venire, utpote qui in ea suam habebat sedem; nec de ullo Christiano, qui ad adorandum Christum nulla vi fuisset adigendus, utpote gnarus, ipsum Christiani nomen hoc a se flagitare: sed referri debent ad patriarcham Judæorum Tiberiade habitantem, qui ex æquo hostis erat et eorum qui Christum et qui Serapidem adorabant.—Cave, Gov. Anc. Church, 153.

^b Orig. *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, lib. iv. c. 1. Dicunt permanere adhuc principem ex genere Judæ, istum videlicet, qui est gentis eorum princeps, quem nominant patriarcham.

^c Epiph. Hær. xxx. n. iv. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 128. B 2.) 'Ο δὲ πατριάρχης κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ Ἑλλήλ τοῦνομα ἦν. . . ἐκ γένους δὲ Γαμαλιήλ ἐτύγχανε, τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς γενομένου πατριάρχου. Conf. n. vi. vii. etc.

^d Cyrill. Catech. xii. n. vii. p. 157. (Paris. 1709. p. 261.) Εἰ ἔχουσι τὸν ἐκ

doret^e, and many others. They continued in great power and dignity till the latter end of the fourth century, about which time their order ceased. For Theodoret says expressly, that long before his time their government was wholly abolished: and one of the laws of the younger Theodosius, an. 429, speaks of them as then extinct^f.

SECT. V.—*Of the Patriarchs among the Montanists.*

Much about the same time the Montanists, or Cataphrygian heretics, had an order of men among them, which they called Patriarchs, and another which they called Cenones; both which were superior to their bishops, and, as it should seem, distinct orders from them: for St. Jerome^g charges it on them as a crime, that they thrust down the order of bishops, who were the apostles' successors, and set up an order of Patriarchs, and an order of Cenones among them. Which makes some learned men think^h, that when St. Jerome wrote that against the Montanists, the name Patriarch was not as yet adopted into the Church, though the power was, under another name.

γένους Ἰούδα, καὶ τοῦ Δαβὶδ, οὕτω ἦλθεν ὁ προσδοκώμενος· αἰσχύνομαι γὰρ λέγειν αὐτῶν τὰ πρόσφατα περὶ τῶν καλουμένων παρ' αὐτοῖς νῦν πατριαρχῶν πράγματα.

^e Theodor. Dial. i. (Schulze, Halæ, vol. iv. p. 32.) (vol. iv. p. 22, edit. Paris. 1642.) EPAN. Οἱ καλούμενοι οὖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πατριάρχαι, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Δαυϊδικῆς ὑπάρχουσι συγγενείας; ΟΡΘ. Οὐδαμῶς. EPAN. Ἀλλὰ πόθεν ὁρμῶνται; ΟΡΘ. Ἐξ Ἡρώδου τοῦ ἀλλοφύλου, ὃς πατρόθεν μὲν Ἀσκαλωνίτης ἐτύγχανεν ὦν, μητρόθεν δὲ Ἰδουμαῖος· ἄλλως τε καὶ αὐτοὶ παντελῶς ἠφανίσθησαν, καὶ χρόνος διελήλυθεν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἡ τούτων ἡγεμονία τὸ πέρας ἐδέξατο.

^f Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. viii. de Jud. l. xxix. (Lugdun. 1665. vol. vi. p. 245.) Judæorum primates, qui in utriusque Palæstinæ synedriis nominantur, vel in aliis provinciis degunt, quæcunque, post excessum patriarcharum, pensionis nomine suscepere, cogantur exsolvere.

^g Hieron. Epist. liv. ad Marcell. adv. Montan. vol. ii. p. 128. (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 189.) Apud nos apostolorum locum episcopi tenent: apud eos episcopus tertius est. Habent enim primos de Pepusa Phrygiæ patriarchas: secundos, quos appellant Cenonas: atque ita in tertium, id est, pene ultimum locum, episcopi devolvuntur.

^h Basnag. Exercit. Histor. p. 285. Hinc colligi posset, priscis temporibus nondum episcopis insignioribus affixum fuisse nomen patriarchæ.

SECT. VI.—*The name Patriarch first used by Socrates and the Council of Chalcedon.*

Indeed the first time we meet with the name patriarch given to any bishop by any public authority of the Church, is in the Council of Chalcedon, which mentionsⁱ the most holy patriarchs of every diocese, and particularly Leo patriarch^k of great Rome. Richerius, who has written accurately about the councils, can trace the name no higher^l. Among private authors, the first that mentions patriarchs by name, is Socrates^m, who wrote his history about the year 440, eleven years before the Council of Chalcedon. By what he says, it appears that during the interval between the general Council of Constantinople, an. 381, and that of Chalcedon, the name patriarch began to be an appropriate title of some eminent bishops in the Church. For, speaking of the fathers at Constantinople, he says, “They constituted patriarchs, dividing the provinces among them.” Valesiusⁿ and Dr. Cave^o think Socrates speaks not of true and proper patriarchs, but only of extraordinary legates, or *pro tempore* commissioners, appointed by the Council to judge who were fit to be received to catholic communion in the several dioceses that were allotted them. But all others understand him in the proper sense, because by this time patriarchal power was settled in all the dioceses of the Roman empire.

ⁱ Conc. Chalced. act. ii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 338. E 9.) Εἰ δοκεῖ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἐνλαβείᾳ, οἱ ὀσιώτατοι πατριάρχαι διοικήσεως ἐκάστης ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἓνα, ἢ δεύτερον τῆς ἰδίας ἑκάστος διοικήσεως, εἰς τὸ μέσον παρελθόντες, καὶ κοινῇ περὶ τῆς πίστεως βουλευσάμενοι, τὰ συνδοκοῦντα φανερά πᾶσι καταστήσουσιν.

^k Conc. Chalced. act. iii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 395.) Τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ καὶ θεοφιλεστάτῳ οἰκουμενικῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ καὶ πατριάρχῃ τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης Λέοντι, κ. τ. λ.

^l Richer. Hist. Concil. vol. i. c. ii. n. xi. Nomen patriarcharum primum, quod sciam, usurpatum in synodo Chalcedonensi.

^m Socrat. H. E. lib. v. c. viii. Πατριάρχας κατέστησαν, διανειμάμενοι τὰς ἐπαρχίας. (Vales. p. 218. A.)

ⁿ Vales. ad Socrat. lib. v. c. viii. (Amstel. 1700. p. 47. D.) Intelligit Socrates non veros atque ordinarios patriarchas, sed extraordinarios legatos, qui ad stabiliendam rectam fidem per singulas dioceses fuerant destinati. . . . apparet eum non de veris atque ordinariis patriarchis loquutum esse.

^o Cave, Anc. Ch. Gov. p. 147.

SECT. VII.—*Four different opinions concerning the first rise of Patriarchal power.*

But though the name of patriarchs came not into the Church till about the time of Socrates, yet the power itself, as is agreed on all hands, was much earlier; though where precisely to fix the epocha, and date its rise, is not so easy to determine. Some carry it as high as the apostles, and derive it, as they do the pope's supremacy, from St. Peter. So Baronius^p, who is followed by the most eminent writers of his own communion, De Marca, Valesius, Richerius, Pagi, and Schelstrate. Others justly reject this, as founded upon no good authority, nor evidenced by any genuine records of the ancient Church, but only the spurious epistles of the first popes; and reckon the first rise of patriarchs to have been after the apostolical age, and some time before the Council of Nice. This is the opinion of Spalatensis^q, and Mr. Brerewood. The third opinion is that

^p Baron. Annal. an. xxxix. n. xvi. (Antverp. 1612. vol. i. p. 272. C.) Quamobrem ut a Petro peculiariter dici possit (quod tradunt omnes) fundatam esse ecclesiam Antiochenam: dicendum est, Petrum primo erexisse, seu instituisse sedem patriarchalem Antiochenam.—Petr. de Marca, de Concord. vol. i. lib. i. c. iii. n. v. (Venet. 1770. p. 5.) Etsi forma dividendarum provinciarum et metropoleon ab apostolis manaverit, hæc tamen divisio ab episcopis, qui erant in majoribus urbibus constituti, per incrementa variorum temporum aucta, tandem ultimam dispositionem consecuta est. . . Sane dissimulandum non est, eo canone (Concil. Nicæni) tres illos antistites episcoporum (Romanum, Alexandrinum, et Antiochenum) tantum vel ad summum metropolitanorum nomine censi: qui, sæculo sequenti, in concilio Ephesino archiepiscoporum titulo aucti, in concilio Constantinopolitano exarchorum dioceseos dignitate decorati, tandem in concilio Chalcedonensi promiscue archiepiscopi, exarchi, et novitia dictione patriarchæ sunt appellati.—Vales. Observat. Eccles. lib. iii. tot.—Richer. Histor. Conc. vol. i. c. i. n. xiv.—Anton. Pagi, Critic. an. xxxvii. n. ix. In tribus majoribus imperii civitatibus institutæ sunt tres potissimæ dignitates ecclesiæ, et præcipuæ sedes patriarchicæ. Nicænum Concilium antiquam consuetudinem ab apostolis ortam servari mandavit, can. vi.: 'Antiqua consuetudo servetur,' etc. ubi trium sedium patriarchalium in præcipuis imperii urbibus auctoritas firmatur, quam Leo I. (epist. liii. ad Anatolium) instituto apostolorum principis Petri adscribit, et stabilem permanere præcipit.

^q Marc. Anton. de Dominis, de Republ. part. i. lib. iii. c. xii. n. xxi. p. 335. Quid, quæso, canon vi. Nicæno edicendo occasionem dedit, nisi patriarcharum isthæc ambitio, eorumque de primatu controversiæ et dissensiones? Quibus ita occurrit, ut singuli propriis limitibus coërcerentur, nec unus in alterius regimen se inveheret, &c.—Brerewood, of Patriar. Gov. Q. i.

of Balsamon^r and other modern Greeks, that patriarchs were first instituted by the Council of Nice: and this seems to be favoured by St. Jerome: for in his epistle to Pammachius, writing against the errors of John of Jerusalem, he says, it was decreed in the Council of Nice^s, that Cæsarea should be the metropolis of Palestine; and Antioch, the metropolis of the whole east. Therefore the bishop of Jerusalem must either appeal to the bishop of Cæsarea, as his immediate metropolitan; or to the bishop of Antioch, as metropolitan of the east. But, if I rightly understand St. Jerome, he does not mean (as some mistake him) that patriarchs were first set up by the Council of Nice: for then metropolitans must be so too; since he says the same of them: which yet every one knows were in the Church long before the Council of Nice. His meaning then must be, that both metropolitans of provinces and metropolitans of dioceses were in being before the Council of Nice, and only received confirmation, or a canonical establishment from it. And indeed it is evident, that the Nicene Fathers made no alteration in these matters, but only confirmed the ancient rights of the bishops of principal cities, as they found them authorized by custom before. For the words they use^t, are, τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη κρατεῖτω, “Let ancient custom still take place; so as in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, the bishop of Alexandria shall have power over all; because such also is the custom of the bishop of Rome. And accordingly in Antioch, and in other provinces, let the privileges be preserved to the Churches.”

^r Balsam. in can. vi. Conc. Nic. Ὁ παρὼν κανὼν καὶ ὁ ζ' διορίζονται τοὺς δὲ πατριάρχας, δηλαδὴ τὸν Ῥώμης, τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας, τὸν Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων (περὶ γὰρ τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐν ἑτέροις κανόσι διαληφθήσεται) καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ ἔθνη τιμᾶσθαι, κ. τ. λ.

^s Hieron. Epist. lxi. vol. ii. p. 178. Ad Alexandrinum episcopum Palæstina quid pertinet? Ni fallor, hoc ibi decernitur, ut Palæstinæ metropolis Cæsariæ sit, et totius Orientis Antiochia. Aut igitur ad Cæsariensem episcopum referre debuerat; aut si procul expetendum iudicium erat, Antiochiam potius litteræ dirigendæ.

^t Conc. Nicæen. can. vi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 32.) Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη κρατεῖτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο συνηθὲς ἐστίν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

Here it is plain, that no new power is given to any bishops, but only what ancient custom and practice had assigned them. So that either patriarchs were set up by custom before the Council of Nice^u, and confirmed by the council, as St. Jerome thinks; or else not introduced till afterwards. This last opinion (notwithstanding what St. Jerome says) is embraced by the famous Mr. Launoy^v, Mr. Basnage^x, Dr. Beveridge^y, and Dr. Cave^z, who think that patriarchal power was not confirmed by the Nicene canon, nor known in the Church till about the time of the second general Council of Constantinople, an. 381.

SECT. VIII.—*The opinion of Spalatensis and St. Jerome preferred.*

In a matter so obscure, and so variously controverted among learned men, it is not easy to determine where the right lies. Patriarchal power was not set up at one and the same time in all places. Alexandria and Antioch were as early as any; and the bishop of Alexandria before the Council of Nice, had all Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis under his jurisdiction, as appears

^u Il (sixième canon) conserve aux grands sièges leurs anciens privilèges; c'est-à-dire, la jurisdiction ou l'autorité qu'ils avoient sur plusieurs provinces, qu'on a depuis appelée jurisdiction de patriarche ou d'exarque. C'est en ce sens qu'il compare l'Eglise de Rome à l'Eglise d'Alexandrie, en le considérant toutes comme des Eglises patriarchales. (Du Pin, Bibliothèque, Paris, 1693. vol. ii. p. 316.)—It. de Antiq. Eccles. Disciplin. dissert. i. sect. xi. p. 37, seqq. Patriarchæ iidem olim fuerunt ac exarchi seu primates provinciarum, atque hoc sensu antiquissima est illorum institutio. De his loquitur Concil. Nicænum, c. vi. etc.

^v Launoy, de Rect. Interpret. can. vi. Concil. Nicæn.

^x Basnag. Exercit. Histor. p. 307. Habet aliquid quæstionis, an jus patriarchale a patribus Nicænis fuerit agnitum? Hoc velint Petrus de Marca, Valesius, Antonius Pagi, Schelstratus, immo ipse Beveregius: quam longissime, nostro judicio, abhorrentem a vero opinionem sequentibus argumentis impugnamus, etc.

^y Bevereg. Not. in canon. ii. Concil. Constant. p. 95. Balsamon ex præsentī canone recte hic observat, omnes provinciarum metropolitanos olim et hujus concilii temporibus, *αὐτοκεφάλους* sui juris et per se suarum provinciarum capita, et nulli proin alii tanquam capiti subjectos. Hoc autem posito et concessō, quid fiet de illius aliorumque opinione contendentium, patriarchas etiam a concilio Nicæno constitutos esse? Si omnes enim metropolitani fuerint *αὐτοκέφαλοι* et a suis synodis ordinati, omnis patriarcharum potestas evanescit; et sic quidem se res habuit non modo synodi Nicænæ sed et præsentis diebus, etc.

^z Cave, Anc. Ch. Gov. c. ii. & iv.

from the Nicene canons. This was the diocesis *Ægyptiaca*, which consisted of six large provinces, four in Egypt, viz. Thebais, Arcadia, Augustanica, and *Ægyptus* properly so called, Libya Inferior, and Libya Superior, which is Pentapolis. As all these were subject to the *Præfectus Augustalis* of Egypt, so they were likewise under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Alexandria. So that he was not only a metropolitan of a single province, but of six provinces joined in one diocese. But now the question is, whether at this time he had any metropolitans under him? for if he had, then he was properly a patriarch at the time of the Nicene Council. As to this I can only say, that Epiphanius and Synesius do expressly mention archbishops and metropolitans under the archbishop of Alexandria, in the time of Athanasius and Alexander his predecessor, who were both present in the Council of Nice. But whether they mean metropolitans in the proper sense, or only coadjutors to the archbishop of Alexandria, I cannot yet determine. I will recite the passages, and leave the curious and the learned to make further inquiry. Synesius says, the great Athanasius seeing the Church of Ptolemais had need of a bishop that was able to cherish and augment the small sparks of true religion, which was then in a dwindling condition there; and finding Siderius bishop of Palæbisca a man fit for great business, he commanded him to remove thence to Ptolemais^a, to govern the metropolitan Church there. And Epiphanius^b speaking of Meletius, the author of the Meletian schism before the Council of Nice, says expressly, “He was an archbishop in Egypt, under Alexander archbishop of Alexandria, to whom he gave the first information against Arius.” This agrees with what he says of him in another place^c, “that he was chief of the

^a Synes. Ep. lxvii. ad Theoph. p. 231. Τὸν πάμμεγαν Ἀθανάσιον συγχωρῆσαι τε τῷ καιρῷ καὶ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δεῖσαν ἐν Πτολεμαίδι, τὸν ἐνόντα σμικρὸν ἔτι τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας σπινθῆρα θάλψαι τε καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐξάψαι, τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὥς μείζοσι πράγμασιν ἐπιτήδειον, ἐκεῖ διαβῆναι κελεῦσαι, τὴν μητροπολίτιν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτροπεύσοντα. (Paris. 1640. p. 210. B 6.)

^b Epiph. Hæres. lxix. n. iii. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 729. C.) Ἀνήνεγκεν εἰς τὰ ὦτα τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξάνδρου ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μελήτιος ὁ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ὑπὸ δὲ χεῖρα Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐδόκει εἶναι.

^c Epiph. Hær. lxviii. n. i. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 717. B 3.) Ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ὁ Μελήτιος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον προήκων, καὶ δευτερεύων τῷ Πέτρῳ κατὰ

Egyptian bishops, and next in order to Peter in the archbishopric, being his assistant, and administering ecclesiastical affairs under him. For there the custom is, for the archbishop of Alexandria to have the ordering of ecclesiastical matters throughout all Egypt, Thebais, Mareotes, Libya, Ammoniac, Mareotis, and Pentapolis." So that as the bishop of Alexandria had six provinces under him, he seems also to have had subordinate metropolitans or archbishops under him likewise, as the archbishop of Lycopolis in Thebais, the metropolitan of Ptolemais in Pentapolis. And if these were properly metropolitans, he must be a patriarch, under the name of metropolitan of the whole Egyptian diocese, as they were metropolitans of their respective provinces: which is the thing that St. Jerome asserts in reference to Cæsarea and Antioch, that the one was the metropolis of Palestine, and the other the metropolis of the Oriental diocese; and this from ancient custom, ratified and confirmed by the Council of Nice.

SECT. IX.—*Patriarchal power established in three general Councils successively, viz. Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.*

But however this be, (for I determine nothing positively in this matter,) the next age affords us very pregnant proofs of the establishment and growth of patriarchal power. The general Council of Constantinople^d, an. 381, has a canon to fix the limits of the several dioceses: so that the bishop of Alexandria should only administer the affairs of the Egyptian diocese; the bishops of the east, the eastern diocese, reserving

τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν, ὡς δι' ἀντιλήψεως αὐτοῦ χάριν, ὑπ' αὐτὸν δὲ ὦν, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά ἀναφέρων· τοῦτο γὰρ ἔθος ἐστὶ, τὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἀρχιεπίσκοπον πάσης τε Αἰγύπτου καὶ Θηβαΐδος, Μαραϊώτου τε, καὶ Λιβύης, Ἀμμωνιακῆς, Μαραϊώτιδος τε καὶ Πενταπόλεως, ἔχειν τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν διοίκησιν.

^d Conc. Constant. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 947.) Τοὺς ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν ἐπισκόπους, ταῖς ὑπερορίοις ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἐπιέναι, μηδὲ συγχέειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας· ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας, τὸν μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μόνον οἰκονομεῖν· τοὺς δὲ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐπισκόπους τὴν ἀνατολὴν μόνην διοικεῖν· φυλαττομένων τῶν ἐν τοῖς κανόσι τοῖς κατὰ Νίκαιαν πρεσβείων τῇ Ἀντιοχείῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ· καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ἀσιανῆς διοικήσεως ἐπισκόπους τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μόνην οἰκονομεῖν· καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ποντικῆς, τὰ τῆς Ποντικῆς μόνον· καὶ τοὺς τῆς Θράκης, τὰ τῆς Θρακικῆς μόνον οἰκονομεῖν.

the privileges granted by the Council of Nice to the Church of Antioch; the bishops of the Asiatic diocese, the Asiatic Churches only; those of the Pontic diocese, the Pontic Churches; and those of the Thracian diocese, the Thracian Churches only.

Theodoret^e, speaking of this council, says, They divided the dioceses, and assigned every diocese its proper limits and jurisdiction. And Socrates^f more expressly, "That they constituted patriarchs, and distributed the provinces, so that no bishops should meddle with the affairs of another diocese, as was used to be done in times of persecution. Nectarius was allotted Constantinople and Thrace; Helladius, St. Basil's successor, the Pontic diocese," &c.

About fifty years after this, an. 431, the third general Council was held at Ephesus, where we find the bishop of Antioch laying claim to the power of ordinations in the province of Cyprus: but this proving to be an unjust claim, the council made a decree in favour of the Cyprian bishops, exempting them from the jurisdiction of Antioch; because by ancient custom they always were exempt: and it is added^g, "That the same rule should be observed in all dioceses and provinces, that no bishop should seize upon any province, which did not anciently belong to his jurisdiction." This plainly implies, that the bishop of Antioch had then several provinces, or a whole diocese, under his power; which was

^e Theodor. Ep. lxxxvi. ad Flavian. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 963.) Τὰς διοικήσεις διέκριναν, καὶ ἐκάστη διοίκησει τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἀπένειμαν, ἀντικρὺς ἀπαγορεύσαντες, ἐξ ἑκατέρας τινὰς διοικήσεως ἑτέραν μὴ ἐπιέναι.

^f Socrat. H. E. lib. v. c. viii. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 218. A.) Πατριάρχας καθέστησαν, διανειμάμενοι τὰς ἐπαρχίας, ὥστε τοὺς ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν ἐπισκόπους ταῖς ὑπερορίοις ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν· τοῦτο γὰρ πρότερον διὰ τοὺς διωγμοὺς ἐγένετο ἀδιαφόρως· καὶ κληροῦται Νεκτᾶριος μὲν τὴν Μεγαλόπολιν καὶ τὴν Θράκην· τῆς δὲ Ποντικῆς διοικήσεως, Ἑλλάδιος, ὁ μετὰ Βασίλειον Καισαρείας τῆς Καππαδοκῶν ἐπίσκοπος.

^g Concil. Eph. I. act. vii. Decret. de Episc. Cypr. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 801.) "Ἐξουσι τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον καὶ ἀβίαστον οἱ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον προεστῶτες, κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ὁσίων πατέρων καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν, δι' ἑαυτῶν τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ποιούμενοι· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχθήσεται· ὥστε μηδένα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἑτέραν, οὐκ οὐσαν ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ, ἡγουν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ χεῖρα, καταλαμβάνειν.

confirmed to him by the council: and he was only denied jurisdiction over the province of Cyprus, because of ancient right it did not belong to him.

About eighteen years after this, Theodosius junior and Valentinian called the second Council of Ephesus, an. 449. And in the letter of summons to Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, they gave him orders to bring ten metropolitans^h of his diocese with him. This is noted by Liberatus in his Breviary: and the letter is still extant in the Council of Chalcedonⁱ; by which it appears, that at this time the archbishop of Alexandria had a great number of metropolitans, within the Egyptian diocese, under his jurisdiction. So that though there be some dispute concerning the first rise and original of patriarchal power; yet there remains no manner of doubt but that it was come to its full height and establishment in the time of the general councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon.

SECT. X.—*The power of Patriarchs not exactly the same in all Churches.*

Therefore the next inquiry is into the rights and privileges of these patriarchs. And here it is to be nicely observed, that the power of patriarchs was not one and the same precisely in all Churches, but differed according to the different customs of places and countries, or according as it was the pleasure of kings or councils to bestow greater privileges on them.

The Patriarch of Constantinople had some peculiar privileges.

The patriarch of Constantinople, when he was first advanced by the second general council, had only the single diocese of Thrace assigned him^k for the exercise of his jurisdiction: but in the next age he was grown to be a sort of patriarch over the patriarchs of Ephesus and Cæsarea in the Asiatic and

^h Liberat. Breviar. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 757. E.) Imperator dirigens sacram Dioscoro in Alexandriam, præcepit, ut cum decem metropolitanis episcopis, quos voluisset, ipse eligeret, et veniret Ephesum.

ⁱ Concil. Chalced. act. i. (Labbe, vol. iv. Conc. p. 100. C 10.) Ἡ σὴ ὁσιότης προσλαβοῦσα σὺν ἑαυτῇ δέκα μὲν ἐνλαβεστάτους ἐπισκόπους τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν διοίκησιν μητροπολίτας, κ. τ. λ.

^k Concil. Constant. I. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 947.) Τοὺς τῆς Θράκης, τὰ τῆς Θρακικῆς μόνον οἰκονομεῖν. See page 230, note (d).

Pontic dioceses, by the voluntary consent of those two exarchs (no doubt) at first, paying a deference to the exarch of the royal city; which, advancing into a custom, was afterwards confirmed by canon in the Council of Chalcedon. In the sixteenth session of that council, there is a long debate about this matter, the Pope's legates warmly stickling against it: but all the metropolitans of the two dioceses of Asia and Pontus then in council, together with Thalassius, bishop of Cæsarea, and exarch of the Pontic diocese, with one voice declaring, that the bishop of Constantinople had by long custom and prescription enjoyed the privilege of ordaining metropolitans in those two dioceses, as well as that of Thrace, it was decreed, that this privilege should be continued to him, notwithstanding the bishop of Rome's intercession against it¹. Also by two canons of that council he is allowed to receive appeals^m from the exarchs of those dioceses, because his throne was in the royal city. And in such parts of those dioceses as were chiefly in the hands of Barbarians, he is authorized by another canonⁿ to ordain all the bishops; which in other parts was the sole privilege of the metropolitans. Theodoret^o observes even of Chrysostom himself before the Council of Chalcedon, that he exercised this power over all the three dioceses. For he says,

¹ Conc. Chalced. can. xxviii. (See Labbe, vol. iv. p. 769.) Χρῆναι δὲ τὸν ὀσιώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον τῆς βασιλίδος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, νέας Ῥώμης, τῶν αὐτῶν πρεσβείων τῆς τιμῆς ἀπολαύειν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐθεντίας ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τοῦ χειροτονεῖν τοὺς μητροπολίτας ἐν τε τῇ Ἀσιανῇ, καὶ Ποντικῇ, καὶ Θρακικῇ ταῖς διοικήσεσι, κ. τ. λ.

^m Ibid. can. ix. Εἰ πρὸς τὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας μητροπολίτην ἐπίσκοπος ἢ κληρικὸς ἀμφισβητοίη, καταλαμβανέτω ἢ τὸν ἐξάρχον τῆς διοικήσεως, ἢ τὸν τῆς βασιλευούσης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δικάζεσθω. — Ibid. c. xvii. Εἰ δέ τις παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀδικοῖτο μητροπολίτου, παρὰ τῷ ἐξάρχῳ διοικήσεως ἢ τῷ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνῳ, δικάζεσθω, καθὰ προεῖρηται.

ⁿ Concil. Chalced. c. xxviii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 798. A 3.) Τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς ἐπισκόπους τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων χειροτονεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου ἀγιωτάτου θρόνου τῆς κατὰ Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἀγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας, κ. τ. λ.

^o Theodoret. H. E. lib. v. c. xxviii. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 235. D 10.) Ταύτην ἐποιεῖτο τὴν προμήθειαν, οὐ μόνως ἐκείνης τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Θράκης ἀπάσης· εἰς ἑξ δὲ αὕτη ἡγεμονίας διήρρηται καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ὅλης, ὑπὸ ἑνδεκα δὲ καὶ αὕτη ἀρχόντων ἰθύνεται· καὶ μὲν τοι καὶ τὴν Ποντικὴν τούτοις κατεκόσμη τοῖς νόμοις· ἰσαριθμούς δὲ καὶ αὕτη ἔχει τῆς Ἀσίας τοὺς ἡγουμένους.

“His care extended not only over Constantinople and Thrace, which consisted of six provinces, but over Asia and Pontus, each of which had eleven civil prætors in them.” We are not therefore to take an estimate of patriarchal power from the growing greatness of Constantinople, but to distinguish the peculiar privileges of some patriarchs above others, which is the only way to understand the power of each.

SECT. XI.—*The Patriarch of Alexandria had also privileges peculiar to himself.*

For the patriarch of Alexandria had also some prerogatives, which no other patriarch besides himself enjoyed. Such was the right of consecrating and approving every single bishop throughout all the provinces of his diocese. This privilege was not allowed even to the patriarch of Constantinople: for the Council of Chalcedon, in the very same place where they give him power to consecrate the metropolitans of three whole dioceses, deny him the privilege of consecrating the suffragan bishops of those metropolitans; and reserve it as an ancient right of each metropolitan, with a synod of his provincial bishops, to consecrate all the bishops within his province, the archbishops of Constantinople neither being consulted, nor having any hand in those ordinations^p. But it was otherwise at Alexandria. For the bishop of Alexandria, whilst he was only a metropolitan, had the ordination of all the bishops of the six provinces of the Egyptian diocese, being the sole and only metropolitan in all those provinces: and having but the same diocese when he came to be a patriarch, he continued his ancient custom of ordaining all the bishops throughout the six provinces, notwithstanding that new metropolitans were set up in them. And in this the patriarch of Alexandria differed from all others: for in all other dioceses, the metropo-

^p Concil. Chalced. act. xvi. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 818. C.) Τοὺς μὲν τοι κατὰ πόλιν ὁσιωτάτους ἐπισκόπους χειροτονεῖσθαι παρὰ πάντων, ἢ τῶν πλειόνων τῆς ἐπαρχίας εὐλαβεστάτων ἐπισκόπων, τὸ κῦρος ἔχοντος τοῦ μητροπολίτου, κατὰ τὸν κείμενον τῶν πατέρων κανόνα, καὶ μηδὲν ἐπικοινωνήσας ταῖς ἐκείνων χειροτονίαις τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς βασιλίδος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

litans had the right of ordaining their suffragan bishops, which here the patriarch retained to himself, as an ancient branch of his metropolitical power. I know indeed a very learned person^a is of a different opinion: he says, “The bishop of Alexandria was rather a loser by being made a patriarch: for now according to the constitution of Church-policy, the ordination of suffragan bishops, which before belonged entirely to him, was devolved upon the several metropolitans under him.” But this assertion proceeds upon a supposition, that patriarchal rights were exactly the same in all places: which, from the instance I have given of Constantinople, appears to be otherwise; for the patriarchs of Ephesus and Cæsarea had not the ordination of their own metropolitans, but they were all subject to the bishop of Constantinople. And as to the case of Alexandria, it appears from Synesius, who was himself metropolitan of Ptolemais, that the ordination not only of the metropolitans, but of all the suffragan bishops throughout the whole district of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, belonged still to the patriarch of Alexandria. For in a letter to Theophilus, acquainting him how he and two other bishops had met at Olbiæ to make choice of a bishop, and that one Antonius was unanimously chosen by the people; he adds^r, that yet there was one thing wanting, which was more necessary than all, viz. his sacred hand to consecrate him.—Which shows, that the bishop of Alexandria still retained his ancient right of consecrating all the bishops of the Egyptian diocese.

SECT. XII.—*The first privilege of Patriarchs was to ordain all the Metropolitans of the diocese, and receive his own ordination from a Diocesan Synod.*

In other dioceses the patriarch's power was chiefly seen in the ordination or confirmation of all the metropolitans that were under him. This appears from the forecited canons^s of the Council of Chalcedon, and several of Justinian's novels;

^a Cave, Anc. Ch. Gov. c. iv. p. 159.

^r Synes. Ep. lxxvi. ad Theoph. Ἐνὸς ἔτι δέῃ, τοῦ κυριωτάτου μέν τοι, τῆς ἱερᾶς σου χείρως. (Paris. 1640. p. 223. A.)

^s Conc. Chalced. c. xxviii. vide not. (n). p. 233. act. xvi. p. 798. Χειροτονεῖ-

one of which takes notice of the bishop of Constantinople's ordaining all the metropolitans under him^t; and another gives the same power to the patriarch of Justiniana Prima^u, then newly advanced to patriarchal dignity by Justinian, because it was the place of his nativity. And that this was a peculiar privilege of patriarchs, appears further from one of the Arabic canons published by Turrian, under the name of the Nicene Canons, which were invented after the name of patriarchs was well known in the Church. The 36th of these canons, speaking of the catholic of Ethiopia^v, who was no patriarch, but subject to the patriarch of Alexandria, says, "He shall not have power to ordain archbishops, as patriarchs have; because he hath not the power or honour of a patriarch."

It was therefore the prerogative of patriarchs, (those of Ephesus and Cæsarea only excepted,) to ordain the metropolitans under them: but they themselves were to be ordained by a diocesan synod, as Justinian's forecited novel^x informs us. And this was called the canonical ordination of a patriarch. For so the Council of Constantinople, in their synodical epistle to the western bishops, prove the ordination of Flavian bishop of Antioch (who presided over all the eastern diocese^y, as Theodoret says) to be canonical, because he was ordained not

σθαι τοὺς μητροπολίτας τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

^t Justin. Novell. vii. c. 1. (Amst. 1663. p. 16.) Μήτε τὰς ὑπὸ τὸν πατρι-
αρχικὸν θρόνον τῆς εὐδαίμονος ταύτης πόλεως καθεστῶσας, ὧν τοὺς μητρο-
πολίτας αὐτὸς χειροτονεῖ, κ. τ. λ.

^u Justin. Novell. cxxx. c. iii. (Amst. 1663. p. 184.) Τὸν δὲ κατὰ καιρὸν
μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον τῆς πρώτης Ἰουστινιανῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας πατρί-
δος, ἔχειν αἰεὶ ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκείαν δικαιοδοσίαν τοὺς ἐπισκόπους τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν
Δακίας Μηδιτερράνεας καὶ Δακίας Ῥιπενσίας, Τριβαλλέας, Δαρδανίας, καὶ
Μυσίας τῆς ἀνωτέρας, καὶ Παννονίας καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τούτους χειροτονεῖσθαι,
αὐτὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκείας συνόδου χειροτονεῖσθαι.

^v Conc. Nic. Arab. c. xxxvi. Non jus habeat constituendi archiepiscopos, ut
habet patriarcha; siquidem non habet patriarchæ honorem et potestatem.

^x Novell. cxxx. See note (u).

^y Theod. H. E. lib. v. c. xxiii. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 231. A 4.) Τῆς
ἐφ' αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Φλαβιανοῦ προεδρίας ἀντέχονται πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἐώᾳ, καὶ
τὴν Ἀσιανὴν ἅπασαν καὶ τὴν Ποντικὴν, καὶ μὲν τοὶ καὶ τὴν Θρακικὴν κοινω-
νούσας ἔχει καὶ συνημμένας καὶ τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν δὲ ἅπαν ἐκεῖνον οἶδε τῶν
κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἐπισκόπων ἡγούμενον.

only by the bishops of the province, but τῆς ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως, the bishops of the whole eastern diocese^z synodically met together.

SECT. XIII.—*A second privilege was to call Diocesan Synods, and preside in them.*

2. The next privilege of patriarchs was the power of convening their metropolitans and all the provincial bishops to a diocesan synod: which privilege was founded upon the same canons that granted metropolitans authority to summon provincial synods, and preside in them. For by just analogy the patriarch was to have the same power over the metropolitans, that they had over their provincial bishops. And therefore Theodoret^a, speaking of his own attendance at the synods of his patriarch at Antioch, says, He did it in obedience to the ecclesiastical canons, which make him a criminal that is summoned to a synod, and refuses to pay his attendance at it.

SECT. XIV.—*A third privilege to receive appeals from Metropolitans and provincial Synods.*

3. Another privilege of patriarchs was the power of receiving appeals from metropolitans and provincial synods, and reversing their decrees, if they were found faulty. “If any bishop or clergyman have a controversy with the metropolitan of his province, let him have recourse to the exarch of the diocese,” says the Council of Chalcedon^b, in one canon: and in another^c, “If

^z Concil. Constant. Ep. ad Occid. ap. Theod. H. E. lib. v. c. ix. (p. 211. C 10.) Τῆς δὲ πρεσβυτάτης καὶ ὄντως ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας, ἐν ᾗ πρώτη τὸ τίμιον τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐχρημάτισεν ὄνομα, τὸν αἰδεσιμώτατον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον ἐπίσκοπον Φλαβιανὸν, οἷτε τῆς ἐπαρχίας καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως συνδραμόντες κανονικῶς ἐχειροτόνησαν, πάσης συμψήφου τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὥσπερ διὰ μιᾶς φωνῆς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμησάσης.

^a Theodoret. Ep. lxxxī. Ὑπήκουον τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ κανόνι πειθόμενος, ὃς κινδυνεύειν παρακελεύεται τὸν καλούμενον εἰς σύνοδον, καὶ παραγίνεσθαι μὴ βουλόμενον.

^b Conc. Chalced. can. ix. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 759.) Εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας μητροπολίτην ἐπίσκοπος ἢ κληρικὸς ἀμφισβητοίῃ, καταλαμβανέτω ἢ τὸν ἑξάρχον τῆς διοικήσεως, κ. τ. λ.

^c Concil. Chalced. can. xvii. (Labbe, vol. iv.) Εἰ δέ τις παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀδικοῖτο μητροπολίτου, παρὰ τῷ ἑξάρχῳ τῆς διοικήσεως, ἢ τῷ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνῳ δικάζεσθω.

any man is injured by his own bishop, or metropolitan, let him bring his cause before the exarch of the diocese, or the throne of Constantinople." These canons are adopted into the civil law, and confirmed by imperial edicts. For by one of Justinian's Constitutions^d the patriarch is to receive appeals from a provincial synod, and give a final determination to all causes that are regularly brought before him: and the regular way of proceeding is there specified, which is, that no man shall bring his cause first before the patriarch, but first before his own bishop; then before the metropolitan; after that, before a provincial synod; and last of all, before the patriarch, from whose judgment there lay no appeal. The same is repeated and confirmed by other laws^e of that emperor, which need not here be recited.

SECT. XV.—*A fourth privilege to censure Metropolitans, and also their Suffragans, when Metropolitans were remiss in censuring them.*

4. As patriarchs might receive appeals from metropolitans, so they had power to inquire into their administration, and correct and censure them, in case of heresy, or misdemeanour, or any mal-administration, which made them liable by the canons to ecclesiastical censure. Justinian made an express law to this purpose^f, that if any clergyman was accused in point of faith or morals, or transgression of the sacred canons; if

^d Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iv. c. xxix. See note (p) p. 212.

^e Justin. Novell. cxxiii. can. xxii. (Amst. 1663. p. 173.) Εἰ τινες ὁσιώτατοι ἐπίσκοποι τῆς αὐτῆς συνόδου ἀμφισβήτησιν τινα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχουσιν, εἴτε ὑπὲρ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ δικαίου, εἴτε ὑπὲρ ἄλλων τινῶν πραγμάτων· πρότερον ὁ μητροπολίτης αὐτῶν, μεθ' ἑτέρων δύο ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας συνόδου ἐπισκόπων, τὸ πρᾶγμα κρινέτω· καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐμείνῃ ἑκάτερον μέρος τοῖς κεκρίμένοις, τῇ καὶ αὐτῇ ὁ μακαριώτατος πατριάρχης ἐκείνης τῆς διοικήσεως μεταξὺ αὐτῶν ἀκροάσθω, κακεῖνα ὀριζέτω, ἅτινα τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς κανόσι καὶ τοῖς νόμοις συνάδει· οὐδενὸς μέρους κατὰ τῆς ψήφου αὐτοῦ ἀντιλέγειν δυναμένου.

^f Justin. Novell. cxxxviii. c. v. (Amst. 1663. p. 196.) Ὅσάκις ἂν τινες κατηγορηθεῖεν τῶν ἱερέων, ἢ κληρικῶν, ἢ ἡγουμένων, ἢ μοναχῶν, ἢ περὶ πίστεως, ἢ περὶ αἰσχροῦ βίου, ἢ ὡς παρὰ τοὺς θείους κανόνας τι διαπραττόμενοι, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπίσκοπος εἴη ὁ κατηγορούμενος, τὸν τούτου μητροπολίτην ἐξετάζειν τὰ λεγόμενα· εἰ δὲ μητροπολίτης εἴη, τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον, ὃν τελεῖ.

he was a bishop, he should be examined before his metropolitan; but if he was a metropolitan, then before the archbishop, that is, the patriarch to whom he was subject. By virtue of this power, Chrysostom deposed Gerontius^g, metropolitan of Nicomedia: and Atticus decided a controversy between Theodosius and Agapetus^h, who contended about the throne of Synada, the metropolis of Phrygia Pacatiana: and it were easy to add many other instances of the like nature out of the ancient councils, which concurred with the patriarchs in the exercise of this power.

Nor did this power extend only over metropolitans, but over their suffragan bishops also. For though every provincial bishop was to be tried by his own metropolitan and a provincial synod: yet in case they were negligent and remiss in executing the canons against delinquents, the patriarch had power to take the matter into his own cognizance, and censure any bishop within the limits of his jurisdiction. Thus Sozomenⁱ observes of Chrysostom, that in one visitation at Ephesus he deposed thirteen bishops of Asia, Lycia, and Phrygia, for simony, and such other corrupt practices. This was done in a synod of seventy bishops held at Ephesus, ann. 401, as Valesius^k and Du Pin observe out of Palladius, who mentions

^g Sozom. H. E. lib. viii. c. vi. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 619. A 2.) Γερόντιον ἐξεώσατο τῆς Νικομηδέων ἐκκλησίας.

^h Socrat. H. E. lib. vii. c. iii. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 278. B.) Ἀττικὸς τὸν Θεοδοσίον λόγῳ παρεμυθήσατο, πείσας ἀνεξικάκως τὸν ἡσύχιον βίον ἀσπάζεσθαι, προκρίνειν τε τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἰδίων διδάξας· γράφει τε τῷ Ἀγαπητῷ, ἔχεσθαι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς Θεοδοσίου λύπης ἀνιαρὸν ὑφορώμενον.

ⁱ Sozom. H. E. lib. viii. c. vi. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 618.) Ὁ Ἰωάννης πυθόμενος ὑπὸ ἀναξίων τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ πέριξ ἐκκλησίας ἐπιτροπεύεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν λήμμασι καὶ δωροδοκίαις, τοὺς δὲ χάριτι ὑπαγομένους τὰς ἱερωσύνας ἀπεμπωλεῖν, ἦκεν εἰς Ἐφεσον· καθελὼν τε δέκα καὶ τρεῖς ἐπισκόπους, τοὺς μὲν ἐν Λυκίᾳ καὶ Φρυγίᾳ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἑτέρους ἀντ' αὐτῶν κατέστησε.

^k Vales. Not. in loc. p. 128. A 16. Chrysostomus in Asiam profectus synodum septuaginta episcoporum Ephesi congregavit, in qua depositi sunt sex episcopi, non autem tredecim, ut ait Sozomenus.—Dans cette conjoncture le clergé d'Ephèse et les évêques de cette province s'adressèrent à Saint Chrysostome. . . Il y vint. . . y assembla un synode de soixante et dix évêques, dans lequel il déposa six évêques convaincus d'avoir donné de l'argent à Antonin pour être ordonnés, &c. (Du Pin, Bibliothèque, Paris, 1693. vol. iii. p. 9.)

the same thing, though he speaks but of six bishops then deposed.

SECT. XVI.—*A fifth privilege. Patriarchs might make Metropolitans their Commissioners, &c.*

5. The patriarch had power to delegate, or send a metropolitan into any part of his diocese, as his commissioner, to hear and determine ecclesiastical causes in his name. At least it was so in the diocese of Egypt, where Synesius was bishop. For in one of his epistles¹, writing to Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, he tells him what a difficult task he had put him upon, when he sent him through an enemy's country, to Hydrax and Palæbisca, two villages in the confines of Libya, to determine a dispute that was risen there about erecting of those places into bishops' sees: but, says he, there lies a necessity upon me νόμον ἡγεῖσθαι, to take every thing for a law that is enjoined me by the throne of Alexandria.

SECT. XVII.—*A sixth privilege. The Patriarch to be consulted by his Metropolitans in matters of any great moment.*

6. And as the metropolitans did every thing that was canonically enjoined them by the patriarch; so they did nothing of any great moment without him; paying the same deference to him that the canons obliged their suffragans to pay to them. This at least was the custom of Egypt, as appears from a noted passage related in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon^m, where we find, that when Pope Leo's epistle against Eutyches was subscribed by all the bishops in council,

¹ Synes. Epist. lxvii. p. 208. Ἐγὼ καὶ βούλομαι, καὶ ἀνάγκη μοι θεία, νόμον ἡγεῖσθαι πᾶν ὃ, τι ἀν ἐκεῖνος ὁ θρόνος θεσπίσῃ.

^m Concil. Chalced. act. iv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 512. E 9.) Ἰσασι πάντες οἱ ἀγιώτατοι ἡμῶν πατέρες, ὅτι ἐν ἅπασιν ἀναμένομεν τὴν γνώμην τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν ὀσιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου· καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν τὴν ὑμετέραν φιλανθρωπίαν, ἀναμεῖναι τὴν τοῦ ἡμετέρου προέδρου γνώμην· αὐτῷ γὰρ ἐν ἅπασιν ἀκολουθήσομεν· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Νικαέων ἅγιοι πατέρες συναγερμένοι ἐκανόνισαν τιῇ· ὥστε ἀκολουθεῖν πᾶσαν τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν διοίκησιν τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ μηδὲν δίχα αὐτοῦ πράττεσθαι παρά τινος τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπων.

the Egyptian bishops then present refused to do it, because they had then no patriarch, and it was not lawful for them to do it without the consent of a patriarch, by the rule of the Council of Nicé, which orders all the bishops of the Egyptian diocese to follow the archbishop of Alexandria, and do nothing without him. This they pleaded in council, and their plea was accepted: and a decree^{mm} passed in their favour upon it, that since this was the custom of the Egyptian diocese, to do nothing of this nature without the consent and authority of their archbishop, they should not be compelled to subscribe, till a new archbishop was chosen.

SECT. XVIII.—7. *Patriarchs to communicate to the Metropolitans such imperial laws as concerned the Church, &c.*

7. It was the patriarch's office to publish both ecclesiastical and civil laws, which concerned the Church, and to take care for the dispersion and publication of them in all churches of their diocese. The method is prescribed by Justinian in the epilogue to the sixth novelⁿ: "The patriarchs of every diocese shall publish these our laws in their respective churches, and notify them to the metropolitans under them. The metropolitans likewise shall publish them in their metropolitical churches, and make them known to the bishops under them: that so they

^{mm} Concil. Chalced. can. xxx. ex act. iv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 772.) Ἐπειδὴ οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Αἰγύπτου, οὐχ ὥς μαχόμενοι τῇ καθολικῇ πίστει ὑπογράψαι τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τοῦ ὀσιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Λέοντος ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀνεβάλοντο, ἀλλὰ φάσκοντες, ἔθος εἶναι ἐν τῇ Αἰγυπτιακῇ διοικήσει, παρὰ γνώμην καὶ διατύπωσιν τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἀξιοῦσιν ἐνδοθῆναι αὐτοῖς ἄχρι τῆς χειροτονίας τοῦ ἐσομένου τῆς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων μεγαλοπόλεως ἀρχιεπισκόπου, εὐλογον ἡμῖν ἐφάνη καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, ὥστε αὐτοῖς μένουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκείου σχήματος, ἐν τῇ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει, ἐνδοσιν παρασχεθῆναι, ἄχρις ἂν χειροτονηθῇ ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἀρχιεπίσκοπος.

ⁿ Justin. Novell. vi. Epilog. (Amst. 1663. p. 15. § α'.) Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀγιώτατοι πατριάρχαι διοικήσεως ἐκάστης ταῦτα προθήσουσιν ἐν ταῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀγιωτάταις ἐκκλησίαις, δῆλα δὲ ποιήσουσι τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις μητροπολίταις τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν διατεταγμένα· οἱ δὲ αὖθις καὶ αὐτοὶ προθήσουσιν τε αὐτὰ κατὰ τὴν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀγιωτάτην ἐκκλησίαν, τοῖς τε ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπισκόποις φανερὰ ταῦτα καταστήσουσι· κακεῖνων δὲ ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ταῦτα προθήσει· ὥστε μηδένα τῶν τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας ἀγνοεῖν τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν εἰς τιμὴν τε καὶ αὐξέσιν τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διατετυπωμένα.

may publish them in their respective churches, and no one be left ignorant in our whole empire, of what we have enacted for the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ." See also novel 42, directed to Menas, patriarch of Constantinople, concluding in the same tenorⁿⁿ.

SECT. XIX.—*The eighth privilege. Great Criminals reserved to the Patriarch's Absolution.*

8. Synesius observes another privilege in the diocese of Alexandria, which was, that in the exercise of discipline upon great criminals and scandalous offenders, a peculiar deference was paid to the patriarch, by reserving their absolution to his wisdom and discretion. As he gives an instance in one Lamponianus, a presbyter, whom he had excommunicated for abusing Jason, his fellow-presbyter. "Though," says he^o, "he expressed his repentance with tears, and the people interceded for him; yet I refused to absolve him, but remitted him over for that to the sacred see: only assuming this to myself, that if the man should happen to be in manifest danger of death, any presbyter that was present, should receive him into communion by my order. For no man shall go excommunicate out of the world by me. But in case he recovered, he should still be liable to the former penalty, and expect the ratification of his pardon from your divine and courteous soul." But whether this respect was paid by all metropolitans to their patriarch in every diocese, I have not yet observed.

ⁿⁿ (Amsterd. 1663. p. 78.) Ἡ τοίνυν σὴ μακαριότης τὰ ὀρθῶς ἡμῖν παραστάντα φυλαττέτω τε καὶ εἰς ἔργον ἀγέτω, καταπέμπουσα αὐτὰ διὰ θεοφιλῶν αὐτῆς γραμμάτων, πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν τεταγμένοις ὀσιωτάτοις μητροπολίταις ὧν ἐκάστῳ γενήσεται φροντίς ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦς τεταγμέναις ἀγιωτάταις ἐκκλησίαις ταῦτα ποιῆσαι φανερά· ὥστε μηδένα τῶν πάντων διαλαθεῖν τὰ τε τῇ ἀρχιερωσύνῃ δόξαντα, τὰ τε ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλείας κεκυρωμένα.

^o Synes. Ep. lxxvii. p. 215. Καί τοι καὶ δάκρυον ἐκ μετανοίας ἀφῆκε, καὶ δῆμος ἰκέτης αὐτὸν ἐξητήσατο· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τοῖς δεδογμένοις ἐνεκαρτέρησα, τοῦ δὲ λῦσαι τὴν αὐθεντίαν εἰς τὴν ἱερατικὴν καθέδραν ἀνέπεμψα· τοσοῦτον οὖν ἑμαυτῷ συνεχώρησα, εἰ προσπελάσειε Λαμπωνιανῷ τὸ χρεὼν, καὶ ἡ κυρία παρεῖναι δόξειε, πᾶσιν ἐφῆκα τοῖς τότε παρεσομένοις πρεσβυτέροις, κοινωνίας αὐτῷ μεταδοῦναι· μηδεὶς γὰρ ἀποθάνοι δεδεδμένος ἐμοί· ἀναρρώσθεις δὲ, πάλιν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπόδικος ἔστω, καὶ παρὰ τῆς θεσπεσίας σου καὶ φιλανθρώπου ψυχῆς περιμενέτω τῆς συγγνώμης τὸ σύνθημα. (Paris. 1640. p. 215. A 5.)

SECT. XX.—*The greater Patriarchs absolute and independent of one another.*

9. The last privilege of patriarchs was, that they were originally all co-ordinate and independent of one another. I speak now of them as they were at their first institution: for after-ages, and councils, and emperors, made great alteration in this matter. At first, learned men^p reckon there were about thirteen or fourteen patriarchs in the Church, that is, one in every capital city of each diocese of the Roman empire; the patriarch of Alexandria over the Egyptian diocese, the patriarch of Antioch over the eastern diocese, the patriarch of Ephesus over the Asiatic diocese, the patriarch of Cæsarea in Cappadocia over the Pontic diocese; Thessalonica, in Macedonia or Illyricum Orientale, Sirmium in Illyricum Occidentale, Rome in the Roman præfecture, Milan in the Italic diocese, Carthage in Afric, Lyons in France, Toledo in Spain, and York in the diocese of Britain. The greatest part of these, if not all, were real patriarchs, and independent of one another, till Rome by encroachment, and Constantinople by law, got themselves made superior to some of their neighbours, who became subordinate and subject unto them. The ancient liberties of the Britannic churches, as also the African and Italic diocese, and their long contests with Rome, before they could be brought to yield obedience to her, are largely set forth by several of our learned writers^q in particular discourses on this subject. I only here note that the eastern patriarchs, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Cæsarea, and Constantinople, were never subject to Rome, but maintained the ancient liberty, which the canons gave them. For though Cæsarea and Ephesus were made subordinate to the patriarch of Constantinople, and any one might appeal from them to him; yet the appeal was to be carried no further^r, unless it were to a general council. Which shows the independency of the greater patriarchs one of another.

^p Brerewood, Patriarch. Govern. Q. i.

^q Ibid. Q. ii. et iii. Cave, Anc. Ch. Gov. c. v.

^r See the authorities cited before § xiv. p. 237, 238.

SECT. XXI.—*The Patriarch of Constantinople dignified with the title of 'Œcumenical,' and his Church head of all Churches.*

The patriarch of Constantinople had also the honourable title of Œcumenical, or universal patriarch, given him; probably in regard of the great extent of his jurisdiction. Thus Justinian styles Menas, Epiphanius, and Anthemius, archbishops and œcumenical patriarchs, in several of his rescripts^s; and Leo gives the same title to Stephen, archbishop and universal patriarch, in ten laws^t one after another. So that it was no such new thing as Pope Gregory made it, for the patriarch of Constantinople to be styled œcumenical bishop; for that title was given him by law many years before, even from the time of Justinian: and it is a vulgar error in history to date the original of that title from the time of Gregory I., which was in use at least a whole century before. But Justinian, in another rescript, goes a little further, and says expressly^u, that Constantinople was the head of all churches. Which is as much as ever any council allowed to Rome, that is, a supremacy in its own diocese, and a precedency of honour in regard that it was the capital city of the empire. Equal privileges are granted to Constantinople upon the same ground, because it was 'new Rome, and the royal seat,' as the Councils of Constantinople^v and Chalcedon, with some others, word it.

^s Vide Justin. Novell. vii. (1663. p. 15.) Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Φλάβιος Ἰουστινιανὸς Αὐγούστος, Ἐπιφανίῳ τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ καὶ μακαριωτάτῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ τῆς εὐδαίμονος ταύτης πόλεως, καὶ οἰκουμενικῷ πατριάρχῳ.—Novell. xvi. Ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Ἀνθεμίῳ τῷ θειοτάτῳ καὶ μακαριωτάτῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ, καὶ οἰκουμενικῷ πατριάρχῳ.—Novell. xlii. Ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Μήνῃ τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ καὶ μακαριωτάτῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ καὶ οἰκουμενικῷ πατριάρχῳ.

^t Leo, Imperat. Constit. Novell. ii. (p. 239.) Ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Στεφάνῳ τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ οἰκουμενικῷ πατριάρχῳ. Sic etiam Novell. iii.—xii.

^u Justin. Cod. lib. i. tit. ii. c. xxiv. (p. 10.) Ἡ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐκκλησία πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶ κεφαλὴ.

^v Concil. Constantin. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 947.) Τὸν μὲν τοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην.—Concil. Chalced. c. xxviii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 769.) Καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασιν τὰ πρεσβεῖα καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σκοπῷ κινούμενοι οἱ ῥν'—(150) θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι, τὰ ἴσα

So that they had privileges of honour and privileges of power; the first of which were peculiar to those two sees; the other in a great measure common to them and all other patriarchal churches, except those of Ephesus and Cæsarea; which, as I have often observed, were legally made subordinate to that of Constantinople.

SECT. XXII.—*Of subordinate Patriarchs, what figure they made in the Church, and that they were not mere titular patriarchs.*

Some here may be desirous to know what authority those patriarchs had in the Church after their subordination to the other. There are who tell us that they were sunk down to the condition of metropolitans again by the Council of Chalcedon: but that is a mistake: for, 1st, they retained the name of exarchs of the diocese still, and so subscribed themselves in all councils. As in the sixth general council, Theodore subscribes himself metropolitan of Ephesus, and exarch of the Asiatic diocese^x; and Philalethes, metropolitan of Cæsarea, and exarch of the Pontic diocese. 2dly, they always sat and voted in general councils, next immediately after the five great patriarchs, Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, who by the canons^y had precedence of all the rest. Next to these, before all the metropolitans, the bishops of

πρεσβεῖα ἀπένειμαν τῷ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἀγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ, εὐλόγως κρίναντες, τὴν βασιλεία καὶ συγκλήτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύουσιν πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς, ὡς ἐκείνην, μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσιν.—Conc. Trullan. c. xxxvi. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1159. B 4.) Ὅρίζομεν, ὥστε τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύειν πρεσβείων τοῦ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης θρόνου, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἐκεῖνον μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δεύτερον μετ' ἐκεῖνον ὑπάρχοντα.—Justin. Novell. cxxxix. c. ii. (p. 184.) Θεσπίζομεν . . . τὸν ἀγιώτατον τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης πάπαν πρῶτον εἶναι πάντων τῶν ἱερέων· τὸν δὲ μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τῆς νέας Ῥώμης δευτέραν τάξιν ἐπέχειν.

^x Concil. VI. Gen. act. xviii. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1058. E 4.) Θεόδωρος ἐλέω Θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἐφεσίων μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσιανῶν ἐπαρχίας τῷδε τῷ προσφωνητικῷ ὁμοίως ὑπέγραψα.

^y Concil. Trullan. c. xxxvi. See not. (v) & add, Μεθ' ὃν ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων μεγαλοπόλεως ἀριθμείσθω θρόνος· εἶτα ὁ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως.

Ephesus and Cæsarea took place, as may be seen in the subscriptions of the fourth and sixth general councils^z. 3dly, they had power to receive appeals from metropolitans: which is evident from the same canons of Chalcedon, which give the patriarch of Constantinople power to take appeals from them^a. So that they were not mere titular patriarchs, as some in after-ages, but had the power as well as the name; the right of ordaining metropolitans, and receiving ultimate appeals only excepted. But how long they or any others retained their power, is not my business here any further to inquire.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE αὐτοκέφαλοι.

SECT. I.—*All Metropolitans anciently styled αὐτοκέφαλοι.*

AMONG other titles which were anciently given to some certain bishops, we frequently meet with the name αὐτοκέφαλοι, absolute and independent bishops: which was not the name of any one sort of bishops, but given to several upon different reasons. For first, before the setting up of patriarchs, all metropolitans were αὐτοκέφαλοι, ordering the affairs of their own province with their provincial bishops, and being accountable to no superior but a synod, and that in case of heresy, or some great crime committed against religion and the rules of the Church.

SECT. II.—*Some Metropolitans independent after the setting up of patriarchal power, as those of Cyprus, Iberia, Armenia, and the Church of Britain.*

And even after the advancement of patriarchs, several metropolitans continued thus independent; receiving their ordination from their own provincial synod, and not from any

^z Concil. Chalced. act. i. (vol. iv. p. 318.) act. iii. p. 449. Concil. VI. Gen. act. xviii. (vol. vi. p. 1058.)

^a Concil. Chalced. can. ix. et xvii. vide supra § x. not. (m) p. 233.

patriarch; terminating all controversies in their own synods, from which there was no appeal to any superior, except a general council. Balsamon reckons among this sort of *αὐτοκέφαλοι* the metropolitans of Bulgaria^b, Cyprus, and Iberia. And his observation is certainly true of the two last, who were only metropolitans, yet independent of any patriarchal or superior power. For though the bishop of Antioch laid claim to the ordination of the Cyprian bishops in the council of Ephesus, yet the council, upon hearing the case, determined against him, making a decree^c, that whereas it never had been the custom for the bishop of Antioch to ordain bishops in Cyprus, the Cyprian bishops should retain their rights inviolable, and according to canon and ancient custom, ordain bishops among themselves. And this was again repeated and confirmed by the Council of Trullo^d, even after the Cypriots were driven into another country by the incursions of the barbarians.

Others^e observe the same privilege in the Iberian churches, now commonly called Georgians; that they never were subject either to the patriarch of Constantinople or any other; but all their bishops, being eighteen in number, profess absolute obedience to their own metropolitan, without any other higher dependence or relation.

And this was the case of the Armenian churches in the time of Photius, as appears from an ancient Greek *Notitia Episcopatum*, cited by Peter de Marca^f, which says it was an

^b Balsam. in Conc. Constant. c. ii. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἑτέρας ἐκκλησίας αὐτοκεφάλους εὐρίσκεις, ὡς τῆς Βουλγαρίας, τὴν Κύπρου, τὴν Ἰβηρίας, μὴ θαυμάσῃς.

^c Conc. Ephes. act. vii. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 801.) vide § ix. not. (g) pag. 231.

^d Concil. Trullan. c. xxxix. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1159.) Τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ τῆς Κυπρίων νήσου προέδρου ἅμα τῷ οἰκείῳ λαῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλησπόντιον ἐπαρχίαν, διὰ τε τὰς βαρβαρικὰς ἐφόδους, διὰ τε τὸ τῆς ἐθνικῆς ἐλευθερωθῆναι δουλείας, καὶ καθαρῶς τοῖς σκήπτροις τοῦ Χριστιανικωτάτου κράτους ὑποταγῆναι, τῆς εἰρημένης μεταστάντος νήσου προνοίᾳ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Θεοῦ, καὶ μόχθῳ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν βασιλέως, συνορῶμεν, ὥστε ἀκαινοτόμητα φυλαχθῆναι τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τὸ πρότερον συνελθόντων θεοφόρων πατέρων τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου ἀνδρὸς παρασχεθέντα προνόμια . . . κ. τ. λ.

^e Brerewood, Inquir. c. xviii. Chytræus de Statu Ecclesiæ, etc.

^f De Primat. n. xxvii. (Venet. 1770. p. 10.) (p. 27, edit. Francof. 1708.) Χρὴ εἶδέναι, ὅτι αὐτὴ αὐτοκέφαλός ἐστι, μὴ τελοῦσα ὑπὸ ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον, ἀλλὰ τιμηθεῖσα διὰ τὸν ἅγιον Γρηγόριον, Ἀρμενοίας, ἔχουσα πόλεις καὶ κάστρα σ'.

αὐτοκέφαλος, and not subject to the throne of Constantinople, but honoured with independency in respect to St. Gregory of Armenia, their first apostle.

And this was also the ancient liberty of the Britannie Church, before the coming of Austin the monk, when the seven British bishops, which were all that were then remaining, paid obedience to the archbishop of Caer-Leon, and acknowledged no superior in spirituals above him. As Dionothus, the learned abbot of Bangor, told Austin^g in the name of all the Britannie Churches, that they owed no other obedience to the pope of Rome than they did to every godly Christian, to love every one in his degree in perfect charity: other obedience than this they knew none due to him whom he named pope, &c. But they were under the government of the bishop of Caer-Leon upon Usk, who was their overseer under God.

SECT. III.—*A third sort of αὐτοκέφαλοι, such Bishops as were subject to no Metropolitan, but only to the Patriarch of the diocese.*

Besides all these there was yet a third sort of αὐτοκέφαλοι, which were such bishops as were subject to no metropolitan, but immediately under the patriarch of the diocese, who was to them instead of a metropolitan. Thus for instance in the patriarchate or large diocese of Constantinople, the ancient Notitia, published by Leunclavius^h reckons thirty-nine such

^g Henr. Spelman. Concil. Brit. vol. i. p. 108. Be it known and without doubt unto you, that we all are, and every one of us, obedient and subjects unto the Church of God, and to the Pope of Rome, and to every godly Christian, to love every one in his degree, in perfect charity, and to help every one of them, by word and deed, to be the children of God: and other obedience than this I do not know due to him, whom you name to be Pope, nor to be the father of fathers, to be claimed and to be demanded; and this obedience we are ready to give, and to pay to him and every Christian continually. Besides, we are under the government of the bishop of Kaerleon upon Uske, who is to oversee under God over us, to cause us to keep the way spiritual. (Translated from the Welsh.)

^h Leunclav. Jus Græc. Rom. vol. i. lib. ii. p. 89. 1. Bizya. 2. Leontopolis. 3. Maronea. 4. Germia. 5. Arcadiopolis. 6. Parium. 7. Miletus. 8. Præconesus. 9. Selybria. 10. Cius. 11. Apros. 12. Cypsella. 13. Nice. 14. Neapolis. 15. Selga. 16. Cherson. 17. Messa. 18. Geralla. 19. Brysis. 20. Dercos. 21. Carabizya. 22. Lemnus. 23. Leucas. 24. Misthea. 25. Cudræ. 26. So-

bishops throughout the several provinces: that published by Dr. Beveridgeⁱ counts them forty-one, and the Notitia in Carolus à Sancto Paulo^k augments the number to forty-six. The bishop of Jerusalem is said to have had twenty-five such bishoprics in his patriarchate, and the bishop of Antioch sixteen, as Nilus Doxopatrius^l, a writer of the eleventh century, in his book of the patriarchal sees, informs us. But what time this sort of independent bishoprics were first set up in the Church, is not certain: for the earliest account we have of them, is in the Notitia of the emperor Leo Sapiens, written in the ninth century, where they are called archbishoprics, as in some other Notitias they are called metropolitanical sees; though both these names were but titular, for they had no suffragan bishops under them.

SECT. IV.—*A fourth sort of αὐτοκέφαλοι.*

Valesius mentions another sort of αὐτοκέφαλοι, which were such bishops as were wholly independent of all others. As they had no suffragans under them, so neither did they acknowledge any superior above them, whether metropolitan or patriarch, or any other whatsoever. Of this sort he reckons the bishops of Jerusalem^m, before they were advanced to patriarchal dignity: but in this instance he plainly mistakes, and contradicts St. Jerome, who says expressly, that the bishop of Jerusalem was subject to the bishop of Cæsarea as the metropolitan of all Palestine, and to the bishop of Antioch as metropolitan of the whole east; as has been noted in the last chapter. If there

teropolis. 27. Pedachthoa. 28. Germa. 29. Bosphorus. 30. Cotradis. 31. Eroina. 32. Carpathus. 33. Mesembria. 34. Gotthia. 35. Sugdaia. 36. Phullæ. 37. Ægina. 38. Pharsala. 39. Matracha.

ⁱ Bevereg. Pand. vol. ii. not. in can. xxxvi. Concil. Trullan. p. 136.

^k Car. à S. Paulo, Append. ad Geogr. pp. 8, 9, 10.

^l Nilus Doxopatrius ap. Le Moyne, Varia Sacra, vol. i. (p. 232.) Ἔχει δὲ καὶ αὐτοκεφάλους ἐπισκοπὰς εἴκοσι πέντε, μὴ ἐχούσας ὑφ' ἑαυτὰς ἐπίσκοπον, ὑποκείνται δὲ τῷ θρόνῳ Ἱεροσολύμων α'. τὴν Διοσπόλεως ἦτοι Γεοργίου πόλεως, κ. τ. λ.

^m Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. v. c. xxiii. (Amstel. p. 92. C 6.) Hierosolymorum episcopis honor semper est habitus, utpote apostolicæ ecclesiæ, quæ prima episcopum habuisset. Itaque quodam honoris privilegio fruebantur ejus sedis episcopi; nec Cæsariensi episcopo subjacebant, sed erant αὐτοκέφαλοι. Vide supra, cap. xviii. § 7.

were any such bishops as he speaks of, they must be such as the bishop of Tomis in Scythia, who, as Sozomenⁿ notes, was the only bishop of all the cities of that province: so that he could neither have any suffragans under him, nor metropolitan above him. But such instances are very rare, and we scarce meet with such another example in all the history of the Church. I have now completed the account of primitive bishops, and showed the distinctions which were among them in the external polity of the Church: I proceed in the next place therefore to consider the second order of the clergy, which is that of presbyters.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF PRESBYTERS.

SECT. I.—*The meaning of the name Presbyter.*

THE name πρεσβύτεροι, presbyters, or elders, is a word borrowed from the Greek translation of the Old Testament, where it commonly signifies rulers and governors, being (as St. Jerome^a notes) a name of office and dignity, and not a mere indication of men's age: for elders were chosen, not by their age, but by their merits and wisdom. So that as a senator among the Romans, and an alderman in our own language, signifies a person of such an order and station, without any regard to his age; in like manner, a presbyter or elder in the Christian Church is one who is ordained to a certain office, and authorized by his quality, not by his age, to discharge the several duties of that office and station wherein he is placed.

ⁿ Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxi. (Amstel. p. 540. B 2.) Μητρόπολις δέ ἐστι Τόμις.. εἰσέτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔθος παλαιὸν ἐνθάδε κρατεῖ, τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους ἕνα τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκοπεῖν.—Ibid. lib. vii. c. xix. 'Αμέλει Σκύθαι πολλαὶ πόλεις ὄντες, ἕνα πάντες ἐπίσκοπον ἔχουσι. (p. 595, at bottom.)

^a Hieron. in Isai. lib. ii. c. iii. In Scripturis sanctis presbyteros merito et sapientia eligi, non ætate. (Venet. Vallars. vol. iv. p. 48. D.)

SECT. II.—*Apostles and Bishops sometimes called Presbyters.*

And in this large, extensive sense, it is readily granted by all, that bishops are sometimes called presbyters in the New Testament: for the apostles themselves do not refuse the title. On the other hand, it is the opinion of many learned men, both ancient^b and modern^c, that presbyters were sometimes called bishops, whilst the bishops that were properly such, were distinguished by other titles, as that of chief priests and apostles, &c.; of which I have given a particular account in one of the preceding chapters, and there evinced that they who maintained this identity of names did not thence infer an identity of offices, but always esteemed bishops and presbyters to be distinct orders.

^b Chrysost. Hom. i. in Philipp. i. (p. 8, ed. Francof.) (tom. vi. Paris. 1636. p. 1205.) Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλοῦντο ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, πρεσβύτεροι. Item Homil. xi. in 1 Timoth. iii. (vol. vi. p. 1574.) See chap. iii. § v. note (v) p. 85.—Theodoret. in Phil. i. 1. (Schulze, Halæ, vol. iii. p. 445.) Ἐπισκόπους δὲ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καλεῖ· ἀμφοτέρα γὰρ εἶχον κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τὰ ὀνόματα.—Id. in Phil. ii. 25. (vol. iii. p. 459.) Πολλὰ καὶ τούτου κατορθώματα διεξῆλθεν, οὐκ ἀδελφὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεργὸν καὶ συστρατιώτην ἀποκαλέσας. Ἀπόστολον δὲ αὐτὸν κέκληκεν αὐτῶν, ὡς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῶν ἐμπεπιστευμένον· ὡς εἶναι δῆλον, ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦτον ἐτέλουν εἰ ἐν τῇ προοιμίᾳ κληθέντες ἐπίσκοποι, τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου δηλονότι τὴν τάξιν πληροῦντες.—Id. in 1 Tim. iii. 1. (vol. iii. p. 652.) Ἐπίσκοπον δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸν πρεσβύτερον λέγει.—Ambrosias. in Eph. iv. 11. Timotheum presbyterum a se creatum episcopum vocat, quia primum presbyteri episcopi appellabantur.—Hieron. ad Tit. i. (Venet. Vallars. vol. vii. p. 695.) Hæc propterea, ut ostenderemus apud veteres eosdem fuisse presbyteros quos et episcopos.—Id. Ep. lxxxiii. ad Ocean. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 415. a.) Apud veteres iidem episcopi et presbyteri.—Id. Ep. lxxxv. ad Evang. [Evagr.] (ibid. p. 1081. A.) Cum apostolus perspicue doceat, eosdem presbyteros, quos episcopos, etc.

^c Usser. Dissert. in Ignat. c. xlix. p. 232. ap. Coteler. (fol. cxxxvii. edit. Oxon. 1644.) In Ephesina speciatim ecclesia, ipsis apostolis adhuc superstibus, et plures fuisse presbyteros, et præsedisse eis unum, quem ecclesiæ illius 'Angelum' Servator, 'Episcopum,' primitivæ ecclesiæ patres (in quibus primas tenet Ignatius) appellarunt, jamdudum a Jo. Rainoldo nostro est observatum.—It. Orig. of Bish. and Metrop. p. 55.—Coteler. not. in Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. n. i. (vol. i. p. 17.) Ex eo, quod primis ecclesiæ temporibus, nomina 'episcopus' et 'presbyter' communia erant primo et secundo ordini sacerdotum, in epistolis autem Ignatianis semper episcopi appellantur, qui sunt sacerdotes summi, presbyteri vero, qui sunt minores sacerdotes; argumentum palmarium contra earum epistolarum veritatem et antiquitatem ducere se putant: etc.

SECT. III.—*The original of Presbyters properly so called.*

Here then, taking presbyters in the strictest sense, for those only of the second order, we must first inquire into their original. The learned Dr. Hammond^d advances an opinion about this matter, which is something singular. He asserts, that in Scripture times the name of presbyters belonged principally, if not alone, to bishops; and that there is no evidence that any of this second order were then instituted, though soon after, he thinks, before the writing of Ignatius's epistles, there were such instituted in all churches. The authorities he builds upon, are Clemens Romanus, and Epiphanius, who say, that in some churches at first there were bishops and deacons, without any presbyters. But I conceive it will not hence follow, that it was so in all churches: nor does Epiphanius maintain that, but the contrary; that as in some churches^e there were only bishops and deacons, so in others there were only presbyters and deacons; and that in large and populous churches, the apostles settle both bishops, presbyters, and deacons; as at Ephesus, where Timothy was bishop, and had presbyters subject to him, which Epiphanius proves from Scripture: "That a bishop and presbyter," says he, "are not the same, the apostle informs us, when, writing to Timothy who was a bishop, he bids him not rebuke an elder, but entreat him as a father. How comes the bishop to be concerned not to rebuke an elder, if he had no power over an elder? In like manner the apostle says, Against an elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses: but he never said to any presbyter, Receive not an accusation against a bishop; nor did he ever

^d Hammond. Annot. on Act. xi. 30.

^e Epiph. Hæres. lxxv. Aërian. n. v. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 909. D 7.) Καὶ ὅτι μὲν οὐ δύναται ταυτὸν εἶναι, διδάσκει ὁ θεῖος λόγος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου, τίς μὲν ἐστὶν ἐπίσκοπος, τίς δὲ ἐστὶ πρεσβύτερος, ὡς λέγει Τιμοθέῳ, ἐπισκόπων ὄντι, Πρεσβύτερον μὴ ἐπιπλήξῃς, ἀλλὰ παρακάλει ὡς πατέρα· τί εἶχε πρᾶγμα, ἐπίσκοπον πρεσβυτέρῳ μὴ ἐπιπλήττειν, εἰ μὴ ἦν ὑπὲρ τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἔχων τὴν ἐξουσίαν; ὡς καὶ πάλιν λέγει, Κατὰ πρεσβυτέρου μὴ ταχέως κατηγορίαν δέχου, εἰ μὴ τι ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν μαρτύρων· καὶ οὐκ εἶπέ τινι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, Μὴ δέξῃ κατηγορίαν κατὰ ἐπισκόπου, οὐδὲ ἔγραψε [περὶ] τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τινὶ μὴ ἐπιπλήττειν ἐπισκόπῳ.

write to any presbyter, not to rebuke a bishop." This plainly implies, that in all such large and populous churches as that of Ephesus, according to Epiphanius, all the three orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, were settled by the apostles; though the smaller churches were differently supplied at first, some only with presbyters and deacons, before bishops were constituted in them, and others only with bishops and deacons, without any presbyters. For all churches had not immediately all the same church officers upon their first foundation, but time was required to complete their constitution; as Bishop Pearson^f has observed on this very passage of Epiphanius.

SECT. IV.—*The powers and privileges of Presbyters.*

Admitting then that presbyters, as well as bishops, were originally settled in the Church by the Apostles, we are next to inquire into the power and privileges that were proper to their order. And here I shall have occasion to say the less, having already showed^{ff} what offices they might perform by virtue of their ordinary power, only acting in dependence on, and subordination to, their bishop, as the supreme minister of the Church. They might baptize, preach, consecrate, and administer the eucharist, &c. in the bishop's absence; or in his presence, if he authorized and deputed them, as has been noted before. They might also reconcile penitents, and grant them absolution in the bishop's absence: and some think they had power likewise to confirm in cases of necessity, by special license and delegation. But these two things will be considered and discussed more particularly hereafter, when we come to treat of discipline and confirmation. What is further to be noted in this place, is the honour and respect that was paid to them, acting in conjunction with their bishop, who scarce did any thing in the administration and government of the Church without the advice, consent, and amicable concurrence of his presbyters.

^f Pearson. Vindic. Ignat. part. ii. c. xiii. p. 412. apud Cotel. (p. 181, edit. Cantabrig.) In aliquibus ecclesiis ab origine fuisse presbyteros, nondum constitutis episcopis, in aliquibus episcopos, nondum additis presbyteris.

^{ff} See before, chap. iii.

SECT. V.—*Presbyters allowed to sit with the Bishop on thrones in the church.*

Hence it was that presbyters were allowed to sit together with the bishop in the church (which privilege was never allowed to deacons): and their seats were dignified with the name of thrones as the bishop's was, only with this difference, that his was the high throne, and theirs the second thrones. In allusion to this, Gregory Nazianzen^g, speaking of his own ordination to the degree of presbyter, says, 'his father who ordained him, brought him by violence to the second thrones.' And in his vision concerning the church of Anastasia^h, he thus represents the several orders of the Church: "Methought I saw myself (the bishop) sitting on the high throne, and the presbyters, that is, the guides of the Christian flock, sitting on both sides by me on lower thrones, and the deacons standing by them." By this we may understand what Constantine meant in his letterⁱ to Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse, when, giving him a summons to the Council of Arles, he bids him also bring with him two of the second thrones, that is, two presbyters; and what Eusebius means by those words in his panegyric^k upon the temple of Paulinus, where he says, "He beautified and adorned the structure with thrones set up on high, for the honour of the presidents or rulers." By which it is plain he means the thrones of the presbyters, as well as the bishop: for they were both exalted above the seats of the common people. Nay, both the name and thing was then so usual, that Aërius

^g Gregor. Nazian. de Vita, p. 6. Κάμπτει βιαίως εἰς θρόνους τοὺς δευτέρους.

^h Id. in Somnium de Templo Anastasiæ, (Colon. 1690. tom. ii. p. 78.)

"Εξεσθαι δοκέεσκον ὑπέρθρονος, οὐχ ὑπέροφρος,

Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὄναρ τῖον ἀγνηορίην.

Οἱ δὲ μοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὑφεδριόωντο γεραιοί,

Ποίμνης ἡγεμόνες, ἔκκριτος ἡλικίη.

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ὑποδρηστῆρες ἐν εἵμασι παμφανόωσιν

"Εστασαν, ἀγγελικῆς εἰκόνες ἀγλαΐης.

Id. Orat. xx. de Laudib. Basilii, p. 340. A 9. Ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ περιῆν καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, εἰ καὶ τῆς καθέδρας εἶχε τὰ δεύτερα.

ⁱ Ap. Euseb. lib. x. c. v. (Vales. p. 321. A 11.) Συζεύξας σεαυτῷ καὶ δύο γέ τινας τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου θρόνου, οὓς ἂν σὺ αὐτὸς ἐπιλέξασθαι κρίνης.

^k Euseb. lib. x. c. iv. p. 312. B 2. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὧδε καὶ τὸν νεῶν ἐπιτελέσας, θρόνοις τε τοῖς ἀνωτάτω εἰς τὴν τῶν προέδρων τιμὴν...κοσμήσας.

drew it into an argument¹, to prove the identity and parity of bishops and presbyters: "A bishop sits upon a throne, and so does a presbyter likewise." Which though it be but a very lame and foolish argument to prove what he intended, yet it is a plain intimation of what has here been noted to have been the then known custom and practice of the Church: and little regard is to be had to those modern authors who pretend to say, that presbyters had not power to sit in the presence of their bishops; which is confuted by the acts and canons^m almost of every council, and the writings of every ancient author, in which nothing more commonly occurs than the phrases, "Consessus presbyterorum," and "sedere in presbyterio," importing the custom and privilege whereof we are now speaking.

SECT. VI.—*The form of their sitting in a semicircle: whence they were called Corona Presbyterii.*

There is one thing further to be noted concerning the manner of their sitting, which was, on each hand of the bishop, in the form or figure of a semicircle; which is described by the authorⁿ of the Constitutions under the name of Clemens

¹ Epiph. Hæres. lxxv. Aërian. n. iii. Καθίσταται ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, καθίσταται καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος. (p. 906, at bottom.)

^m Concil. Carth. IV. c. xxxiv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1203.) Ut episcopus quolibet loco sedens, stare presbyterum non patiat. — Can. xxxv. Ut episcopus in ecclesia, et in consessu presbyterorum, sublimior sedeatur. — Euseb. lib. v. c. xx. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 153. B.) Καὶ δύναμαι διαμαρτύρεσθαι ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἀκηκόει ἐκεῖνος ὁ μακάριος καὶ ἀποστολικὸς πρεσβύτερος, ἀνακράξας ἂν καὶ ἐμφράξας τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τὸ σύννηθες εἰπὼν· ὦ καλὲ Θεέ, εἰς οἷους με καιροὺς τετήρηκας, ἵνα τούτων ἀνέχωμαι· πεφεύγει ἂν καὶ τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος ἢ ἐστὼς τῶν τοιούτων ἀκηκόει λόγων. — Origen. Hom. ii. in Cantic. (vol. i. p. 577, edit. Basil. 1557.) Videt et sedem puerorum ejus, ecclesiasticum puto ordinem dicit, qui in episcopatus vel presbyterii sedibus habentur. — Concil. Laodic. c. lvi. (Labbe, vol. i. Conc. p. 1505.) Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ πρεσβυτέρους πρὸ τῆς εἰσόδου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσιέναι καὶ καθέζεσθαι ἐν τῷ βήματι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσιέναι. — Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 294. D 8.) Κεῖσθω μέσος ὁ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου θρόνος· παρ' ἐκάτερα δὲ αὐτοῦ καθεζέσθω τὸ πρεσβυτέριον. — Conc. Ancyrr. c. xviii. Ἐὰν μὲν τοι βούλονται εἰς τὸ πρεσβυτέριον καθέζεσθαι, κ. τ. λ. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1464.)

ⁿ Constit. lib. ii. c. lvii. See preceding note.

Romanus, and Gregory Nazianzen, and others. Whence, as the bishop's throne is called, 'the middle throne or the middle seat,' by Theodoret^o and the Constitutions; so for the same reason, Ignatius^p and the Constitutions^q term the presbyters 'the spiritual crown or circle of the presbytery, and the crown of the Church:' unless we will take this for a metaphorical expression, to denote only that presbyters, united with their bishop, were the glory of the Church.

SECT. VII.—*Presbyters the Ecclesiastical Senate, or Council of the Church, whom the Bishop consulted and advised with upon all occasions.*

This honour was done them in regard to their authority in the Church, wherein they were considered as a sort of ecclesiastical senate, or council to the bishop, who scarce did any thing of great weight and moment without asking their advice, and taking their consent, to give the greater force and authority to all public acts done in the name of the Church. Upon which account, St. Chrysostom^r and Synesius^s style them the court or 'Sanhedrim' of the presbyters; and Cyprian^t the 'sacred

^o Theod. Hist. lib. v. c. iii. (Vales. Amstel. p. 202. A 6.) Εἰ δὲ ὁ μέσος θῶκος τὴν ἔριν γεννᾷ, ἐγὼ καὶ ταύτην ἐξελάσαι πειράσομαι.

^p Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. n. xiii. (Coteler. Amsterd. vol. ii. p. 62.) Μετὰ τοῦ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτου ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀξιοπλόκου καὶ πνευματικοῦ στεφάνου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου [πρεσβυτερίου] ὑμῶν.

^q Constit. lib. ii. c. xxviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 265. C 6.) Τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις ὥς ἂν κάμνωσι περὶ τὸν τῆς διδασκαλίας λόγον, διπλῇ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀφοριζέσθω ἡ μοῖρα εἰς χάριν τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου ἀποστόλων· ὧν καὶ τὸν τόπον φυλάσσουν, ὥς σύμβουλοι τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας στέφανος.

^r Chrysost. de Sacerdot. lib. iii. c. xv. Εἰς πολλὰ σχίζονται μέρη· καὶ οὔτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὔτε πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν λαχόντα τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν, τὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων συνέδριον ὁμογνωμονοῦν ἴδοι τις ἂν.

^s Synes. Ep. lxvii. ad Theoph. p. 209. Ἐλέγετο τοίνυν καὶ ἐν συνεδρίῳ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ δημοσίᾳ, κ. τ. λ.

^t Cyprian. Epist. lv. al. lix. ad Cornel. (Oxon. 1682. p. 139.) (p. 86, edit. Paris. 1666.) Quid superest, quam ut Ecclesia Capitolio cedat, et recedentibus sacerdotibus, ac Domini altare removentibus, in cleri nostri sacrum venerandumque consessum, simulacra atque idola cum aris suis transeant?—Concil. Carth. IV. c. xxxv. Episcopus in consessu presbyterorum sublimior sedeat, etc.

and venerable bench of the clergy ;' St. Jerome^u and others^v, 'the Church's senate, and the senate of Christ ;' Origen^x and the author of the Constitutions^y, 'the bishop's counsellors, and the council of the Church ;' because though the bishop was prince and head of this ecclesiastical senate, and nothing could regularly be done without him, yet neither did he ordinarily do any public act, relating to the government or discipline of the Church, without their advice and assistance.

SECT. VIII.—*Some evidences, out of Ignatius and Cyprian, of the power and prerogatives of Presbyters in conjunction with the Bishop.*

The first ages afford the most pregnant proofs of this divine harmony between the bishop and his presbyters. For any one that ever looked into the writings of Cyprian, must acknowledge, that at Rome and Carthage, the two great Churches of the west, all things were thus transacted by joint consent : the bishop with his clergy did (*communi consilio ponderare*^z) weigh things by common advice and deliberation ; whether it was in the ordinations of the clergy ; (for Cyprian would not so much as ordain a subdeacon or a reader without their consent ;) or whether it was in the exercise of discipline and reconciliation of penitents, Cyprian declares^a his resolution to do all by common consent. And so Cornelius at the same time acted at Rome : for when Maximus and the rest of the confessors, who had sided with Novatian, came forward and made confession of their error, and desired to be admitted

^u Hieron. in Iesa. iii. vol. v. p. 16. Et nos habemus in Ecclesia senatum nostrum, cœtum presbyterorum. (Venet. Vallars. iv. p. 51. A.)

^v Pius, Epist. ii. ad Just. Vienn. Salutat te senatus pauper Christi apud Romam constitutus.

^x Orig. in Matth. (citante Pearsonio apud Coteler. tom. ii. p. 321.) Βουλὴν ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ βουλῇ τῇ καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν συνεξετάζων. — Pearson. Vindic. Ignat. ibid. Hi autem βουλευταὶ Christiani sane fuerunt presbyteri.

^y Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. xxviii. (vol. i. p. 265. C 10.) Σύμβουλοι ἐπισκόπου . . . συνέδριον καὶ βουλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

^z Cypr. Ep. xxxiii. al. xxxviii. (Oxon. p. 74.) In ordinationibus clericis solemus vos ante consulere, et mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare.

^a Id. Ep. vi. al. xiv. (Oxon. p. 31.) Ut ea quæ circa ecclesiæ gubernaculum utilitas communis exposcit, tractare simul et plurimorum consilio examinata limare possemus.

again into the communion of the Church, Cornelius would do nothing in it, till he had first called a presbytery, and taken both their advice and consent in the affair^b, that he might proceed according to their unanimous resolution. Cyprian, in several other of his epistles^c, speaks of the same deference paid to his presbytery: and in one place he more particularly tells them, that it was a law and a rule that he had laid down to himself^d, from the first entrance on his bishopric, that he would do nothing without their advice, and the consent of the people. Epiphanius observes the same practice at Ephesus in the condemnation of Noëtus: for first, he says, he was convened before the presbytery^e, and then again, upon a relapse, by them expelled the Church. Which at least must mean, that the bishop and his presbyters joined together in this ecclesiastical censure. In like manner speaking of the first condemnation of Arius, he says, Alexander bishop of Alexandria^f called a presbytery against him, before whom, and some bishops then present, he examined him, and expelled him. Cotelierius, in his notes upon the Constitutions, has published, from an ancient manuscript, one of the forms of Arius's deposition^g, which may give some light to this matter. For thereby it appears, that when Alexander sent forth his circular letters to all other

^b Cornel. Ep. xlv. al. xlix. ad Cypr. (Oxon. p. 92.) *Omni actu ad me perlato placuit contrahi Presbyterium . . . ut firmato consilio, quid circa personam eorum observari deberet, consensu omnium statueretur.*

^c Cypr. Ep. xxiv. al. xxix. ad Cler. tot. Ep. xxxii. ad Cler. (Oxon. p. 65.) *De cæteris quæ agenda erunt, sicut et collegis meis plurimis scripsi, plenius consilio communi tractabimus, quando convenire in unum, permittente Domino, cœperimus.*

^d Cypr. Ep. vi. al. xiv. (Oxon. p. 33.) *Quando a primordio episcopatus mei statuerim, nihil sine consilio vestro, et sine consensu plebis, me privata sententia gerere; sed quum ad vos per Dei gratiam venero . . . in commune tractabimus.*

^e Epiph. Hæres. lvii. n. i. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 480. A 6.) *Ἐπὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου ἀγόμενος.—Ibid. Οἱ αὐτοὶ πρεσβύτεροι ἐξέωσαν αὐτὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας.*

^f Epiph. Hæres. lxix. n. iii. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 729. D 4.) *Συγκαλεῖται τὸ πρεσβυτέριον ὃ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἐπισκόπους παρόντας, καὶ ἀνέτασιν τούτου ποιῆται καὶ ἀνάκρισιν· ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἐπείσθη τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ἐξεοῖ αὐτὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας.*

^g Depositio Arii ap. Cotelier. (vol. i. p. 411.) *Not. in Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xxviii. Ἴνα καὶ τὰ νῦν γραφόμενα γνῶτε, τὴν τε ἐν τούτοις συμφωνίαν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιδείξησθε, καὶ τῇ καθαιρέσει τῶν περὶ Ἀρείον σύμψηφοι γένησθε.*

bishops against Arius, he first summoned all the presbyters and deacons of Alexandria, and region of Mareotes, not only to hear what he had written, but also to testify their consent to it, and declare that they agreed with him in the condemnation of Arius. From whence we learn, that though the deposition was properly the bishop's act, yet to have it done with the greater solemnity, the consent both of the presbyters and deacons was required to it. And thus it was also in the condemnation of Origen: the Council of Alexandria, which expelled him the city, was composed both of bishops and presbyters, who decreed that he should remove from Alexandria, and neither teach nor inhabit there; as Pamphilus^h relates in the second book of his Apology for Origen, some fragments of which are preserved in Photius. The Council of Rome, that was gathered against Novatian, consisted of sixty bishops, and many more presbyters and deaconsⁱ. The first Council of Antioch, that was held against Paulus Samosatensis, had also presbyters and deacons in it^k; the name of one of them, Malchion^{kk}, a presbyter of Antioch, is still remaining in the synodical epistle among the bishops in the inscription.

From all which it appears, that this was an ancient privilege of presbyters to sit and deliberate with bishops, both in their consistorial and provincial councils. And if we ascend yet higher, we shall find matters always thus transacted in the Church *ab origine*; as appears from Ignatius, whose writings (as a learned man observes^l,) speak as much for the honour of

^h Pamphil. Apol. ap. Phot. Cod. cxviii. p. 298. Σύνοδος ἀθροίζεται ἐπισκόπων καὶ τινῶν πρεσβυτέρων κατ' Ὁριγένους.

ⁱ Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. (Vales. Amstel. p. 197. A.) Ἐφ' ᾧ συνόδου μεγίστης ἐπὶ Ῥώμης συγκροτηθείσης ἐξήκοντα μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισκόπων πλειόνων δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ διακόνων, κ. τ. λ.

^k Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxviii. (Vales. Amstel. p. 227. B.) Μυρίους τε ἄλλους οὐκ ἂν ἀπορῆσαι τις ἅμα πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις, τῆς αὐτῆς ἕνεκεν αἰτίας ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ πόλει τηνικάδε συγκροτηθέντας ἀπαριθμούμενος.

^{kk} Euseb. ibid. c. xxx. (Vales. Amstel. p. 228. B 5.) Ἐλενος καὶ Ὑμέναιος καὶ Θεόφιλος, καὶ Θεότεκνος, καὶ Μάξιμος, Πρόκλος, Νικόμας, καὶ Αἰλιανός, καὶ Παῦλος, καὶ Βώλανος, καὶ Πρωτογένης, καὶ Ἰέραξ, καὶ Εὐτύχιος, καὶ Θεόδωρος, καὶ Μαλχίων, καὶ Λούκιος.

^l Pearson. Vindic. Ignat. part. ii. c. xvi. p. 428, ap. Coteler. (p. 241, edit. Cantabrig. 1672.) Si quid ego in hac re intelligo, quicumque presbyteriali dignitati auctoritatieque maxime student, non habent suæ existimationis firmitus aut solidius fundamentum, quam epistolas S. Ignatii nostri: neque enim in ullo

the presbytery, as they do for the superiority of episcopacy; no ancient author having given so many great and noble characters of the presbytery, as he does.—For which reason it concerns those, who are most zealous for the honour and authority of presbyters, to look upon Ignatius as one of the best asserters and defenders of their power and reputation. For he always joins the bishops and presbyters together, as presiding over the Church; the one in the place of God and Jesus Christ; and the other as the great council of God in the room of the apostles. Thus in his epistle^m to the Ephesians, he bids them be subject to the bishop and the presbytery: and in his epistle to the Magnesiansⁿ, he commends Sotion the deacon, because he was subject to the bishop as the gift of God, and to the presbytery as the law of Christ. And a little after in the same epistle, he speaks of the bishop as presiding^o in the place of God; and the presbyters, in the place of the council of apostles. So in his epistle to the Trallians^p, he bids them be subject to the presbytery, as to the apostles of Jesus Christ. And again, ‘Reverence the presbyters^q, as the council of God, and the united company of apostles: without which no Church is called a Church.’ Several other passages of the same importance may be seen in his epistles to Polycarp and the Church of Smyrna^r.

vere antiquo scriptore extra has epistolas tot ac tanta presbyteriatus præconia invenient, neque illius ordinis honorem sine episcopatus prærogativa ullibi constitutum reperient.

^m Ignat. ad Ephes. n. ii. (Coteler. Antverp. vol. ii. p. 46.) Ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ πρεσβυτερίῳ.

ⁿ Ep. ad Magnes. n. ii. (ibid. p. 35.) Ὅτι ὑποτάσσεται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς χάριτι Θεοῦ, καὶ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς νόμῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Coteler reads, ὅτι ὑποτάσσεται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, χάριτι Θεοῦ, ἐν νόμῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

^o Epist. ad Magnes. n. vi. (ibid. p. 57.) Προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων.

^p Ep. ad Trall. n. ii. (ibid. p. 65.) Ὑποτάσσεσθε τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

^q Ibid. n. iii. (ibid. p. 64.) Ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ, καὶ σύνδεσμος ἀποστόλων Χριστοῦ· χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται [or, ἐκλεκτὴ οὐκ ἐστίν].

^r Epist. ad Polyc. n. vi. (ibid. p. 96.) Ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτερίῳ, διακόνοις, κ. τ. λ. — Ep. ad Smyrn. n. viii. (ibid. p. 90.) Ἀκολουθεῖτε τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις.

SECT. IX.—*The power of Presbyters thought by some to be a little diminished in the fourth century.*

And indeed all his epistles are so full of great elogiums of the presbytery, as acting in the nature of an ecclesiastical senate together with the bishop, that our late learned defender of those epistles thence concludes, that the power and privileges of presbyteries was greater in the second century, when Ignatius lived, than in the fourth age of the Church, when he thinks the power and authority of presbyteries was a little sunk and diminished over all the world, and even at Alexandria itself, where it had most of all flourished. And this he makes an argument of the antiquity of those epistles, that they were the genuine product of Ignatius; because no one of the fourth age would have given such encomiums of the presbytery, or armed them with so great authority and power^s. I shall not dispute this matter, nor enter upon any nice comparison of the different powers of presbyters in these two ages, but only represent to the reader what privileges still remained to them in the fourth century.

SECT. X.—*Yet still they were admitted to join with the Bishop in the Imposition of Hands in the ordination of Presbyters.*

And here it cannot be denied, but that in this age, in the ordination of a presbyter, all the presbyters that were present were allowed, nay even required, to join with the bishop in imposition of hands upon the party to be ordained. That it was so in the African Churches, is beyond all dispute: for in the fourth Council of Carthage^t, there is a canon expressly enjoining it: ‘When a presbyter is ordained, while the bishop pronounces the benediction, and lays his hand upon his head, all the presbyters that are present shall lay their hands by the

^s Pearson. Vindic. Ignat. part. ii. c. xvi. p. 428, ap. Coteler. (p. 220, 221, edit. Cantabrig.) Nemo tam seris ecclesiæ temporibus presbyterium tot laudibus cumlasset, tanta auctoritate armasset, cujus potestas ea tempestate, etiam Alexandriæ, ubi maxime floruerat, tantopere imminuta est.

^t Concil. Carth. IV. c. iii. (ii. 1199.) Presbyter cum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente, et manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri qui præsentibus sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant.

bishop's hand upon his head also.' And this in all likelihood was the universal practice of the Church. For in the Constitutions of the Church of Alexandria ^u, there is a rule to the same purpose. In the Latin Church, the decree of the Council of Carthage seems also to have prevailed, because it is inserted into their canon law by Gratian ^v, and other collectors, from whence it became the common practice of our own Church, which is continued to this day. Some ancient canons ^x indeed say, that one bishop alone shall ordain a presbyter: but that is not said to exclude presbyters from assisting, but only to put a difference between the ordination of a bishop and a presbyter: for the ordination of a bishop could not regularly be performed without the concurrence of three bishops with the metropolitan; but a presbyter might be ordained by a single bishop, without any other assistance, save that of his presbyters joining with him. And this plainly appears to have been the practice of the fourth century.

SECT. XI.—*And allowed to sit in Consistory with their Bishops.*

It is further evident from the records of the same age, that presbyters had still the privilege of sitting in consistory with their bishops. For pope Siricius, in the latter end of this century, acted as Cornelius had done before him. When he went about to condemn the errors of Jovinian, he first called a presbytery ^y, and with their advice censured his doctrines;

^u Eccl. Alex. Constit. c. vi. ap. Bevereg. Not. in Can. Apost. c. ii. Cum vult episcopus ordinare presbyterum, manum suam capiti ejus imponat, simulque omnes presbyteri istud tangerent. (Coteler. vol. i. p. 455.)

^v Gratian. Dist. xxiii. c. viii. Presbyter cum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente, et manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri, qui praesentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant. Ivo [Ives, or Yves] part vi. c. xii.

^x Can. Apost. c. ii. Πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ἐπισκόπου χειροτονείσθω.—Conc. Carth. III. c. xlv. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 1176.) Episcopus unus esse potest, per quem, dignatione divina, presbyteri multi constitui possunt.

^y Siric. Ep. ii. ad Eccles. Mediol. (vol. ii. Concil. p. 1024. A 9.) Facto presbyterio constitit doctrinae nostrae, id est, Christianae legi esse contraria . . . Unde omnium nostrum tam presbyterorum et diaconorum, quam etiam totius Cleri una suscitata fuit sententia [unam scitote fuisse sententiam,] ut Jovinianus, Auxentius, etc., in perpetuum damnati, extra ecclesiam remanerent.

and then with the consent of the deacons also, and the rest of the clergy, expelled him the Church. And so likewise Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, proceeded against Andronicus, the impious and blaspheming prefect of Pentapolis. He first laid open his horrible crimes before the consistory of his Church, and then with their consent pronounced the sentence of excommunication against him; which he therefore calls the act of the consistory^z, or Sanhedrim of Ptolemais, in the circular letters which he wrote to give notice of his excommunication to other Churches. Baronius, indeed, and the common editors of the councils, reckon this by mistake among the provincial synods: but it appears evidently from Synesius, that it was only the private consistory of the Church of Ptolemais: for he says expressly^a, ‘The Church of Ptolemais gave notice of this excommunication to all her sister Churches throughout the world, requiring them to hold Andronicus excommunicated, and not to despise her act, as being only a poor Church in a small city.’ Which agrees very well with the state of a private consistory, but is not spoken in the style of a provincial council.

SECT. XII.—*As also in Provincial Councils.*

Yet this is not said with any design to deny that presbyters were allowed to sit in provincial synods: for there are undeniable evidences of their enjoying this privilege within the compass of the fourth century, and after-ages also. In the Council of Eliberis, which was held in the beginning of the fourth age, there were no less than thirty-six presbyters^b sitting together with the bishops, as is expressly said in the Acts of the council. The first Council of Arles, called by Con-

^z Synes. Ep. lvii. p. 190. (edit. Paris. p. 201. B.) *Νυνὶ δὲ οἷς τὸ συνέδριον μετῆλθε τὴν Ἀνδρονίκου μανίαν, ἀκούσατε.*

^a Synes. Ep. lviii. p. 199. (edit. Paris. p. 203. A 2.) *Ἡ Πτολεμαΐδος ἐκκλησία, τὰδε πρὸς τὰς ἀπανταχοῦ γῆς ἐαυτῆς ἀδελφὰς διατάσσεται. . . . Εἰ δέ τις ὡς μικροπολίτιν ἀποσκυβαλίσει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ δέξεται τοὺς ἀποκηρύκτους αὐτῆς, ὡς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τῇ πένητι πείθεσθαι, κ. τ. λ.*

^b Concil. Illiber. Proœm. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 969.) *Residentibus etiam viginti et sex (triginta et sex in editione Mendosæ) presbyteris, adstantibus diaconibus et omni plebe, episcopi dixerunt.*

stantine, had also several presbyters in it, the names of many of which are lost, as are also the names of most of the bishops, who were two hundred, yet the names of fifteen presbyters^c are still remaining. And it is observable, that in Constantine's Tractoriæ, or Letters of Summons, the presbyters as well as bishops were called by imperial edict to attend at that council, if we may judge of all the rest by that one example which remains upon record in Eusebius: for there, in the letter sent to summon Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse, orders are given him^d to bring along with him two of the second throne; which phrase, as has been observed before, denotes two presbyters. So that from hence it is clear, that presbyters were then privileged to sit in council with their bishops, and that by imperial edict. In Justellus's Bibliotheca Juris Canonici, there are three or four Roman councils, where the presbyters are particularly mentioned as sitting, and sometimes voting, with the bishops. In the council under Hilarius, an. 461, the presbyters of Rome all sat together with the bishops^e, and the deacons stood by them. So again in the council under Felix^f, an. 487, the names of seventy-six presbyters are mentioned that sat together with the bishops in council, the deacons as before standing by them. And in the council under Symmachus, an. 499, sixty-seven presbyters and six deacons subscribed in the very same form of words as the bishops did^g. In another council under the same Symmachus, an. 502, thirty-six presbyters are named who sat therein^h. And in the council under Gregory II., an. 715, the bishops, presbyters,

^c Concil. Arelat. I. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1429.) in catalogo eorum, qui concilio interfuerunt. In edit. Crab. male vocatur secundum.

^d Euseb. lib. x. c. v. Συζεύξας σεαυτῷ καὶ δύο γέ τινας τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου θρόνου.

^e Concil. Rom. ap. Justell. vol. i. p. 250. Residentibus etiam universis presbyteris, adstantibus quoque diaconibus.

^f Ibidem. Ex presbyteris Rustico, Laurentio, etc.

^g Ibid. p. 259. Subscripserunt presbyteri numero lxxvii. Cælius Laurentius archipresbyter tituli Praxedis hic subscripsi, et consensi synodalibus constitutis, atque in hac me profiteor manere sententia, etc.

^h Ibid. p. 261. Residentibus etiam presbyteris, Projectitio, Martino, etc. Adstantibus quoque diaconis.

and deacons, all subscribe in the same form to the decrees then published by them all togetherⁱ.

The like instances may be seen in the first Councils of Toledo^k, and Bracara^l, where we may also observe the difference made between presbyters and deacons; that the presbyters are always represented as sitting together with their bishops, but the deacons only standing by to attend them. All which notwithstanding, Cellotius the Jesuit, and some others of that strain, have the confidence to assert, that presbyters were never allowed to sit with bishops in their councils. Bellarmine^m does not go so far, but only denies them a decisive voice there: in which assertion he is opposed, not only by the generality of Protestant writersⁿ, but also by Habertus^o and other learned defenders^p of the Gallican liberties, in his own communion. So that it is agreed on all hands by unprejudiced writers, and curious searchers of antiquity, that presbyters had liberty to sit and deliberate with bishops in provincial councils.

SECT. XIII.—*And in General Councils likewise.*

But as to general or universal councils, there are some Protestant writers who seem to make it a dispute, whether presbyters anciently were allowed to sit in them. A learned per-

ⁱ Ibid. p. 234. Sisinnius presbyter huic constituto, a nobis promulgato, subscripsi. Petrus archidiaconus huic constituto, a nobis promulgato, subscripsi.

^k Concil. Tolet. I. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1223. B.) Convenientibus episcopis in ecclesia Considentibus presbyteris, adstantibus diaconis, etc.

^l Concil. Bracar. II. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 836. C.) Considentibus simul episcopis, præsentibus quoque presbyteris, adstantibusque ministris, vel universo clero.

^m Bellarm. de Concil. lib. i. c. xv. Cæteri nunquam sunt admissi, nisi ad consultandum, excepto Concilio Basileensi, ubi presbyteri admissi sunt ad suffragium decisivum, sed perperam et contra morem omnis antiquitatis.

ⁿ Morton. Apol. Cathol. part. ii. lib. iv. c. viii. Whitaker, de Concil. Quæst. iii.

^o Habert. Not. in Lib. Pontif. Græcor. p. 175. At sententiam non ferebant nec subscribebant, dicet aliquis? Itane vero? per singula ire nihil necesse est, sed quædam lustranda sunt. In eodem Concilio Chalcedonensi, Philippus presbyter ecclesiæ CP. fert sententiam. In concilio septimo œcumenico, Leo presbyter ita subscribit: Λέων χάριτι Χριστοῦ πρεσβύτερος τῆς ἁγιωτάτης τοῦ Θεοῦ καθολικῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας.

^p Ranchin, Review of the Council of Trent, lib. i. c. viii.

son^a of our own Church says, "It was never before heard of, that priests did sit in œcumenical councils;" meaning, before the Council of Lateran under Callistus the Second, an. 1123, where 600 abbots were present. But I see no reason why we may not reckon the first Council of Arles a general council, if a multitude of bishops from all quarters can make it so: for there were 200 bishops present; and as I noted before, several presbyters were ordered to come along with them. However, the Council of Constantinople, an. 381, is reckoned by all a general council (though there were but 150 bishops in it): and there we find three presbyters together^r subscribing among the bishops also. The learned Habertus^s gives several other instances out of the Council of Chalcedon, the second Council of Nice, the eighth council called against Photius, and others. From all which, and what has here been alleged, it must be concluded, that presbyters had anciently the privilege of sitting and voting also in general councils.

SECT. XIV.—*Of the titles of Honour given to Presbyters, as well as Bishops; and what difference there was between them as applied to both.*

These prerogatives of presbyters, being thus allowed in so many cases to act in conjunction with their bishops, advanced their character and reputation very high, and made them of great esteem in the Church: insomuch that many of the same titles of honour, which were given to bishops, were with a little variation given to presbyters also. Hence they are called πρόεδροι, by Synesius^t and Eusebius; προεστῶτες, by Nazianzen^u and Basil; προστάται, by Chrysostom^v and Nazianzen like-

^a Bishop Burnet's Vindication of the Ordination, etc. Pref. p. 32.

^r Concil. Constantin. (vol. ii. p. 957. B.) Tyrannus Presbyter Amorii. Auxanon Presbyter Apameæ. Helladius Presbyter Commanensis.

^s Habert. Not. in Pontific. p. 175. See note (o) p. 265.

^t Synes. Epist. xii. (p. 171. D 3, edit. Paris. 1666.) Ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ πάσης εὐφήμου μνήμης ἄγε τὸν ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνον, καὶ θεοφιλῆ πρεσβύτην τὸν ἀποδείξ-αντά σε πρόεδρον δήμου.—Euseb. lib. x. c. iv.

^u Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. i. (p. 6, edit. Paris. 1630.) (Colon. 1690. vol. i. p. 6. B 7.) Οὐ γὰρ οὕτως οὔτε δευσοποιοῦ βαφῆς μεταλαμβάνει ῥαδίως ὕφασμα, οὔτε δυσωδίας ἢ τοῦ ἐναντίου τὸ πλησιάζει, οὔτε νοσερά τις οὕτως εὐκόλως ἀναχέεται εἰς τὸν ἀέρα, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ὁμιλεῖ τοῖς ζώοις ἀτμίς (ὃ δὲ λοιμὸς

wise: which names answer to the titles of *Præpositi* and *Antistites* in Latin, and signify presidents, or rulers and governors of the people. I know, indeed, some learned persons^x are of opinion, that the name *Antistes* is never given to any presbyter by any ancient writer. But this assertion must be understood with a little qualification: otherwise it will not be exactly true: for Hilarius Sardus^y, speaking of presbyters, against whom a bishop is not to receive an accusation but before two or three witnesses, gives them expressly the title of *Antistites Dei*. So does also the author^z of the Questions upon the Old and New Testament, under the name of St. Austin. And though *Præpositi*, in Cyprian's epistles, commonly signifies bishops, yet it does not always so: for the presbyters of Rome, writing to the clergy of Carthage^a, style themselves *Præpositi*; and Celerinus^b, in his epistle to Lucian, gives them the same title. But Sidonius Apollinaris^c sets this matter right, when he teacheth us to distinguish between an *Antistes* of the first order, and an *Antistes* of the second;

ἔστι τε καὶ ὀνομάζεται) ὥς φιλεῖ τάχιστα τῆς τοῦ προεστῶτος κακίας ἀνα-
πίμπλασθαι τὸ ὑπήκοον, καὶ πολλῶ γε ῥᾶον, ἢ τοῦ ἐναντίου, τῆς ἀρετῆς.
—Basil. Reg. Moral. lxx. c. xxxvi. (p. 491, tom. ii. edit. 1637, Paris.) "Ὅτι
δεῖ τὸν προεστῶτα τοῦ λόγου μετὰ περισκέψεως καὶ δοκιμασίας πολλῆς, κατὰ
σκοπὸν τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν εὐαρεστήσεως, ἕκαστον ποιεῖν τε καὶ λέγειν.

^v Chrysos. Hom. xi. in 1 Tim. iii. (t. vi. edit. Francof. p. 469.) Οὐ πολὺ τὸ
μέσον αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπισκόπων· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ διδασκαλίαν εἰσὶν ἀναδεεγ-
μένοι, καὶ προστασίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας. — Nazian. Orat. i. p. 37. Ψυχῶν
προστασίαν δεῖξασθαι, ἢ μεσιτείαν Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων (τοῦτο γὰρ ἴσως ὁ
ἱερεὺς) οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι γινώσκω. (Colon. vol. i. p. 37. A.)

^x Bevereg. Not. in Concil. Ancyran. Neque enim presbyter unquam *Antistes* dicitur.

^y Ambros. al. Hilar. Com. in 1 Tim. v. Hujus ordinis sublimis honor est; hujusmodi enim vicarii sunt Christi: idcirco non facile de hac persona accusatio debet admitti. Incredibile enim debet videri, istum qui Dei *Antistes* est, criminose versatum.

^z Aug. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Testam. cap. ci. (Bened. 1700. vol. iii. p. 76, append.) Propter quod *Antistites Dei* sunt, in domo Dei et in honore Christi cum dignitate considunt.

^a Ep. iii. al. viii. ap. Cyprian. Cum incumbat nobis, qui videmur *præpositi* esse, et vice pastoris custodire gregem; etc. (Oxon. p. 16.)

^b Celerin. Ep. xxi. ap. Cyprian. Præceperunt eas *Præpositi* tantisper sic esse, donec episcopus constituatur. (p. 46.)

^c Sidon. Apol. lib. iv. ep. xi. *Antistes* fuit ordine in secundo, fratrem fasce levans episcopali.

which distinction, whenever presbyters are called Antistites, if it be not expressed, is always to be understood. Therefore Blondel argues very loosely, when he would infer from this community of names and titles, that bishops and presbyters were but one and the same order. Which might as well be inferred from the name, Sacerdotes, priests, which so frequently occurs in the ancient writers; and, as Cyprian observes^d, denotes an honour common both to bishops and presbyters: though when there was occasion to speak more accurately and distinctly of bishops, their appropriate title was that of Summi Sacerdotes, chief priests, to distinguish them from those of the inferior order, as I have showed before in speaking of the titles of bishops: to which I shall only add here the testimony of Optatus^e, who gives both bishops, priests, and deacons, the name of priests, and their office the name of priesthood; but with this difference, that the deacons were only in the third degree of priesthood, and the presbyters in the second; but the bishops were the heads and chief of all. From whence it is plain, that if a bare community of names argued an identity of offices, one might as well infer that bishops and deacons, or presbyters and deacons, were but one and the same order, because they share in the same common titles of priest and priesthood.

SECT. XV.—*In what sense Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, called Priests by Optatus.*

If here it be inquired, as it is very natural to ask the question, why Optatus gives all the three orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, the title of priesthood; the answer is plain and obvious: because, according to him, every order had its share, though in different degrees, in the Christian priesthood.

^d Cyprian. Ep. lviii. al. lxi. ad Luc. (Oxon. p. 145.) (p. 93, edit. Paris. 1666.) Cum episcopo presbyteri sacerdotali honore conjuncti.

^e Optat. lib. i. p. 39. (Antwerp. 1702. p. 14.) Quid commemorem diaconos in tertio? Quid presbyteros in secundo sacerdotio constitutos? Ipsi apices et principes omnium, aliqui episcopi illis temporibus . . . instrumenta divinæ legis impie tradiderunt.—Conf. Hieronym. Ep. xxvii., where he calls presbyters secundi ordinis sacerdotes (N.B. p. 118. b. vol. i. edit. Francof. sic lego: Aderant Hierosolymorum et aliarum urbium episcopi, et sacerdotum inferioris gradus, ac Levitarum innumerabilis multitudo. *Grischov.*) N.B. The edition by Valarsius (vol. i. p. 722. C 1.) has a similar text.

Which is not, as some imagine, a power to offer Christ's body and blood really upon the altar, as a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead (which is such a notion of the Christian priesthood as no ancient author or ritual ever mentions) : but it consists in a power and authority to minister publicly according to God's appointment in holy things, or things pertaining to God. And there are several parts of this power, according to the different participation of which, in the opinion of Optatus, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, had each their respective share in the priesthood. Thus it was one act of the priest's office to offer up the sacrifice of the people's prayers, praises, and thanksgivings to God, as their mouth and orator, and to make intercession to God for them ; another part of the office was, in God's name to bless the people, particularly by admitting them to the benefit and privilege of remission of sins by spiritual regeneration or baptism. And thus far deacons were anciently allowed to minister in holy things, as mediators between God and the people. Upon which account a late learned writer^f joins entirely with Optatus, in declaring deacons to be sharers in this lowest degree of the Christian priesthood. Above this was the power of offering up to God the people's sacrifices at the altar ; that is, as Mr. Mede^g and others explain them, first the eucharistical oblations of bread and wine, to agnize or acknowledge God to be the Lord of the creatures ; then the sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving in commemoration of Christ's bloody sacrifice upon the cross, mystically represented in the creatures of bread and wine ; which whole sacred action was commonly called the Christian's 'reasonable and unbloody sacrifice,' or the sacrifice of the altar. Now the deacons (as we shall see in the next chapter) were never allowed to offer these oblations at the altar, but it was always a peculiar act of the presbyter's office, which was therefore reckoned a superior degree of the priesthood.—Another act of the priestly office was to interpret the mind and will of God to the people ;

^f Dr. Hicke's Discourse of the Christian Priesthood, c. ii. § v. p. 33.

^g Mede, Christ. Sacrific. c. ii. p. 356. Hicke's *ibid.* p. 49, with many others cited by him.

as also to bless them solemnly in his name, and upon confession and repentance grant them ministerial absolution: and these being also the ordinary offices of presbyters, they gave them a farther title to the priesthood. All these offices, and some more, the bishops could perform^{gg}, such as the solemn consecration or benediction of persons set apart for the ministry, &c., which together with their spiritual jurisdiction, or power of ruling and governing the Church, as vicars of Christ, gave them a title to a yet higher degree of the Christian priesthood; whence, as I noted before, they were called chief priests, *Primi Sacerdotes*, *Summi Sacerdotes*, *Principes Sacerdotum*, and *Pontifices Maximi*. I know, indeed, *Albaspinus* and several others of the Roman communion^h make a distinction between the prelatical and sacerdotal office in a bishop, which is invented to serve some peculiar hypothesis of their own; as first, that a bishop differs nothing from a presbyter as he is a priest; secondly, that bishop and presbyter are but one sacerdotal order; and thirdly, that the proper notion and specific character of the sacerdotal order is a power to offer Christ's body and blood, as a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead:—all which are contrary to the plain sense of antiquity, which knew no such specific character of the sacerdotal order, nor ever dreamt of bishops and presbyters being but one order in reference to the priesthood; but always spake of them as distinct orders, and placed their distinction in their enjoying different powers of the priesthood, making presbyters only the second order, and second priesthood, *Secundus Ordo et Secundum Sacerdotium*, and bishops the first; and asserting that the juridical acts of a bishop were also sacerdotal, or acts of a superior degree of the Christian priesthood peculiar to

^{gg} Epiphanius (*Hær.* lxxix. n. iii.) calls it *ιερουργεῖν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*.

^h Bellarm. de Cleric. lib. i. c. xi. *Theologi solum considerant ordines, ut se habent ad sacrificium, quomodo (ut diximus) episcopus et presbyter; lector et cantor non distinguuntur: canonistæ autem considerant ordines, ut hierarchiam constituunt, et idcirco recte distinguunt episcopum a presbytero.*—*Petr. Canis. Catech. de Sacram. Ord. § iv.* *Quamquam quod ad ordinis sacramentum, ac sacrificandi auctoritatem attinet, discrimen inter episcopos et sacerdotes non sit, tamen sunt illi sacerdotibus multo excellentiores, si ecclesiæ gubernandæ, si pascendarum animarum jus, tum baptizatos confirmandi et clericos ordinandi potestatem consideremus.*

his order. St. Cyprianⁱ scruples not to call such acts Sacerdotii Vigor, the vigour and power of the episcopal priesthood, speaking of the power and jurisdiction which he had as the priest of God, to punish presbyters and deacons that were under him; which he had improperly called the power of his priesthood, had his jurisdiction and priesthood been two different powers in him. This may serve at once to caution the reader against that subtle distinction of the Romanists, and give him a short account both of the nature and different degrees of the Christian priesthood.

SECT. XVI.—*Why Priests called Mediators between God and men.*

There is another name frequently occurring in the Greek writers, when they speak of Christian priests, which will deserve to be explained: that is the name, *μεσῖται*, mediators between God and men, a title given them by the author of the Constitutions^k, as also by Origen, Chrysostom, Basil, Isidore of Pelusium, and many others, whose authorities are collected by Cotelerius^l. The Latin writers are more sparing in the use of this term: for, except St. Jerome, Cotelerius could find none that used it. St. Austin is so far from using it, that he condemns it^m as intolerable in Parmenian the Donatist, who had said, that the bishop was mediator between God and the people. And, indeed, there is a sense in which it is intolerable to say, there is any other mediator besides one, the Man Christ Jesus. But the Greek fathers used the word in a qualified sense, not for an authentic mediator, or mediator of redemption, who pleads his own merits before God in the behalf of others; but only for a mediator of

ⁱ Cyprian. Ep. xiv. edit. Paris. p. 17. (Epist. xx. edit. Amstelod. p. 199.) Presbyteris et diaconibus non defuit sacerdotii vigor. (Oxon. p. 43.)

^k Constitut. Apost. lib. ii. c. xxv. Ὑμεῖς τοῖς ἐν ὑμῖν λαϊκοῖς ἐστε προφῆται, ἄρχοντες, καὶ ἡγούμενοι, καὶ βασιλεῖς, οἱ μεσῖται Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν πιστῶν αὐτοῦ.

^l Coteler. Not. ibid. vol. i. p. 237. Ita sæpe sancti patres, etc.

^m Augustin. contr. Parmen. lib. ii. c. viii. (Bened. 1700. vol. ix. p. 22. F 3.) Si Joannes diceret mediatorem me habetis ad Patrem, et ego exoro pro peccatis vestris (sicut Parmenianus quodam loco mediatorem posuit episcopum inter populum et Deum;) quis eum ferret bonorum atque fidelium Christianorum?

ministerial intercession, in which sense someⁿ of the ancients think Moses is called a mediator by St. Paul, (Gal. iii. 19,) because he was the internuncius to relate the mind of God to the people, and the people's requests and resolutions to God again. And in this qualified sense, it is generally^o owned that Christian priests may be called mediators also, as those that are appointed to convey the people's devotions to God, and the will and blessing of God to the people.

SECT. XVII.—*The ancient form and manner of ordaining Presbyters.*

Having thus far spoken of the several offices and titles of presbyters, it remains that I give a short account of the form and manner of their ordination, by which they were invested with their power, and authorized to perform the several duties of their function. Now as to this it is plain, the ancient form was only imposition of hands and a consecration-prayer. Thus it is described in the canon^p of the Council of Carthage, which has been cited before, and in the author under the name of Dionysius^q, who represents it in this manner: he says, The person to be ordained kneeled before the bishop at the altar; and he, laying his hand upon his head, did consecrate him with a holy prayer, and then signed him with the sign of the Cross: after which the bishop and the rest of the clergy that were

ⁿ Basil. de Spirit. S. c. xiv. (Paris. 1637. vol. ii. p. 320. B 8.) Τὸν μεσίτην Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, δι' ἑαυτοῦ τότε προανετύπου ἐν τῇ τοῦ νόμου διακονίᾳ· οὐ γὰρ τοῦ Πνεύματος τύπος ἦν Μωσῆς, τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τῷ λαῷ μεσιτεύων· ἐδόθη γὰρ νόμος διαταγείς δι' ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου (δηλαδὴ τοῦ Μωσέως) κατὰ τὴν πρόσκλησιν τοῦ λαοῦ λέγοντος· Λάλησον σύ, φησι, πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ μὴ λαλείτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεός· ὥστε ἡ εἰς αὐτὸν πίστις ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον ἀναφέρεται, τὸν μεσίτην Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, τὸν εἰπόντα· Εἰ ἐπιστεύετε Μωσεῖ, ἐπιστεύετε ἀν' ἐμοί.—Theodoret. Com. in Gal. iii. 19. Ἐτέθη δὲ ἀγγέλων ὑπουργούντων, καὶ τῇ τούτου θέσει Μωυσέως διακονούντος· αὐτὸν γὰρ μεσίτην ἐκάλεσε. (Schulze, vol. iii. p. 378.)

^o Vide Dr. Potter, Ch. Gov. c. v. p. 251. Coteler. Not. in Constit. lib. ii. c. xxv. p. 237. Solus Christus, aiunt theologi, mediator est naturæ ac redemptionis; sacerdotes autem mediatores sunt ministerii et intercessionis.

^p Concil. Carthag. IV. c. iii. See p. 261, note (t).

^q Dionys. de Eccles. Hierarch. c. v. part. ii. p. 364. Ὁ ἱερεὺς ἄμφω τὸ πόδε κλίνας ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θείου θυσιαστηρίου, ἐπὶ κεφαλῇς ἔχει τὴν ἱεραρχικὴν δεξιάν, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ πρὸς τοῦ τελοῦντος αὐτὸν ἱεράρχου ταῖς ἱεροποιοῖς ἐπικλήσεσιν ἀγιάζεται, κ. τ. λ.

present, gave him the kiss of peace. The author of the Constitutions^r speaks also of imposition of hands and prayer, but no more. From which we may reasonably conclude, that the words which the Roman Church makes to be the most necessary and essential part of a priest's ordination, viz. 'Receive thou power to offer sacrifice to God, and to celebrate mass both for the living and the dead,' were not in any of the ancient forms of consecration. One of their own writers, Morinus, after the most diligent search he could make into these matters, could find no form for nine hundred years together, that made any mention of them. And for their other ceremonies superadded to the old ones, other learned writers of that Church do as ingenuously confess the novelty of them. Habertus^s proves against Catumsiritus, that material unction is a new thing, and not to be met with in any ancient ordination; as neither is it in use in the Greek Church at this day. So that when Gregory Nazianzen^t and others speak of an unction, they are to be understood as speaking mystically of the spiritual unction of the Holy Ghost. Cabassutius^u observes the same of the custom of

^r Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xvi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 487.) Πρεσβύτερον χειροτονῶν, ὃ ἐπίσκοπε, τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτίθει αὐτόν, τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου παρεστῶτός σοι καὶ τῶν διακόνων· καὶ εὐχόμενος λέγε, κ. τ. λ. See Bishop Burnet, of Ordination, p. 24, who cites Morinus.

^s Habert. Observat. in Pontif. Græc. p. 386. Si nulla esset unctionis ex oleo vel ex chrismate mentio in Ordine Romano; nulla in Pontificali; nulla in eorum monumentis, qui ex profesto de ritibus ordinationum scripsere; nulla præterea hujusce ceremoniæ in usu ecclesiæ Romanæ tradux atque superstes consuetudo; illam, dubio procul, in ordinatione tam pontificum quam sacerdotum Latinorum usurpatam, nemo nisi divinatione quadam temeraria et cæca profiteri posset. Tale vero quidpiam occurrit circa unctionem in ecclesia Græca; libri siquidem omnes rituales, Euchologia vulgo appellant, nullam commemorant, nedum vero præscribunt, in utraque ordinatione episcopi et sacerdotis, unctionem: Euchologia dico, vel antiquissima, et illa litteris priscis ac uncialibus exarata. Quod si ad antiquiora provocetur; in S. Dionysii, Areopagita ne sit, at profecto vetus est scriptor, ecclesiastica hierarchia, describuntur satis accurate ceremoniæ trinæ illius ordinationis hierarchiæ, diaconi, presbyteri, et episcopi seu pontificis, vel usque ad genuflexionis discrimen; de unctione ne syllaba quidem: sicut neque apud S. Maximum, antiquum illius scholiasten, qui verba formæ, quæ deerant, supplevit; neque apud Pachymeræ paraphrasim quidquam simile reperitur, etc. per tot. num. ii.

^t Nazian. Orat. v. p. 136. Διὰ τοῦτο χρίεις τὸν ἀρχιερέα.

^u Cabassut. Notit. Concil. c. xliii. (N.B. Edit. iii. Lugdun. 1702, quæ ad manus est, non habet capita: erroneam puto esse allegationem: Grischov.)

delivering the sacred vessels into the hands of the person that was ordained, that however some plead very stiffly for its antiquity, yet it is really but a modern custom: and he cites Morinus for the same opinion. So that I need not stand to show the novelty of these things, which is so evidently proved, as well by the confession of these learned men, as by the silence of all ancient rituals. But there is one thing the reader may be desirous to know further, viz. what form of words the consecration prayer was conceived in. To which I must answer, as I have done before about bishops, that there was no such general form then extant; but every bishop having liberty to frame his own liturgy, he used such a form as he thought convenient in his own Church: it being a thing indifferent, as a learned person^v observes, so the substance of the blessing were preserved. The only form now remaining is that which is extant in the Constitutions, which because it will show the reader what was then the substance of the benediction, I will here insert the words of it, which are these: “Look, O Lord, upon this thy servant, who is chosen into the presbytery by the suffrage and judgment of all the clergy, and fill him with the Spirit of grace and counsel, that he may help and govern thy people with a pure heart: in like manner as thou hadst respect to thy chosen people, commanding Moses to make choice of elders, whom thou didst replenish with thy Spirit. And now, Lord, do the same thing, preserving in us the never-failing Spirit of thy grace: that he, being full of healing powers and instructive discourse, may with meekness teach thy people, and serve thee sincerely with a pure mind and willing soul, and unblameably perform the sacred^x services

^v Bishop Burnet's Vindication of the Ordination, etc. p. 25.

^x Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xvi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 487. C 9.) Αὐτὸς δὲ νῦν ἐπίδεδε ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τοῦτον τὸν ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει τοῦ κλήρου παντὸς εἰς πρεσβυτέριον ἐπιδοθέντα· καὶ ἐμπλησον αὐτὸν Πνεῦμα χάριτος καὶ συμβουλίας τοῦ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κυβερνᾶν τὸν λαόν σου ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, ὃν τρόπον ἐπίδεδες ἐπὶ λαόν ἐκλογῆς σου, καὶ προσέταξας Μωσεῖ αἰρεῖσθαι πρεσβυτέρους, οὓς ἐπλησας Πνεύματος· καὶ νῦν, Κύριε, παράσχου ἀνελλιπέως τηρῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτός σου· ὅπως πλησθεῖς ἐνεργημάτων ἱατικῶν καὶ λόγου διδακτικοῦ ἐν πραότητι παιδεύῃ σου τὸν λαόν· καὶ δουλεύῃ σοι εὐκρινῶς ἐν καθαρᾷ διανοίᾳ καὶ ψυχῇ θελούσῃ· καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἱερουργίας ἀμώμους ἐκτελῇ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ σέβας, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

for thy people, through Christ," &c. Where we may observe, that it was not then thought necessary to express all or any of the offices of a presbyter in particular, but only in general to pray for grace to be given to the priest then ordained, whereby he might be enabled to perform them. And this with a solemn imposition of hands was reckoned a sufficient form of consecration. Which I note for the instruction of those, who may be apt to think that modern forms of ordination are in every circumstance like the primitive ones; whereas, if Morinus say true, the words which are now most in use, viz. 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' were not in the Roman Pontifical above four hundred years ago. Which makes good the observation of a learned person^y, that the Church Catholic did never agree in one uniform ritual, or book of ordination, but that was still left to the freedom of particular Churches; and so the Church of England had as much power to make or alter rituals as any other had.

SECT. XVIII.—*Of the Archipresbyteri.*

I should here have ended this chapter about presbyters, but that it is necessary to give some account of the Archipresbyteri, and Seniores Ecclesiæ, which are sometimes mentioned in ancient writers. The archpresbyters are spoken of by St. Jerome, who seems^z to say there was one, and but one, in every Church; and perhaps he is the first author that mentions them. After him Socrates^a speaks of one Peter, protopresbyter of Alexandria, whom Sozomen^b calls archpresbyter. And Liberatus^c mentions one Proterius, archpresbyter

^y Bishop Burnet's Vindication of the Ordination, p. 35.

^z Hieron. Ep. iv. ad Rustic. (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 942. B 9.) Singuli ecclesiarum episcopi, singuli archipresbyteri, singuli archidiaconi.

^a Socrat. lib. vi. c. ix. Πέτρος τις πρωτοπρεσβύτερος ἦν τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐκκλησίας. (Vales. p. 256.)

^b Sozom. lib. viii. c. xii. (Vales. p. 624. D 6.) Ἐπητιᾶτο Θεόφιλος τὸν τότε ἀρχιπρεσβύτερον . . ὁ δὲ Πέτρος, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ, κ. τ. λ.

^c Liberat. Breviar. c. xiv. (Labbe, vol. v. Conc. p. 763. C 11.) Cum super hoc multa dubitatio processisset, volentibus civibus neminem penitus ordinare, ne adulteri viderentur (Dioscoro quippe vivente) novissime in Proterium univer-

in the same Church. From whom we also learn in some measure what was the office and quality of the archpresbyter. He was not always the senior presbyter of the Church, as some are apt to imagine, but one chosen out of the college of presbyters at the pleasure of the bishop. For Liberatus says expressly, that Dioscorus the bishop made Proterius archpresbyter of the Church: which implies that he did not come to the office by virtue of his seniority, but by the bishop's appointment. As to his office, it is plain from Liberatus, that it was to preside over the Church next under the bishop, as chief of the college of presbyters, and to take care of all things relating to the Church in the bishop's absence; as Proterius is said to have done, while Dioscorus went to the Council of Chalcedon. And therefore some^d, not without reason, think these Archipresbyteri were much of the same nature with our deans in cathedral Churches, as the college of presbyters were the chapter. But they wholly mistake the matter, who^e confound these Archipresbyteri with the Cardinales Presbyteri. For that is a name of much later date, not to be found in any genuine writer till the time of Gregory the Great: for the Council of Rome, which is the only authority that Bellarmine^f alleges to prove it more ancient, is a mere fiction. Besides that, the cardinal presbyters were many in the same Church or city, but the archpresbyter was but one. So that whatever was the first original of cardinal presbyters; (whether they were so called from their being fixed in some principal Churches, where baptism might be administered, which were therefore called *Ecclesiæ vel Tituli Cardinales*, as Bellarmine thinks;

sorum sententia declinavit, utique cui et Dioscorus commendavit ecclesiam, qui et eum archipresbyterum fecerat. In edit. Crab. male legitur archiepiscopum.

^d Stillingfl. Irenic. part. ii. c. vii. p. 358.

^e Onuphr. Interpr. Vocum Eccles.—Salmas. de Primat. c. i. p. 10. Non solum Romæ, sed etiam in aliis olim urbibus, cardinales diaconi, et presbyteri cardinales appellati, qui primi in suo ordine essent.

^f Bellarm. de Cleric. lib. i. c. xvi. Calvinus dicit ante Gregorii tempora se non legisse nomen cardinalium: at in concilio Romano sub Sylvestro can. vi. legimus septem fuisse diaconos cardinales in Romana ecclesia: præcessit autem Sylvester Gregorium annis fere trecentis; neque tamen tunc primum cœpit hoc nomen, etc.

or whether, as others^g imagine, when the number of presbyters was grown so great in large and populous cities, that they could not conveniently meet, and join with the bishop, for ordering the government of the Church, there were some as the chief of them chosen out from the rest, to be as the bishop's council, who were therefore called *Cardinales Presbyteri*; a dispute that does not concern me any further to inquire into or determine;) I say, whatever was their rise, or the reason of their name, it is certain they were not the same with the *Archipresbyteri* of the primitive Church.

SECT. XIX.—*Of the Seniores Ecclesiastici. That these were not Lay-Elders in the modern acceptance.*

As to the *Seniores Ecclesiæ*, they were a sort of elders, who were not of the clergy, yet had some concern in the care of the Church. The name often occurs in Optatus and St. Austin, from whom we may easily learn the nature of their office. Optatus says^h, when Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, was forced to leave his Church in the time of the Diocletian persecution, he committed the ornaments and utensils of the Church to such of the elders as he could trust, '*fidelibus senioribus commendavit.*' Upon which Albaspinusⁱ notes, that besides the clergy there were then some lay-elders, who were entrusted to take care of the goods of the Church. At the end of Optatus there is a tract called, '*The Purgation of Felix and Cæcilian;*' wherein there are several epistles that make mention of the same name, as that of Fortis^k and Purpurius, and another nameless author. St. Austin inscribes one of his epistles^l to his own Church of Hippo in this manner, '*Clero,*

^g Stillingfl. *ibid.*

^h Optat. lib. i. p. 41. (p. 19, edit. Paris.)

ⁱ Albaspin. Not. in Optat. p. 123. *Præter ecclesiasticos et clericos quidam ex plebe seniores, et probatæ vitæ, res ecclesiæ curabant.* (Antwerp. 1702. p. 17.)

^k *Gesta Purgat. Cæcil. et Fel.* p. 268, ex Epist. Fortis: *Omnes vos episcopi, presbyteri, diacones, seniores, scitis, etc.* *Ibid.* ex Ep. Purpurii: *Adhibete conclericos, et seniores plebis, ecclesiasticos viros, et inquirent diligenter, quæ sunt istæ dissensiones.* *Ibid.* *Clericis et senioribus Cirthensium in Domino æternam salutem.*

^l Augustin. Ep. cxxxvii. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 138.) *Dilectissimis fratribus, Clero, Senioribus, et universæ plebi ecclesiæ Hipponensis, cui servio in dilectione Christi, Augustinus in Domino salutem.*

Senioribus, et universæ Plebi,' To the Clergy, the Elders, and all the People: and in several other places^m has occasion to mention these Seniores in other Churches.

From whence someⁿ have concluded, that these were ruling lay-elders, according to the new model and modern acceptation. Whereas, as the ingenious author^o of the Humble Remonstrance rightly observes in his reply, those Seniores of the primitive Church were quite another thing. Some of them were the Optimates, the chief men or magistrates of the place, such as we still call aldermen, from the ancient appellation of Seniores. These are those which the Cabar-siessitan Council of Donatists in St. Austin calls^p Seniores Nobilissimi; and one of the Councils of Carthage^q more expressly, Magistratus vel Seniores locorum, the magistrates or elders of every city; whom the bishops were to take with them to give the Donatists a meeting. In this sense Dr. Hammond^r observes from Sir Henry Spelman, and some of our Saxon writings, that anciently our Saxon kings had the same title of elders, Aldermanni, Presbyteri, and Seniores. As in the Saxon translation of the Bible, the word, princes, is commonly rendered aldermen. And of this sort were some of those Seniores Ecclesiæ, that have been mentioned, whose advice and assistance also, no doubt, the bishops took in many weighty affairs of the Church. The other sort, which were

^m Id. contr. Crescon. lib. iii. c. xxix. (Bened. 1700. vol. ix. p. 307. C 2.) (vol. vii. p. 177, edit. Froben.) Silvanus a Cirta traditor est, et fur rerum pauperum, quod omnes vos episcopi, presbyteri, et diacones, et seniores scitis. Cap. lvi. Peregrinus presbyter et seniores ecclesiæ Mustitanæ regionis tale desiderium prosequuntur.

ⁿ Smectymn. Answer to the Remonstrance, p. 74.

^o Hamon l'Estrange's Defence of the Remonstrance, p. 74.

^p Aug. Serm. ii. in Psalm. xxxvi. p. 120. (p. 201, vol. viii. edit. Froben.) (Bened. 1700. vol. iv. p. 208. E 2.) Cum incestos contra legem decretaque omnium sacerdotum communioni sanctæ adjungeret, cumque obsistente maxima parte plebis, etiam seniorum nobilissimorum litteris conveniretur, ut per se corrigeret quod admiserat, sua temeritate possessus emendare contempsit.

^q Concil. Carth. A. cccci. in Concil. African. c. lviii. et in Cod. Can. Eccl. African. c. xci. Debere unumquemque nostrum in civitate sua per se convenire Donatarum præpositos, aut adjungere sibi vicinum collegam, ut pariter eos in singulis quibusque civitatibus vel locis per magistratus vel seniores locorum conveniant.

^r Hammond. Dissert. iv. contr. Blondel. c. xix. n. i.

more properly called *Seniores Ecclesiastici*, were such as were sometimes trusted with the utensils, treasure, and outward affairs of the Church; and may be compared to our church-wardens, vestry-men, stewards, who have some care of the affairs of the Church, but are not concerned as ruling-elders in the government or discipline thereof. Now lay-elders are a degree above the deacons; but the *Seniores Ecclesiæ* were below them: which is a further evidence, that they were not lay-elders in the modern acceptation. But of this enough. I now proceed to consider the third order of the clergy in the primitive Church, which is that of deacons.

CHAPTER XX.

OF DEACONS.

SECT. I.—*Deacons always reckoned one of the three sacred orders of the Church.*

THE name *διάκονοι*, which is the original word for deacons, is sometimes used in the New Testament for any one that ministers in the service of God: in which large sense, we sometimes find bishops and presbyters styled deacons, not only in the New Testament^a, but in ecclesiastical writers^b also. But here we take it in a more strict sense for the name of the third order of the clergy of the primitive Church. In treating of which it will be necessary, in the first place, to show the sense of antiquity concerning their original. The Council of Trullo advances a very singular notion about this matter,

^a Acts i. 25. 2 Cor. vi. 4. 2 Tim. iv. 5. 1 Cor. iii. 5. Eph. iii. 7.

^b Athanas. Contr. Gent. [N.B. Vaga, et sine dubio erronea citatio: semel atque iterum longam istam orationem integram perlegi, nec quidquam huc spectans invenire potui. *Grischor.*]—Chrysost. Hom. i. in Philipp. c. i. (p. 7, edit. Francof.) Τότε τέως κοινώνουν τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ διάκονος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐλέγετο. (1636. Paris. vol. vi. p. 1204.)

asserting that the seven deacons, spoken of in the Acts, are not to be understood of such as ministered^c in divine service or the sacred mysteries, but only of such as served tables and attended the poor. But the whole current of antiquity runs against this: Ignatius^d styles them expressly ministers of the mysteries of Christ, adding, that they are not ministers of meats and drinks, but of the Church of God. In another^e place he speaks of them as ministers of Jesus Christ, and gives them a sort of presidency over the people, together with the bishop and presbyters: 'Study to do all things,' says he, 'in divine concord, under your bishop presiding in the place of God, and the presbyters in the place of the apostolical senate, and the deacons most dear to me, as those to whom is committed the ministry of Jesus Christ.' And in many other^f places he requires the people to be subject to them, and reverence them as Jesus Christ, that is, as his ministers attending on his service. Cyprian speaks of them in the same style, calling them^g ministers of episcopacy and the Church; withal referring their original to the place in the Acts of the Apostles, which the Council of Trullo disputes about, at the same time that he asserts^h they were called *ad Altaris Ministerium*, to the ministry and service of the altar. Tertullianⁱ

^c Conc. Trull. c. xvi. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1150. B 13.) 'Ἡμεῖς τῷ ἀποστολικῷ ῥητῷ τὸν νοῦν ἐφαρμόσαντες τῶν πατέρων, εὖρομεν, ὡς ὁ λόγος αὐτοῖς οὐ περὶ τῶν τοῖς μυστηρίοις διακονουμένων ἦν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς χρείαις τῶν τραπεζῶν ὑπουργίας.

^d Ignat. ad Trall. n. ii. (Coteler. Antverp. vol. ii. p. 63.) Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ὄντας μυστηρίων Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀρέσκειν· οὐ γὰρ βρωμάτων καὶ ποτῶν εἰσὶ διάκονοι, ἀλλ' ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ὑπηρεταί.

^e Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. n. vi. (ibid. p. 57.) Παραινῶ, ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ σπουδάσατε πάντα πράττειν· προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν διακόνων, τῶν ἐμοὶ γλυκυτάτων, πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

^f Ignat. ad Polyc. n. vi. (ibid. p. 42.) Ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις. — Trall. n. iii. Ὁμοίως πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς διακόνους ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.

^g Cyprian. Ep. lxxv. al. iii. (Oxon. p. 6.) Diaconos post ascensum Domini in coelos apostoli sibi constituerunt episcopatus sui et ecclesiae ministros.

^h Cyprian. Ep. lxxviii. al. lxxvii. ad Pleb. Legion. et Astur. (Oxon. p. 172.) (p. 114, edit. Paris. 1666.) Ne quis ad altaris ministerium, vel ad sacerdotalem locum, indignus obreperet.

ⁱ Tertull. de Fuga, c. xi. (Paris, 1664. p. 540, at bottom.) Quum ipsi auc-

was so far from thinking them only ministers of meats and drinks, that he joins them with bishops and presbyters in the honourable titles of guides and leaders to the laity, and makes them, in their degree, pastors and overseers of the flock of Christ. And so St. Jerome, though he sometimes in an angry humour speaks a little contemptuously of them, styling them^k ministers of widows and tables; yet in other places^l he treats them with greater respect, giving them the same honourable title as Tertullian does, and ranking them among the guides of the people. I showed before, in the last chapter, that Optatus^m had so great an opinion of them, as to reckon their office a lower degree of the priesthood. And St. Austin seems to have had the same sentiments: for in one of his epistlesⁿ, he gives Præsidius the title of Consacerdos, his fellow-priest; whom yet St. Jerome, in the next epistle^o, calls a deacon.

SECT. II.—*Yet not generally called Priests, but Ministers and Levites.*

Yet here, that I may not seem to impose upon my readers, I must observe that the name of priests was not generally given to the deacons by those that esteemed them a sacred order; but they are commonly distinguished from priests by the names of Ministers and Levites. Thus St. Jerome^p distinguishes them from the priests of the second order, that is, from the presbyters, by the title of Levites. The author of the

tores, id est, ipsi diaconi, presbyteri, et episcopi fugiunt . . . quis de gregario numero sustinebit?

^k Hieron. Ep. lxxxv. ad Evang. [Evagr.] (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 1081. A 5.) Quid patitur mensuram et viduarum minister, ut supra eos se tumidus efferat, ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur?—Id. Comment. Ezech. xlviii.

^l Id. Comment. in Mich. vii. (Venet. Vallars. vol. vi. p. 518. B 7.) Nolite credere in ducibus, non in episcopo, non in presbytero, non in diacono.

^m Optat. lib. i. vide supr. cap. xix. § xiv. not. (e) p. 268.

ⁿ August. Ep. xvi. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 127.) Domino beatissimo, et merito venerando fratri, et consacerdoti Præsidio, Augustinus in Domino salutem.

^o Hieron. Ep. xvii. inter Epist. Augustin. Nunc quoque per sanctum fratrem meum Præsidium diaconum obsecro primum, ut memineris mei.

^p Hieron. Ep. xxvii. Episcopi, et sacerdotum inferioris gradus ac Levitarum innumerabilis multitudo.

Questions^a upon the Old and New Testament under the name of St. Austin, and Hilarius Sardus^r under the name of St. Ambrose, are more positive and express in denying them the name of priests. And Salvian^s, though he acknowledges their ministration and function to be about holy things, yet he gives them but the same title of Levites, and that in contradistinction to the Priests. And so frequently in the councils^t, the names Sacerdos and Levita are used as the peculiar distinguishing titles of presbyters and deacons. The fourth Council of Carthage^u speaks more expressly, that deacons are not ordained to the priesthood, but only to the ministering office, or inferior service. And hence the canons sometimes give them the name of ὑπηρέται and Ministri, the ministers and servants, not only of the Church, but of the bishops and presbyters, as may be seen in the Council of Nice^v, and Carthage^x, and many others. Whence some learned men^y conclude against Optatus

^a Aug. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Testam. vol. iv. q. xlvi. (Bened. 1700. vol. iii. append. p. 49. F 8.) Numquid diaconus potest vicem gerere sacerdotis? . . . Sacerdotis vicem agere non potest, qui non est sacerdos.

^r Hilar. Com. in Eph. iv. Evangelistæ diaconi sunt, sicut fuit Philippus, quamvis non sint sacerdotes.

^s Salvian. ad Eccles. Cathol. lib. ii. p. 394. (p. 70, edit. Rittershus. 1623.) Et post hæc parum est successionibus eorum (apostolorum) id est, Levitis ac sacerdotibus facta divinarum rerum administratione fungentibus, si ipsi tantum divites fuerint.

^t Concil. Turon. I. can. i. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1050. D.) Sacerdotes ac Levitæ divino mancipati altario.

^u Concil. Carth. IV. c. iv. Diaconus, non ad sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecratur. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1200.)

^v Concil. Nicæn. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 37.) Ἐμμενέτωσαν οἱ διάκονοι τοῖς ἰδίοις μέτροις, εἰδότες ὅτι τοῦ μὲν ἐπισκόπου ὑπηρέται εἰσὶ, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων ἐλάττους τυγχάνουσι.

^x Concil. Carth. IV. c. xxxvii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1203.) Diaconus ita se presbyteri, ut episcopi ministrum esse cognoscat.—Vide Concil. Illiberrit. in titulo can. xviii. (Labbe, vol. i. Conc. p. 968.) De sacerdotibus et ministris, si mœchaverunt.—Ibid. can. xxxiii. De episcopis et ministris, ut ab uxoribus se abstineant.—Conc. Turon. I. c. i. Sacerdotes vel ministri et ecclesiæ.

^y Fell. Not. in Cypr. Ep. xviii. (p. 40.) Cautè hic legendus est Rigaltius, dum ait, ‘esse in diaconatu sacerdotium.’ Quæcumque necessitas cogit, etiam illa defendit, sed tantisper dum incubuerit. Nota est historia (ap. Euseb. lib. vi. c. xlv.) eucharistiæ per puerum Serapioni transmissæ: nemo tamen dixerit, fas esse pueris sacra illa mysteria distribuere, etc.—Habert. Not. in Pontific. p. 125. Duplex est in ecclesia munus a Christo catholico sacerdote, ut vocat Tertullianus, institutum, τὸ ἱερατεύειν, res sacras operari; καὶ τὸ ἄρχεσθαι, et gubernare seu

and St. Austin, that deacons were in no sense allowed to be priests: whilst others, with Optatus^z, distinguish the several degrees of the priesthood, and reckon that though deacons were not absolutely called Priests, because that was the appropriate title of bishops and presbyters, whose ministers and attendants they were; yet deacons sometimes performed such offices as did entitle them to a lower degree of the priesthood. Having thus fairly stated and represented the matter on both sides, I must leave the judicious reader to determine for himself which opinion has the strongest reasons, whilst I proceed to give an account of the ordination of deacons, and their several offices, and such laws and rules as concerned their order.

SECT. III.—*For this reason the Bishop was not tied to have the assistance of any Presbyters to ordain them.*

The ordination of a deacon differed from that of a presbyter, both in the form and manner of it, and also in the gifts and powers that were conferred thereby. For in the ordination of a presbyter, as has been noted before, the presbyters who were present, were required to join in the imposition of hands with the bishop: but the ordination of a deacon might be performed by the bishop alone, because, as the Council of Carthage^a words it, ‘he was ordained not to the priesthood, but to the inferior services of the Church.’ These services are not particularly mentioned in the form of ordination now remaining in the Constitutions; but there the bishop only prays

regere: ut optime distinguunt sancti patres: hoc ad episcopos et ad sacerdotes sub episcopis constitutos, illud ad sacerdotes, spectat; nec ad episcopos nisi quatenus sacerdotes, quum episcopus esse non possit, quin primo sacerdos: diaconus vero, aut hypodiaconus, aut lector, aut laicus, offerre sacrificium non potest.

^z Rigalt. Not. in Cypr. Ep. xii. Est aliud in diaconatu sacerdotium. Sic Epist. xiv. (Oxon. 1682. p. 43.) Item presbyteris et diaconibus non deficit sacerdotii vigor. At diaconos poenitentibus manum imponere, sola necessitatis ratio admittit, nempe si urgeat exitus, et presbyter repertus non fuerit.—Dr. Hicke’s Disc. of Priesthood, p. 331.

^a Conc. Carth. IV. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1200.) Diaconus quum ordinatur, solus episcopus, qui eum benedicit, manum super caput illius ponat: quia non ad sacerdotium sed ad ministerium consecratur.

in general, that God would make his face to shine upon that his servant^b, who was then chosen to the office of a deacon, and fill him with His Holy Spirit and power, as He did Stephen the martyr; that he, behaving himself acceptably, and uniformly, and unblameably in his office, might be thought worthy of a higher degree, &c. What, therefore, were the particular offices of the deacons, we are to learn, not from the forms of the Church, but from other writers.

SECT. IV.—*The Deacons' office to take care of the Utensils of the Altar.*

Where we find, first, that the most ordinary and common office of the deacons was to be subservient and assistant to the bishop and presbyters, in the service of the altar. It belonged to them to take care of the holy table, and all the ornaments and utensils appertaining thereto. The author under the name of St. Austin^c takes notice of this as the common office of deacons in all Churches, except in such great Churches as the Church of Rome, where there being a multitude of inferior clergy, this office was devolved on some of them: but in other Churches, it was the deacons' office, where the inferior clergy, subdeacons, &c., were prohibited by canon to come into the sanctuary, or touch any of the sacred vessels, in the time of divine service; as may be seen in several canons^d of the ancient councils.

^b Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 490. A 3.) Κύριε, ἐπίφανον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τόν τε τὸν προχειριζόμενόν σοι εἰς διακονίαν, καὶ πλησον αὐτὸν Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ δυνάμεως· ὥς ἐπλησας Στέφανον τὸν μάρτυρα καὶ μιμητὴν τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτὸν εὐαρέστως λειτουργήσαντα τὴν ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν αὐτῷ διακονίαν ἀτρέπτως, ἀμέμπτως, ἀνεγκλήτως, μείζονος ἀξιοθῆναι βαθμοῦ, κ. τ. λ.

^c Aug. Quæst. Vet. et N. Testam. vol. iv. c. vi. (Bened. 1700. vol. iii. append. p. 77. A 3.) Ut autem non omnia ministeria obsequiorum per ordinem agant, multitudo facit clericorum. Nam utique et altare portarent et vasa ejus, et aquam in manus funderent sacerdoti, sicut videmus per omnes ecclesias.

^d Conc. Agathens. c. lxvi. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1394.) Non oportet insacratos ministros licentiam habere in secretarium (quod Græci diaconicon appellant) ingredi, et contingere vasa Dominica.—Conc. Laodic. c. xxi. (Labbe, Conc. vol. i. p. 1500.) "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὑπηρέτας ἔχειν χώραν ἐν τῷ διακονικῷ, καὶ ἄπτεσθαι δεσποτικῶν σκευῶν.—Not. Balsam. in h. l. Ὑπηρέται λέγονται οἱ ὑποδιάκονοι.—Zonar. Ὑπηρέτας τοὺς ὑποδιακόνους λέγει, οὓς οὐ χρῆ, φησιν ὁ κανὼν, χώραν ἔχειν ἐν τῷ διακονικῷ, κ. τ. λ.

SECT. V.—*Secondly, to receive the Oblations of the People, and present them to the Priest, and recite the names of those that offered.*

Another part of the deacons' office was to receive the people's offerings, and present them to the priest, who presented them to God at the altar; after which the deacon repeated the names of those that offered, publicly; and this rehearsal was commonly called 'Offerre nomina,' as may be seen in Cyprian^e, who speaks of it as part of the communion service of those times; which is also noted by Rigaltius^f and others: of which custom I shall say more hereafter, when we come to treat of the ancient service of the Church: at present I only observe, that this recital of the names of such as made their oblations, was part of the deacons' office, as is evident from St. Jerome^g, who tells us that "extortioners and oppressors made their oblations out of their ill-gotten goods, that they might glory in their wickedness, while the deacon in the Church publicly recites the names of those that offered: Such an one offers so much,—Such an one has promised so much: and so they please themselves with the applause of the people,

^e Cypr. Ep. ix. al. xvi. (Oxon. 1682. p. 37.) (p. 21, edit. Par.) Ad communicationem admittuntur, et offertur nomen eorum, et nondum poenitentia acta, nondum exomologesi facta, nondum manu eis ab episcopo et clero imposita, eucharistia illis datur.

^f Rigalt. Not. in Cypr. Ep. lx. Subdidi nomina singulorum.] Non frustra, nec supervacue. Nam in sacrificiis orationum offerebantur nomina eorum, qui ad hoc opus tam necessarium promte ac libenter operati erant.—Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. viii. n. vii. p. m. 393. (Antverp. 1677. p. 541.) Inquirendum, quid sit hujusmodi nominum oblatio seu recitatio. Quidam putant, hoc nihil aliud fuisse quam pro illis orare, illorumque meminisse in orationibus seu publicis seu privatis. Vere tamen alicujus nomen offerre idem erat, ac ipsum in sancto sacrificio recitare et enuntiare; qui ritus manifeste colligitur ex epistola decima (nona) Cypriani adversus presbyteros, qua lapsos nondum peracta poenitentia ad consortium fidelium et ad oblationem ac perceptionem eucharistiæ admittebant: 'Ad communicationem,' inquit, 'admittuntur, et offertur nomen eorum,' etc.

^g Hieron. Comment. in Ezech. xviii. p. 537. (Venet. Vallars. vol. v. p. 209. A.) Multos conspicimus, qui opprimunt per potentiam, vel furta committunt, ut de multis parva pauperibus tribuant, et in suis sceleribus gloriantur. Publiceque diaconus in ecclesia recitet offerentium nomina: Tantum offert ille, Tantum ille pollicitus est: placentque sibi ad plausum populi, torquente eos conscientia.

while their conscience secretly lashes and torments them." Some, indeed, deny that there was any such custom as this public and particular rehearsal of men's names that offered in the Church, and by consequence that this was any part of the deacons' office: but I think St. Jerome's testimony is undeniable proof, and cannot otherwise be expounded, to make any tolerable sense of his words: for which reason I have made this one part of the deacons' office, though contrary to the judgment of some learned men.

SECT. VI.—*Thirdly, to read the Gospel in some Churches.*

Thirdly, in some Churches, but not in all, the deacons read the Gospel both in the communion service, and before it also. The author of the Constitutions assigns all other parts of Scripture to the readers, but the Gospel is to be read^h only by a presbyter or a deacon. St. Jeromeⁱ intimates that it was part of the deacons' function; and so it is said by the Council of Vaison, which authorizes deacons to read the homilies of the ancient fathers in the absence of a presbyter, assigning this reason for it: "If the deacons be worthy to read^k the discourses of Christ in the Gospel, why should they not be thought worthy to read the expositions of the holy fathers?" This implies, that, in the western Churches, it was the ordinary office of the deacons to read the Gospels. But in other Churches, the custom varied: for, as Sozomen observes, it was customary at Alexandria for the archdeacon only to read the Gospels; in other Churches the deacons; in others the priests only: and in some Churches, on high festivals, the bishop himself read, as at Constantinople on Easter-day. In the African Churches, in the time of Cyprian, the readers were allowed to read the Gospels as well as other parts of Scripture, as appears from one of Cyprian's epistles, where speaking of Celerinus the

^h Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 294, at bottom.) *Μετά ταῦτα διάκονος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἀναγινωσκέτω τὰ εὐαγγέλια.*

Hieron. Epist. lvii. ad Sabin. Evangelium Christi, quasi diaconus lectitabas. (Vallars. Venet. vol. i. p. 1090. D 2.)

^k Concil. Vasens. II. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1680.) Si digni sunt diaconi, quæ Christus in evangelio loquutus est legere, quare indigni judicentur sanctorum patrum expositiones publice recitare?

confessor, whom he had ordained a reader, he says, 'It was fitting he should be advanced to the pulpit¹ or tribunal of the Church (as they then called the reading-desk), that he might thence read the precepts and Gospels of his Lord, which he himself like a courageous confessor had followed and observed.' So that we are not to look upon this to have been the deacon's peculiar office, but only in some Churches and some ages.

SECT. VII.—*Fourthly, to minister the consecrated elements of bread and wine to the people in the Eucharist.*

But it was something more appropriate to them to assist the bishop or presbyters in the administration of the eucharist: where their business was to distribute the elements to the people that were present, and carry them to those that were absent also, as Justin Martyr^m acquaints us in his second Apology. The author of the Constitutionsⁿ, likewise, describing the manner of the ancient service, divides the whole action between the bishop and the deacon; appointing the bishop to deliver the bread to every communicant singly, saying, "The body of Christ:" and the deacon in like manner to deliver the cup, saying, "The blood of Christ, the cup of life." This the author under the name of St. Austin^o calls the proper office of the deacons' order. Yet it was not so proper to their order, but that they were to depend upon the will and license of the bishop and the presbyters, if they were present, as is expressly provided in some of the ancient councils^p, which for-

¹ Cyprian. Ep. xxxiv. al. xxxix. (Oxon. 1682. p. 77.) Quid aliud, quam super pulpitem, id est, super tribunal ecclesiæ, oportebat imponi, ut loci altioris celsitate subnixus legat præcepta et evangelium Domini, quæ fortiter ac fideliter sequitur?

^m Justin. Mart. Apol. ii. p. 97. (Paris. 1742. p. 83. A 2.) Οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδόντες ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι.

ⁿ Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xiii. 'Ο μὲν ἐπίσκοπος διδόντω τὴν προσφορὰν, λέγων, Σῶμα Χριστοῦ· καὶ ὁ δεχόμενος λεγέτω, Ἀμήν· ὁ δὲ διάκονος κατεχέτω τὸ ποτήριον, καὶ ἐπιδίδους λεγέτω, Αἷμα Χριστοῦ, ποτήριον ζωῆς· καὶ ὁ πίνων λεγέτω, Ἀμήν. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 483. E 8.)

^o Aug. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. cap. ci. (Bened. 1700. vol. iii. append. p. 77. C 16.) Diaconi ordo est, accipere a sacerdote, et sic dare plebi.

^p Concil. Carth. IV. c. xxxviii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1203.) Diaconus, præsentē

bid the deacon to give the eucharist in the presence of a presbyter, except necessity require, and he have his leave to do it. And therefore it was looked upon as a great absurdity for a presbyter to sit by and receive the sacrament from the hands of a deacon, as was sometimes practised; but the Council of Nice^a made a severe canon against it. So that what was allowed to deacons, was not to consecrate the eucharist, but only to distribute it, and that not to the bishop or presbyters, but only to the people. Yet this action of theirs is sometimes called oblation or offering, as in Cyprian^r, and the Council of Ancyra^s, which forbids some deacons that were under censure, ἄρτον ἢ ποτήριον ἀναφέρειν, to offer either the bread or wine, as deacons otherwise were allowed to do.

SECT. VIII.—*But not allowed to consecrate them at the altar.*

Some learned persons^t, I know, put a different sense upon the words of this council: they understand by ‘offering,’ consecration; and thence conclude that deacons anciently were invested with the ordinary power of consecrating the eucharist in the absence of the presbyters. But this is more than can fairly be deduced from the words, which are capable of two more reasonable constructions: either they may signify the deacons’ offering the people’s oblations to the priest, which was

presbytero, eucharistiam corporis Christi populo, si necessitas cogat, jussus eroget.

^a Conc. Nicæn. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 37.) Ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ μεγάλην σύνοδον, ὅτι ἐν τισι τόποις καὶ πόλεσι, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τὴν εὐχαριστίαν οἱ διάκονοι διδόασιν· ὅπερ οὐτε ὁ κανὼν, οὐτε ἡ συνήθεια παρέδωκε, τοὺς ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντας προσφέρειν, τοῖς προσφέρουσι διδόναι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ· κάκεῖνο δὲ ἐγνωρίσθη, ὅτι ἤδη τινὲς τῶν διακόνων καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἄπτονται· ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἅπαντα περιηγήσθω, κ. τ. λ.

^r Cyprian. de Lapsis, (Oxon. 1682. p. 132.) Solemnibus adimpletis calicem diaconus offerre præscentibus cœpit.

^s Conc. Ancyra. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1456.) Διακόνους ὁμοίως θύσαντας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναπαλαίσαντας, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην τιμὴν ἔχειν, πεπαῦσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς πάσης τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, τῆς τε τοῦ ἄρτον ἢ ποτήριον ἀναφέρειν, ἢ κηρύσσειν.

^t Hospin. Histor. Sacram. lib. ii. c. i. p. 23. In synodo Ancyrana sancitum legimus in hunc modum: Diaconi, qui immolaverunt (nimirum in persecutione) honorem quidem habeant, etc. Illo ergo adhuc tempore diaconi eucharistiam administrabant. Refert etiam Theodoretus, ut supra quoque adnotavimus lib. iv. H. E. c. xii. quum Valens Imp. Arrianus omnes sacerdotes suis sedibus,

a part of their office, as I showed before: and so Petavius^u and Habertus understand them: or else they may be interpreted by Cyprian's words, who expresses himself more fully, calling it 'offering the consecrated bread and wine to the people;' which seems to be the most natural sense; and is preferred to all others by some late learned writers^v. Whatever it be, there is no reason to believe it means that deacons were allowed the ordinary power of consecration. For the Council of Nice, which was not long after the Council of Ancyra, says expressly^x, that 'deacons had not power to offer;' that is, in the sense in which offering signifies consecration: for in that sense, it was the proper office of presbyters. Some deacons, indeed, did about this time take upon them thus to offer: but the Council of Arles, which was held in the same year with that of Ancyra, reckons it a presumption and transgression of their rule; and therefore made a new canon to

ejiceret, Eusebium episcopum Samosatenum militari habitu omnia illa loca percurrisse, et clam presbyteros et diaconos ordinasse, ne plebs sacramentis careret. Has autem diaconorum partes postea multa decreta resciderunt et antiquarunt. Nam in concilio Arelatensi apud Gallos celebrato, constituitur, ne diaconi omnino sacramentum administrent, etc.

^u Petav. Diatrib. de Potest. Consecrandi, c. iii. tom. iv. p. 211.—Habert. in Pontif. part. ix. observat. ii. p. 190. 'Panem vel calicem offerre.' Sed quid hoc? offerre idem ne heic ac consecrare? Multum abest, siquidem duplici functione diaconi, panem vel calicem attingendo utrumque offerre absque consecratione, dici potuerunt; uno quidem modo laicis utrumque porrigendo, quod quidem offerre dicitur S. Cypriano libro de Lapsis, uti apte, suo more, nuper adnotavit Dion. Petavius. Sed hunc modum nunc prætermissum velim: alter mihi modus etiam in Petavium antequam inciderem, semper arrisit: quo nempe diaconus offerre dicitur panem vel calicem, non consecrando, sed utrumque sacerdoti consecraturus repræsentando: quod eo aptius ἀναφέρειν dicitur, quo certe diaconus ex manibus populi munera illa primum suscipiebat, ad sacerdotem vel episcopum referenda, vel ei una cum sacerdotibus in usum eucharisticæ consecrationis, quod æquum erat, excerpturo eadem, exhibeant.

^v Suicer. Thesaur. p. 871. Calicem et panem in sacra eucharistia ministrabant populo (diaconi). Patet ex Justini M. Apol. ii. p. 162, οἱ καλούμενοι, etc. (vide § vii. not. (m) p. 287.) Cyprian. Serm. de Lapsis: ubi solemnibus adimpletis calicem offerre diaconus præsentibus cœpit. Idem colligitur ex can. ii. Ancyrano: ibi enim de diaconis immolantibus, postea autem reluctantibus, discernitur, πεπαῦσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς, etc. See note (v) p. 295. Ergo ante lapsum hoc faciebant.

^x Concil. Nic. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 37.) Τοὺς ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντας προσφέρειν.

restrain them^y. St. Hilary is a good witness of the practice of the Church in his own time: and he assures us there could be no sacrifice, or consecration of the eucharist, without a presbyter^z. And St. Jerome says the same^a, that presbyters were the only persons whose prayers consecrated bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. For which reason, speaking of one Hilary a deacon, he says, ‘he could not consecrate the eucharist^b, because he was only a deacon.’ The reason of this was, because the holy eucharist was looked upon as the prime Christian sacrifice, and one of the highest offices of the Christian priesthood: and deacons being generally reckoned no priests, or but in the lowest degree, they were therefore forbidden to offer or consecrate this sacrifice at the altar. This reason is assigned by the author^c of the Constitutions, and the author under the name of St. Austin, and several others.

But there is a passage in St. Ambrose, which seems to intimate that, in the third century, the deacons at Rome had power to consecrate the eucharist: for, speaking of Laurentius the deacon, he brings him in thus addressing himself to Sixtus his bishop, as he was going to his martyrdom: “Whither go you, holy priest, without your deacon? You did not use to offer sacrifice without your minister. Why are you, then, now

^y Conc. Arelat. l. c. xv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1428.) De diaconibus, quos cognovimus multis locis offerre, placuit minime fieri debere.

^z Hilar. Fragm. p. 129. Sacrificii opus sine presbytero esse non potuit. (Venet. 1749. vol. ii. 496. D 7.)

^a Hieron. Ep. lxxxv. ad Evang. [Evagr.] (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 1081.) Quid patitur mensarum et viduarum minister, ut supra eos tumidus se efferat, ad quorum preces Christi corpus et sanguis conficitur?

^b Id. Dialog. contr. Lucif. p. 145. (Venet. Vallars. vol. ii. p. 194. C 6.) Hilarius cum diaconus de ecclesia recesserit, solusque ut putat, turba sit mundi, neque eucharistiam conficere potest, episcopos et presbyteros non habens, etc.

^c Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xxviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 494. C 4.) Διάκονος οὐκ εὐλογεῖ· οὐ δίδωσιν εὐλογίαν· λαμβάνει δὲ παρὰ ἐπισκόπου· οὐ βαπτίζει· οὐ προσφέρει· τοῦ δὲ ἐπισκόπου προσενεγκόντος ἢ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, αὐτὸς ἐπιδίδωσι τῷ λαῷ, οὐχ ὡς ἱερεὺς, ἀλλ’ ὡς διακονούμενος ἱερεῦσι.—Aug. Quæstion. Vet. et Nov. Testam. Q. xlv. (Bened. 1700. vol. iii. append. p. 49. F 6.) Qui non fuit sacerdos, quomodo vicem agere poterat sacerdotis? Numquid diaconus potest vicem agere sacerdotis? Præfectus etenim potest agere vicem præfecti, et prætor prætoris: non tamen privatus potest vicem agere potestatis alicujus: quanto magis sacerdotis vicem agere non potest, qui non est sacerdos?

displeased with me? Why may I not be partner with you in shedding my blood, who was used to consecrate^d the blood of Christ by your commission, and be your partner in consummating the holy mysteries?" Baronius was so perplexed with this difficulty, that he resolves it to be a corruption of the text, and that instead of 'Consecrationem,' it should be read 'Dispensationem^e:' and some shameless editors have, without any grounds, made bold to foist this correction into the text: which Bona^f and Habertus ingenuously condemn, as done against the authority of all the MSS. as well as former editions, and that without any reason for it from the difficulty of the expression. For the word 'consecration,' in this place, does not signify the sacramental consecration of the elements by prayer at the altar, which was performed by the bishop himself; as appears evidently from the context, where it is said, 'the bishop was never used to offer sacrifice without his minister or deacon.' Therefore the consecration which was committed to the deacon, must be of another sort: for he could not offer or consecrate the elements on the altar in the bishop's presence, and at the same time that the bishop himself consecrated; but he might assist him, or bear a part with him, as it is there worded, in 'consummating' the holy mysteries; that is, in giving the cup with the usual form of words to the people; which, in the language of those times, was called a ministerial consecration, or

^d Ambros. de Offic. lib. i. c. xli. Quo, sacerdos sancte, sine diacono properas? Numquam sacrificium sine ministro offerre consueveras. Quid in me ergo displicuit, pater? . . . cui commisisti Dominici sanguinis 'consecrationem,' cui consummandorum consortium sacramentorum, huic consortium tui sanguinis negas?

^e Baron. an. cclxi. n. vii. . . . cui commisisti Dominici sanguinis dispensationem, etc.

^f Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. i. c. xxv. n. iv. (Antwerp. 1677. p. 470.) Hoc item sensu dixisse existimo Sixto pontifici Laurentium diaconum apud Ambrosium (lib. i. Offic. c. xli.) 'Experire certe, utrum idoneum ministrum elegeris, cui commisisti Dominici sanguinis consecrationem.' Sic enim scriptum est in antiquis codicibus tam editis quam MSS., non 'dispensationem,' ut in vulgatis libris correctum est. Huic autem lectioni nullatenus formidandæ aut corrigendæ, sed omnino restituendæ, favet contextus, nam sequitur, 'Cui consummandorum,' etc.—Habert. Not. in Pontific. Græc. p. 191. Scio cardinalem Baronium legere 'dispensationem.' Sed verum est, veterum exemplaria, veteres editiones 'consecrationem' habere.

consummation of the sacrament; forasmuch as the receivers were hereby consecrated with the blood of Christ, and also consummated or made perfect partakers of the sacrament in both kinds, having received the bread from the hands of the bishop, and the cup from the hands of the deacon. This is plainly the consecration here spoken of, which refers only to the deacons' ministering of the cup to the people, which was their usual office, and so cannot be made an argument, as Hospinian and Grotius^g would have it, that deacons were allowed to consecrate the eucharist at the altar.

SECT. IX.—5. *Deacons allowed to baptize in some places.*

But for the other sacrament of baptism, it is more evident, that they were permitted in some cases to administer it solely. For though the author^h of the Constitutions says, that the deacons did neither baptize, nor offer; and Epiphaniusⁱ affirms universally, that the deacons were not entrusted with the sole administration of any sacrament;—yet it appears from other writers that they had this power, at least in some places, ordinarily conferred upon them. Tertullian^k invests them with the same right as presbyters, that is, to baptize by the bishop's leave. And St. Jerome^l entitles them to the very same privilege. The Council of Eliberis^m as plainly asserts this right, when it says, “If a deacon, that takes care of a people without either bishop or presbyter, baptizes any, the bishop shall con-

^g Vide Grot. de Cœnæ Administratione, ubi pastores non sunt. Cited and confuted by Petavius.

^h Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xxxviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 494.) Διάκονος οὐ βαπτίζει, οὐ προσφέρει. See preceding note (c).

ⁱ Epiphan. Hæres. lxxix. Collyrid. n. iv. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 1061. A.) Καὶ γὰρ οὐτε διάκονοι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ τάξει ἐπιστεύθησάν τι μυστήριον ἐπιτελεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνον διακονεῖν τὰ ἐπιτελούμενα.

^k Tertull. de Bapt. c. xvii. (Paris. 1664, p. 230. C 2.) Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus: dehinc presbyteri et diaconi; non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, etc.

^l Hieron. Dial. contr. Lucif. c. iv. p. 139. (Venet. Vallars. vol. ii. p. 182. A 5.) Inde venit, ut sine jussione episcopi, neque presbyter neque diaconus jus habeant baptizandi.

^m Concil. Illiberrit. c. lxxvii. Si quis diaconus regens plebem, sine episcopo vel presbytero aliquos baptizaverit, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debet.

summate them by his benediction." This plainly supposes that deacons had the ordinary right of baptizing in such Churches over which they presided. So when Cyrilⁿ directs his Catechumens how they should behave themselves at the time of baptism, when they came either before a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, in city or in village; this may be presumed a fair intimation, that then deacons were ordinarily allowed to minister baptism in country places. I speak only now of their ordinary power. For as to extraordinary cases, not only deacons, but the inferior clergy, and laymen also, were admitted to baptize in the primitive Church, as will be showed in its proper place.

SECT. X.—6. *Deacons to bid Prayer in the Congregation.*

Another office of the deacons was to be a sort of monitors and directors to the people in the exercise of their public devotions in the Church. To which purpose they were wont to use certain known forms of words, to give notice when each part of the service began, and to excite the people to join attentively therein; also to give notice to the catechumens, penitents, energumens, when to come up and make their prayers, and when to depart; and in several prayers they repeated the words before them, to teach them what they were to pray for. All this was called by the general name of *κηρύττειν* among the Greeks, and *Prædicare* among the Latins, which does not ordinarily signify preaching, as some mistake it, but performing the office of a *κήρυξ*, or *Præco*, in the assembly: whence Synesius^o and some others call the deacons *ιεροκήρυκες*, the holy criers of the Church, as those that gave notice to the congregation how all things were regularly to be performed. Thus the word *κηρύξαι* frequently occurs in the ancient rituals and canons: and in the Apostolical Constitutions,

ⁿ Cyrill. Cateches. xvii. n. xvii. (Paris. 1640, p. 209. A 8.) Κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ βαπτίσματος, ὅταν προσέλθῃς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων, ἢ πρεσβυτέρων, ἢ διακόνων, κ. τ. λ.

^o Synes. Ep. lxvii. p. 224. (p. 209. B. Paris. 1640.) Κατασιγαζόντων δὲ τῶν ιεροκηρύκων, εἰς θρῆνον αὐτοῖς ἀπετελεύτησεν ἡ βοή.—Chrysost. Hom. xvii. in Hebr. ix. (vol. vi. p. 484, edit. Francof.) Ἐστηκε καὶ νῦν ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν κήρυξ . . . ὅταν εἴπῃ, Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἀγίοις, κ. τ. λ. (Paris. 1636, vol. vi. p. 1873.)

as soon as the bishop has ended his sermon, the deacon is to cry, "Let the hearers^p and unbelievers depart." Then he is to bid the catechumens pray, and to call upon the faithful also to pray for them, repeating a form of bidding prayer, to instruct the people after what manner they were to pray for them. Which form may be seen both in the Constitutions^q and in St. Chrysostom^r. After this, the deacon was to call in like manner upon the energumens, the competentes, and the penitents, in their several orders, using the solemn words of exhortation both to them and the people to pray for them, ἐκτενῶς δεηθῶμεν, "Let us ardently pray for them." Then, again, when the deacon had dismissed all these by a solemn cry, ἀπολύεσθε, προέλθετε, or "Ite, Missa est;" he called upon the faithful to pray again for themselves and the whole state of Christ's Church, repeating^s another form of bidding prayer before them. And this is there called the deacon's προσφώνησις, or exhortation to pray, to distinguish it from the bishop's ἐπικλήσις, which was a direct form of address to God, whereas the deacon's address was to the people: for which reason it was called προσφώνησις, and κηρύξαι, bidding the people pray, or a call and exhortation to pray, with directions what they should pray for in particular. This the Latins called both Oratio and Prædicatio, as may be seen in one of the Councils of Toledo^t, which explains the word Orare by Prædicare, making them both to signify this office of the deacon. And hence one of the deacon's ornaments (that I may note this by the way) is called by the same council his Orarium, because he used it sometimes as a private signal to give notice of the prayers to his brethren of the clergy. By all this we may understand what Socrates means, when he says

^p Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. v. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 463. B 2.) Πληρώσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸν τῆς διδασκαλίας λόγον.. ἀναστάντων ἀπάντων ὁ διάκονος ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τινος ἀνελθὼν κηρυττέτω· Μή τις τῶν ἀκροωμένων· μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων· καὶ ἡσυχίας γενομένης, λεγέτω, Εὐξασθε οἱ κατηχούμενοι, καὶ πάντες οἱ πιστοὶ κατὰ διάνοιαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προσευχέσθωσαν.

^q Ibid. c. vi. tot.

^r Chrysostom. Hom. ii. in 2 Corinth. (Explan. in N. T. Paris. 1636, vol. iv. p. 740.)

^s Constit. Apostol. lib. viii. c. x.

^t Conc. Toletan. IV. c. xl. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1716.) Unum orarium oportet Levitam gestare in sinistro humero, propter quod orat, id est, prædicat.

Athanasius^u commanded his deacon κηρύξαι εὐχὴν, to bid prayer; and how we are to interpret that controverted canon of the Council of Ancyra, which speaking of some deacons that had lapsed into idolatry, and degrading them, says, they should no longer κηρύσσειν^v: which some interpret preaching, but others^x more truly understand it of this part of the deacon's office, which was to be the κήρυξ, or Præco, the sacred crier of the congregation.

SECT. XI.—7. *Deacons allowed to preach by the Bishop's authority.*

If it be inquired whether deacons had any power to preach publicly in the congregation; the answer must be the same as in the case of baptism: they had power to preach by license and authority from the bishop, but not without it. The author under the name of St. Ambrose^y says positively, that deacons did not preach in his time; though he thinks originally all deacons were evangelists, as Philip and Stephen were. I have showed before, that presbyters themselves in many places were not allowed to preach in the bishop's presence, but by his special leave; and therefore it is much more reasonable to

^u Socrat. lib. ii. c. xi. Προστάξας διακόνῳ κηρύξαι εὐχὴν.

^v Concil. Ancyra. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1456.) Πεπαῦσθαι αὐτοὺς πάσης τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, τῆς τε τοῦ ἄρτου ἢ ποτήριον ἀναφέρειν, ἢ κηρύσσειν.

^x Habert. Pontific. p. 203. Eo canone (Ancyra. ii.) κηρύσσειν 'concionari' quod vulgo 'prædicare' dicimus, minime significat, sed 'pronuntiare, annuntiare' ea, de quibus uno aut altero verbo populum inter sacra admonebat diaconus, ut κήρυξ 'præco' ecclesiæ, vel episcopi aut presbyteri sacrificantis.—Bevereg. Not. in Conc. Ancyra. c. ii. Hic observetur discrimen inter presbyterorum et diaconorum officia. In primo enim canone, presbyteros quidem προσφέρειν καὶ ὁμιλεῖν, in præsentem autem diaconos ἀναφέρειν καὶ κηρύσσειν, dictum est: ut igitur ἀναφέρειν a προσφέρειν, sic etiam κηρύσσειν ab ὁμιλεῖν, distinguatur necesse est. Cum ὁμιλεῖν igitur isto loco 'concionari, sive sermonem habere' significet; κηρύσσειν hoc loco, de diaconis dictum, nihil aliud denotare videtur, quam quod proprie significat, 'præconis' scilicet 'officio fungi.' Hoc enim in sacris celebrandis diacono olim incubuit, alta nimirum voce et præconis instar varios ritus et ordinem per totam liturgiam moderari, et significare quid et quando a fidelibus aut catechumenis orandum erat.—Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. vol. ii. p. 99. Κηρύσσειν . . diaconis tributum, non significat 'verbum prædicare,' sed illud declarat ministerium, quo dato orarii signo, actionum sacrarum ritus et ordinem moderabantur.

^y Ambros. Comm. in Ephes. iv. Nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant, neque clerici vel laici baptizant.

conclude the same of deacons. Blondel^z and Baronius think that St. Chrysostom preached those elegant discourses, "De Incomprehensibili Dei Natura, de Anathemate," &c., while he was but a deacon. But others think^a, more probably, that those were not sermons which he preached in the Church, but only discourses that he composed upon other occasions; and that his first sermon was that which he preached when he was ordained presbyter, now extant in his fourth volume, p. 953. But if he ever preached while he was deacon, there is no question to be made but that he had the authority of his bishop, Meletius, for doing it: as Philostorgius^b says, Leontius, the Arian bishop of Antioch, permitted Aetius, his deacon, to preach publicly in the Church. Ephrem Syrus, perhaps, was another such instance: for he was never more than a deacon of the Church of Edessa; yet Photius^c says he composed several homilies or sermons, which were so excellent in their kind, that after his death they were translated into

^z Blondel. *Apol.* p. 57.—Baron. *an.* ccclxxxvi. n. lv. p. 542. (Antwerp. 1601. vol. iv. p. 532.) Cum primum vero presbyter designatus est, primam omnium ad populum habuisse dicitur homiliam, cujus est exordium, 'Num vera sunt quæ nobis acciderunt,' etc.—At nihil ibi de presbyteratu, sed de suscepta tantum docendi populi functione: quam quidem non ante hunc annum auspiciatum fuisse, ex eo exploratum redditur; dum ipse in una illarum orationum, quas habuit ad populum Antiochenum de imminente clade ob statuas ignominia adfectas (quod certum est contigisse post sequentem annum) expresse testatur se jam in docendi munere biennium agere: sunt hæc ejus verba: 'Ecce secundum hunc annum habeo vestræ disserens caritati,' etc.—Quamobrem in eam sententiam ire compellimur, ut quæ reperiuntur scriptæ orationes ab ipso, cum diaconus esset, nempe superius recensitæ adversus Gentiles, Judæos, atque hæreticos, et de Anathemate, eas speciali indulgentia et jussione Flaviani pro concione dixerit; cessasse vero postea usque ad presbyteratum.

^a Cave, *Hist. Litter.* vol. i. p. 253. (edit. Londin. 1688.) (Basil. 1741. vol. i. p. 300.) Diaconus constitutus ad scribendum se accinxit; librosque 'adversus Judæos, Gentiles, Anomæos, de Sacerdotio, de Providentia ad Stagirium monachum' aliosque aliquot edidit. Exacto in diaconatu quinquennio, a Flaviano (nam falsus est Socrates, qui ab Evagrio factum refert) anno ccclxxxvi. Ecclesiæ Antiochanæ presbyter factus est; quo tempore primam concionem habuit, quæ exstat, tom. iv. p. 953.

^b Philostorg. lib. iii. c. xvii. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 488. D 3.) Λεόντιος.. εἰς διακονίαν τὸν μαθητὴν προχειρίζεται, καὶ διδάσκειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιτρέπει δόγματα.

^c Phot. *Cod.* cxcvi. p. 512. Λόγοι ἐννέα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα.—Ibid. p. 516. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεῖστα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μεταβληθέντα πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα συντάγματα φέρεται πλήρη χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως.

other languages, and allowed to be read in many churches immediately after the reading of the Scriptures, as St. Jerome^d acquaints us. In some places, as in the French Churches, the deacons were authorized by canon to read some such homilies in the church instead of a sermon, when the presbyter happened to be sick, and could not preach, as appears from the order made in the Council of Vaison^e upon this occasion. But here was necessity and permission too: so that the case of deacons preaching in those ages of the Church seems to have been (according to the resolution, which Vigilius^f afterwards gave of it) allowable, if authorized by the bishop; but a presumption both against custom and canon, if done without his permission.

SECT. XII.—8. *Also to reconcile Penitents in cases of extreme necessity.*

And so the case stood likewise with deacons in reference to the power of reconciling penitents, and granting them absolution. This was ordinarily the bishop's sole prerogative, as the supreme minister of the Church; and therefore rarely committed to presbyters, but never to deacons, except in cases of extreme necessity, when neither bishop nor presbyter were ready at hand to do it: in this case deacons were sometimes authorized, as the bishop's special delegates, to give men the solemn imposition of hands, which was the sign of reconciliation. Thus we find it in Cyprian, in the case of those penitents whom the martyrs by their letters recommended to the favour of the Church. "If," says he^g, "they are seized by

^d Hieron. de Script. cxv. (Venet. Vallars. vol. ii. p. 943.) Ephræm, Edessæ ecclesiæ diaconus, multa Syro sermone composuit, et ad tantam venit claritudinem, ut, post lectionem Scripturarum, publice in quibusdam ecclesiis ejus scripta recitentur.

^e Conc. Vasense III. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1680. B 4.) Si presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per seipsum non potuerit prædicare, SS. Patrum homiliæ a diaconibus recitentur.

^f Vigil. Ep. ad Rustic. et Sebastian. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 554. D 10.) Adjecistis etiam execranda superbia, quæ nec leguntur, nec sine sui pontificis jussione aliquando ordinis vestri homines præsumpserunt, auctoritatem vobis prædicationis contra omnem consuetudinem vel canones vindicare.

^g Cypr. Ep. xiii. al. xviii. ad Cler. (Oxon. 1682. p. 40.) Si incommodo aliquo et infirmitatis periculo occupati fuerint, non expectata præsentia nostra,

any dangerous distemper, they need not expect my return, but may have recourse to any presbyter that is present; or if a presbyter cannot be found, they may make their confession before a deacon; that so they may receive imposition of hands, and go to the Lord in peace." Here it is observable, that none below a deacon are commissioned to perform this office; nor were the deacons authorized to do it, but as the bishop's delegates; and that in cases of extreme necessity, when no presbyter could be found to reconcile the penitent at the point of death.

And to suspend the inferior Clergy in some extraordinary cases.

In the like case, that is, in the case of absolute necessity, it seems very probable, that in some of the Greek Churches they had power to suspend the inferior clergy, when need so required; and neither bishop nor presbyter was present to do it. Which may be collected from those words of the author of the Constitutionsⁱ, where he says, "A deacon excommunicates a subdeacon, a reader, a singer, a deaconess, if there be occasion, and the presbyter be not at hand to do it. But a subdeacon shall have no power to excommunicate any either clergy or laity: for subdeacons are only ministers of the deacons." This was a power, then, committed to deacons in extraordinary cases, and a peculiar privilege which none of the inferior clergy might enjoy.

SECT. XIII.—9. *Deacons to attend upon their Bishops, and sometimes represent them in General Councils.*

It may be reckoned also among their extraordinary offices, that they were sometimes deputed by their bishops to be their representatives and proxies in general councils. Their ordinary

apud presbyterum quemcunque præsentem, vel si presbyter repertus non fuerit, et urgere exitus cœperit, apud diaconum quoque exomologesin facere delicti sui possint; ut manu eis in pœnitentia imposita veniant ad Dominum cum pace.

ⁱ Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xxviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 494. D.) Διάκονος ἀφορίζει ὑποδιάκονον, ἀναγνώστην, ψάλτην, διακόνισσαν· ἐὰν ᾗ τι τοιοῦτον, μὴ παρόντος πρεσβυτέρου· ὑποδιακόνῳ οὐκ ἐξέστιν ἀφορίσαι, οὔτε μὴν ἀναγνώστην, οὔτε ψάλτην, οὔτε διακόνισσαν, οὐ κληρικόν, οὐ λαϊκόν· ὑπηρεῖται γάρ εἰσι διακόνων.

office there was only to attend upon their bishops, and perform the duties of scribes, and disputants, &c., according as they were directed by them; in which station we commonly find them employed in the ancient councils: but then there were two things in which they were treated as inferior to presbyters. 1. In that presbyters are usually represented as sitting together with their bishops, while the deacons stood with all the people. 2. Presbyters were sometimes allowed to vote, as has been showed before: but there are no instances, that I know of, to evidence the same privilege to belong to deacons. Only when bishops could not attend in person, they many times sent their deacons to represent them: and then they sat and voted, not as deacons, but as proxies, in the room and place of those that sent them. Of which there are so many instances in the acts of the councils, that it is needless to refer the reader to any of them. Yet they that desire to see examples may consult Christianus Lupus in his notes upon the seventh canon of the Council of Trullo, where he observes some difference in the sitting and voting of deacons in the Eastern and Western Councils: in the Eastern Councils, if a deacon represented a metropolitan or a patriarch, he sat and subscribed in the place that the metropolitan or patriarch himself would have done, had he been present: but in the Western Councils it was otherwise; there the deacons voted after all the bishops, and not in the place of those whose proxies they were.

Thus it was in general councils. But in provincial and consistorial synods the deacons were sometimes allowed to give their voice, as well as the presbyters, in their own name. Of which the reader may see several instances in the Roman Councils under Symmachus and Gregory II., published by Justellus^k in his *Bibliotheca Juris Canonici*, and in the fourth tome of the Councils, where first the bishops, then the presbyters, and then the deacons, subscribe every one in their own name in particular. And those that are curious about this matter, may furnish themselves with many other such examples.

^k See before, chap. xix. sect. 12.

SECT. XIV.—10. *Deacons empowered to rebuke and correct men that behaved themselves irregularly in the Church.*

There are two things more to be observed concerning the office of deacons in church-assemblies. 1. That as they were the regulators and directors of men's behaviour in divine service, so they had power to rebuke the irregular, and chastise them for any indecent and unseemly deportment. The Constitutions often mention such acts as these belonging to the deacons' office. "If any one be found sitting out of his place, let the deacon rebuke him^l, and transfer him to his proper station, as the pilot or steersman of the Church." And again a little after, "Let the deacon overlook and superintend the people, that no one talk, or sleep, or laugh, but give ear to the word of God^m." This is evident also from St. Chrysostom, who, speaking of the irreverent behaviour of some in the Church, bids their neighbours first rebuke them, and if they would not bear it, to call the deacon^{mm} to do his office toward them. Agreeable to this, Optatus tells us a very remarkable story of Cæcilian, archdeacon of Carthage, that observing one Lucilla, a rich woman, commit an indecent act in the time of receiving the holy communion; (for before she received the bread and wine, she was used to kiss the relics of some pretended martyr;) he rebuked herⁿ for it by virtue of his office: which she so highly resented, that afterward, when he was chosen bishop, she factiously withdrew herself with some others from his communion; and, pretending his ordination to be

^l Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 295. B 2.) Εἰ δέ τις εὐρεθῇ παρὰ τόπον καθεζόμενος, ἐπιπλησέσθω ὑπὸ τοῦ διακόνου ὡς πρωρέως, καὶ εἰς τὸν καθήκοντα αὐτῷ τόπον μεταγέσθω.

^m Ibid. (C 7.) Ὁμοίως ὁ διάκονος ἐπισκοπεῖτω τὸν λαὸν, ὅπως μὴ τις ψυθιρίσῃ, ἢ νυστάξῃ, ἢ γελάσῃ, ἢ νεύσῃ· χρὴ γὰρ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπιστημόνως, καὶ νηφαλέως, καὶ ἐγρηγορότως ἰστάναι, ἐκτεταμένην ἔχοντα τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγον.

^{mm} Chrysost. Hom. xxiv. in Act. (Bened. vol. ix. p. 198. D 8.) (vol. iii. p. 229.) (Explan. in Nov. T. Paris. 1616. vol. ii. p. 626. B.) Κεῖνται πάντες νέοι ψυχροὶ καὶ γέροντες· καθάρματα μᾶλλον ἢ νέοι, γελῶντες, ἀνακαγχάζοντες διαλεγόμενοι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ἤκουσα γινόμενον· καὶ ἀλλήλους σκώπτοντες ἐπὶ γόνατα κείμενοι· σὺ παρέστηκας ὁ νέος ἢ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐπίπληξον, ἂν ἴδῃς· ἐγκάλεσον σφοδρότερον οὐκ ἀνεχόμενον, τὸν διάκονον κάλεσον, κ. τ. λ.

ⁿ Optat. lib. i. p. 40. (p. 18, edit. Paris.) Quum correptionem archidiaconi Cæciliani ferre non posset, quæ ante spiritalem cibum et potum os nescio cujus martyris, si tamen martyris, libare dicebatur, etc. (Antwerp. 1702. p. 16.)

illegal, she by her power got Majorinus ordained against him: and this was one of the principal causes of the schism of the Donatists, as Optatus there observes: it had its rise from the implacable malice of a proud and angry woman, who could never forgive the deacon that rebuked her in the church. Some may perhaps imagine that what Cæcilian did, was by virtue of a superior office, and that, as archdeacon, he was of an higher order, as now commonly archdeacons are. But I shall show in the next chapter, that anciently archdeacons were always of the order of deacons, and of no other degree: and it appears from what has here been already discoursed, that this act of Cæcilian was not from any peculiar power that he enjoyed as archdeacon, but from that ordinary power to rebuke offenders, which he had in common with all the other deacons of the Church.

SECT. XV.—11. *Deacons anciently performed the offices of all the inferior orders of the Church.*

The other thing I would further remark concerning the office of deacons is this, that before the institution of the inferior orders of the Church (which were not set up in all Churches at once, nor perhaps in any Church for the two first ages, as shall be showed hereafter) the deacons were employed to perform all such offices, as were in after ages committed to those orders; such as the offices of readers, subdeacons, exorcists or catechists, door-keepers, and the like. Thus Epiphanius^o observes, that originally all offices of the Church were performed by bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and therefore no Church was without a deacon. This was certainly the practice in the time of Ignatius, who never speaks of any order below that of deacons: but without them, he says, no Church was called a Church^p. So that all the inferior offices must then be performed by deacons. And even in after ages we find that several of the inferior offices were many times put upon the same man, perhaps to avoid the charge of maintaining an over-numerous clergy in lesser churches. Thus Eusebius tells

^o Epiph. Hæres. lxxv. Aerii, n. v. "Ἀνευ δὲ διακόνου ἐπίσκοπον ἀδύνατον εἶναι. (vol. i. p. 908. D 3.)

^p Ignat. ad Trallian. n. iii. Χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται, οὐ ἐκλεκτὴ οὐκ ἔστιν. (Coteler. vol. i. p. 64.)

us, that Romanus the Martyr^a was both deacon and exorcist in the Church of Cæsarea. And Procopius the Martyr had three offices in the church of Scythopolis. He was at once reader, interpreter, and exorcist; as we learn from the Acts of his martyrdom^r published by Valesius. Now both these were martyred in the beginning of the fourth century, in the time of the Diocletian persecution. And we find, a whole age after this, if the author under the name of St. Austin^s may be credited, that except in such great and rich Churches as the Church of Rome, where there was a numerous clergy, all the inferior services were still performed by the deacons. In the Greek Church they were always the *πυλωροὶ*, or door-keepers, in the time of the oblation and celebration of the eucharist, as may be seen in the Apostolical Constitutions^t, where the deacons are commanded to stand at the men's gate, and the subdeacons at the women's, to see that no one should go out or come in during the time of the oblation. These were anciently the deacons' principal employments in the assemblies of the Church.

SECT. XVI.—12. *Deacons the Bishop's Sub-almoners.*

But besides these, we are to take notice of two or three other offices, in which they were commonly employed by the bishop out of the Church. One of these was to be his sub-almoners, to take care of the necessitous, such as orphans, widows, virgins, martyrs in prison, and all the poor and sick who had any title to be maintained out of the public revenues of the Church. The deacons were particularly to inquire into

^a Euseb. de Martyr. Palæstin. c. ii. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 261.) *Μνήμης δ' ἄξια τυγχάνει καὶ τὰ περὶ Ῥωμανὸν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἀποτελεσθέντα· Παλαιστινὸς γὰρ οὗτος ὢν, διάκονός τε καὶ ἐπορκιστῆς τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ παροικίας.*

^r Acta Procop. apud Vales. in Euseb. de Martyr. Palæstin. c. i. (p. 154. B 5.) *Ibi ecclesiæ tria ministeria præbebat: unum in legendi officio, alterum in Syri interpretatione sermonis, et tertium adversus dæmones manus impositione consummans.*

^s August. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Testam. cap. ci. See § iv. not. (c) p. 290.

^t Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 471. E 5.) *Οἱ δὲ διάκονοι ἰστάσθωσαν εἰς τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν θύρας· καὶ οἱ ὑποδιάκονοι εἰς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν, ὅπως μή τις ἐξέλθοι μήτε ἀνοιχθῇ ἡ θύρα, κἂν πιστός τις ᾖ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναφορᾶς.*

the necessities and wants of all these, and make relation thereof to the bishop, and then distribute to them such charities as they received from him towards their relief and assistance. The archdeacon indeed was, as it were, the bishop's treasurer; but all the deacons were his dispensers, or ministers of the Church's charity to the indigent. Which appears from several passages in Cyprian^u, Dionysius of Alexandria^v, and the author of the Constitutions^x, who speak indifferently of this office, as common to all the deacons. Particularly in the Constitutions, the duty of the deacon is thus described: That he should inform his bishop, when he knows any one to be in distress, and then distribute to their necessities by the directions of the bishop; but to do nothing clancularly without his consent, lest that might seem to accuse him of neglecting the distressed, and so turn to his reproach, and raise a murmuring against him.

SECT. XVII.—13. *Deacons to inform the Bishop of the misdemeanours of the people.*

Another office of the deacons in this respect was to make inquiry into the morals and conversation of the people; and such evils as he could not redress himself, by the ordinary

^u Cyprian. Ep. xlix. al. lii. ad Cornel. (Oxon. 1682. p. 96.) Nicostratum vero, diaconio sanctæ administrationis amisso, ecclesiasticis pecuniis sacrilega fraude subtractis, et viduarum ac pupillorum depositis denegatis, non tam in Africam venire voluisse, quam conscientia rapinarum ac criminum nefandorum illinc ab urbe fugisse.

^v Dionys. ap. Euseb. l. vii. c. xi. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 213. A 11.) Διάκονοι δὲ οἱ μετὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ νόσῳ τελευτήσαντας ὑπολειφθέντες, Φαῦστος, Εὐσέβιος, Χαιρήμων· Εὐσέβιος δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Θεὸς ἐνεδυνάμωσε, καὶ παρεσκεύασε τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τῶν ἐν ταῖς φυλακαῖς γενομένων ὁμολογητῶν ἐναγωνίας ἀποπληροῦν, καὶ τὰς τῶν σωμάτων περιστολὰς τῶν τελείων καὶ μακαρίων μαρτύρων οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ἐκτελεῖν.

^x Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. xxxi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 268.) Μηδὲν ποιῶ τὸ σύνολον ἄνευ ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ τινι διδόντω τι ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης· ἐὰν γὰρ ὡς θλιβομένου τινος λάθρα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου διδῶ τινι, εἰς λοιδορίαν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου δώσει.—Cap. xxxii. Εἰ οὖν γινώσκεις, ὦ διάκονε, θλιβόμενόν τινα, ὑπομνήσας τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, οὕτω δίδου.—Lib. iii. c. xix. (p. 323. E 8.) Εἰ Κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ διδάσκαλος οὕτως ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν, πῶς ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐπαισχυνησέσθε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις καὶ ἀσθενέσι τῶν ἀδελφῶν;—(326. A 3.) Χρὴ οὖν ὑμᾶς τοὺς διακόνους ἐπισκέπτεσθαι πάντας τοὺς δεομένους ἐπισκέψεως· καὶ περὶ τῶν θλιβομένων ἀναγγέλλετε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑμῶν.

power which was entrusted in his hands, of those he was to give information to the bishop, that he by his supreme authority might redress them. "Let the deacon," says the Book of Constitutions^y, "refer all things to the bishop, as Christ did to the Father: such things as he is able, let him rectify, by the power which he has from the bishop; but the weightier causes let the bishop judge."

SECT. XVIII.—*Hence Deacons commonly called the Bishop's eyes, his mouth, angels, prophets, &c.*

Upon this account the deacons were usually styled the bishop's eyes and his ears, his mouth, his right hand, and his heart; because by their ministry he overlooked his charge, and by them took cognizance of men's actions, as much as if he himself had seen them with his own eyes, or heard them with his own ears: by them he sent directions and orders to his flock, in which respect they were his mouth and his heart; by them he distributed to the necessities of the indigent, and so they were his right hand. These titles are frequently to be met with in the Constitutions^z and the author of the epistle to St. James^a. And Isidore of Pelusium, in allusion to them, writing to Lucius^b, an archdeacon, tells him in the phrase of the Church, that 'he ought to be all eye, forasmuch as deacons were the eyes of the bishop.' The author of the Constitutions^c terms them likewise the bishop's angels and prophets, because they were the persons whom he chiefly

^y Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. xliv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 284. A 2.) Πάντα μὲν ὁ διάκονος τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀναφέρειτω, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς τῷ Πατρὶ· ἄλλ' ὅσα δὲ δύναται, εὐθυνέτω δι' ἑαυτοῦ λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ὡς ὁ Κύριος παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸ δημιουργεῖν, καὶ τὸ προνοεῖν· τὰ δ' ὑπέρογκα ὁ ἐπίσκοπος κρινέτω.

^z Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. xliv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 284.) Ἔστω ὁ διάκονος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀκοὴ καὶ ὀφθαλμός· καὶ στόμα· καρδία τε, καὶ ψυχὴ.—Ibid. lib. iii. c. xix. Ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰσθησις εἶναι ὀφείλετε.

^a Clem. Ep. ad Jacob. (vol. i. Conc. p. 86.) Diaconi ecclesiae tamquam oculi sunt episcopi.

^b Isidor. Pelus. lib. i. ep. xxix. Εἰ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐπισκόπου τυγχάνουσιν οἱ τοῦ σεπτοῦ θυσιαστηρίου διάκονοι, σὺ δὲ τούτων κατὰ συγχώρησιν Θεοῦ ἄρχεις, ὅλος ὀφθαλμός ὀφείλεις ὑπάρχειν.

^c Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. xxx. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 268.) Ὡς περ ὁ Υἱὸς ἄγγελός ἐστι καὶ προφήτης τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὕτω καὶ ὁ διάκονος ἄγγελος καὶ προφήτης ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.

employed in messages, either to his own people or foreign Churches. For then bishops did nothing but by the mouth or hands of one of their clergy.

SECT. XIX.—*Deacons to be multiplied according to the necessities of the Church.*

For this reason, there being such a multitude and variety of business commonly attending the deacon's office, it was usual to have several deacons in the same Church. In some Churches, they were very precise to the number seven, in imitation of the first Church of Jerusalem. The Council of Neocæsarea^d enacted it into a canon, that there ought to be but seven deacons in any city, though it was never so great, because this was according to the rule suggested in the Acts of the Apostles. And the Church of Rome, both before and after this council, seems to have looked upon that as a binding rule also. For it is evident, from the epistle of Cornelius^e, written in the middle of the third century, that there were then but seven deacons in the Church of Rome, though there were forty-six presbyters at the same time. And Prudentius intimates, that it was so in the time of Sixtus also, an. 261. For speaking of Laurentius, the deacon, he terms him the chief of those seven men who had their station near the altar^f, meaning the seven deacons of the Church. Nay, in the fourth and fifth centuries, the custom there continued the same, as we learn both from Sozomen^g and Hilarius Sardus^h, the Roman deacon who wrote under the name of St. Ambrose. But Sozomen says^{hh}, this rule was not observed in other Churches, but the

^d Conc. Neocæsar. c. xv. (Labbe, vol. i. Conc. p. 1484.) Διάκονοι ἐπὶ τὰ ὀφείλουσιν εἶναι κατὰ τὸν κανόνα, καὶ πάνυ μεγάλη εἴη ἡ πόλις· πεισθήσῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου τῶν Πράξεων.

^e Cornel. ad Fab. ap. Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. (Vales. p. 198.) Οὐκ ἡγνόει πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι τεσσαράκοντα ἕξ· διακόνους ἑπτὰ.

^f Prudent. Hymn. de S. Laurent. (v. 37, 38. p. 95, edit. Cellar. Hallens.)

^g Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. Διάκονοι παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις εἰσέτι νῦν οὐ πλείους εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ. (Vales. p. 596. A 3.)

^h Ambros. Com. in 1 Tim. iii. p. 995. (Bened. vol. ii. append. p. 295. E 6.) Nunc autem septem diaconos esse oportet, et aliquantos presbyteros, ut bini sint per ecclesias; et unus in civitate episcopus.

^{hh} Sozom. l. c. Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀδιάφορος ὁ τούτων ἀριθμός.

number of deacons was indifferent, as the business of every Church required. And it is certain it was so at Alexandria and Constantinople. For though one of the writers of the life of St. Mark, cited by Bishop Pearsonⁱ, says St. Mark ordained but seven deacons at Alexandria, yet in after ages there were more: for Alexander, in one of his circular letters^k, names nine deacons, whom he deposed with Arius for their heretical opinions: and it is probable there were several others, who continued orthodox: for in the form of Arius' condemnation, published by Cotelerius^l, the Catholic deacons of Alexandria and Mareotes are mentioned, as joining with their bishop in condemning him. And for the Church of Constantinople, the number of deacons was there so great, that in one of Justinian's Novels^m we find them limited to an hundred for the service of the great Church, and three others only. So that it is evident the number of deacons usually increased with the necessities of the Church, and the Church of Rome was singular in the contrary practice.

SECT. XX.—*Of the age at which Deacons might be ordained.*

I speak nothing here of the qualifications required in deacons, because they were generally the same that were required in bishops and presbyters, and will be spoken of hereafter: only in their age there was some difference, which is here to be observed. Bishops and presbyters, as has been noted above, might not ordinarily be ordained before thirty;

ⁱ Vit. S. Marci ap. Pearson. Vindic. Ignat. part. i. c. xi. p. 329, apud Coteler. (p. 152, edit. Cantabr.) B. Marcus Anizanum Alexandriæ ordinavit episcopum, et tres presbyteros, et septem diaconos.

^k Alex. Ep. Encycl. ap. Theod. lib. i. c. iv. (Vales. Amstel. 1695. p. 20. B 5.) Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἀναθεματισθέντες αἵρεσιῶται, ἀπὸ πρεσβυτέρων μὲν Ἀρείος ἀπὸ διακόνων δὲ, Ἀχιλλᾶς, Εὐξώϊος, Ἀιθαλής, Δούκιος, Σαρμάτης, Ἰούλιος, Μηνᾶς, Ἀρείος ἕτερος, καὶ Ἑλλάδιος.

^l Coteler. Not. in Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xxviii. Ἀλέξανδρος πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Μαρεώτου παρὼν παροῦσιν ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν. Εἰ καὶ φθάσαντες ὑπεγράψατε, οἷς ἐπέστειλα τοῖς περὶ Ἀρείον, κ. τ. λ.

^m Justin. Novell. iii. c. i. (Amstel. 1673. p. 7.) Ὡστε θεσπίζομεν, μὴ περαιτέρω μὲν ἐξήκοντα πρεσβυτέρων κατὰ τὴν ἀγιωτάτην μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν εἶναι διακόνους δὲ ἄρρενας ἑκατὸν, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ θηλείας.

but deacons were allowed to be ordained at twenty-five, and not before. This is the term fixed both by the civil and canon law, as may be seen in Justinian's Novelsⁿ, the Council of Agde^o, Carthage, Trullo, and many others. And it was a rule very nicely observed: for though we meet with some bishops that were ordained before this age; yet those (as I have showed before) were never deacons, but ordained immediately bishops from laymen: but among those that were ordained deacons, we scarce meet with an instance of any one that was ordained before the age of twenty-five, in all the history of the Church.

SECT. XXI.—*Of the respect which Deacons paid to Presbyters, and received from the inferior orders.*

The last thing which I shall observe of deacons, is the great deference and respect they were obliged to pay to presbyters, as well as to the bishop. It has been proved before, that the presbyters had their thrones in the church, whereon they sat together with their bishop; but the deacons had no such privilege, but are always represented as standing by them. So the author of the Constitutions^p, and Gregory Nazianzen^q, place them in this order, viz. the bishop sitting on the middle throne, the presbyters sitting on each hand of him, and the deacons standing by. The Council of Nice^r expressly forbids deacons to sit among the presbyters in the church. And it is

ⁿ Justin. Novell. cxxiii. c. xiii. (p. 171.) Πρεσβύτερον ἐλάττονα τῶν τριάκοντα ἐνιαυτῶν γίνεσθαι οὐκ ἐπιτρέπομεν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ διάκονον ἢ ὑποδιάκονον ἥττονα τῶν εἰκοσίπεντε.

^o Concil. Agath. c. xvi. (Labbe, vol. iv. Conc. p. 1386.) Episcopus benedictionem diaconatus minoribus quam viginti quinque annorum penitus non committat.—Conc. Carth. III. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1167.) Placuit, ut ante viginti quinque annos ætatis nec diaconi ordinentur, nec virgines consecrentur.—Conc. Trull. c. xiv. (Labbe, vol. vi. Conc. p. 1150.) Ὁμοίως μήτε διάκονος πρὸ τῶν εἴκοσι πέντε ἐτῶν χειροτονείσθω.—Conc. Toletan. IV. c. xx. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1712.) A viginti et quinque annis ætatis Levitæ consecrentur.

^p Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 294. D 8.) Κεῖσθω μέσος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου θρόνου· παρ' ἐκάτερα δὲ αὐτοῦ καθεζέσθω τὸ πρεσβυτέριον, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι παριστάσθωσαν.

^q Gregor. Nazian. Somn. de Eccles. Anastas. vid. supr. cap. xix. § v. not. (h) p. 254.

^r Conc. Nic. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 38. D.) Ἀλλὰ μηδὲ καθῆσθαι ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐξέσθω τοῖς διακόνοις.

evident from St. Jerome^s, and the author under the name of St. Austin^t, that though the Roman deacons were grown the most elated of any others, yet they did not presume to sit in the church. Nay, some canons go further^u, and forbid deacons to sit any where in the presence of a presbyter, except by his permission.

The like respect they were to pay to presbyters in several other instances, being obliged to minister to them, as well as to the bishop, in the performance of all divine offices; none of which might be performed by a deacon in the presence of a presbyter, without some special reason for it, as has been noted before. Nay, a deacon was not allowed so much as to bless a common feast, if a presbyter was present at it: as we may see in St. Jerome's epistle to Evagrius^x, where he censures the Roman deacons somewhat sharply for presuming so to do.

But then as the canons obliged deacons to pay this respect to presbyters, so, to distinguish them from the lesser clergy, all the inferior orders were required to pay the same respect to them. The Council of Laodicea, in the same canon that says a deacon shall not sit in the presence of a presbyter without his leave, adds immediately after, that in like manner the deacon shall be honoured by the subdeacons, and all the other clergy. And the Council of Agde^y repeats the canon in the same words. I shall here also remind the reader of what I have observed before, that deacons in some Churches had power to censure the

^s Hieron. Ep. lxxxv. ad Evang. [Evagr.] In ecclesia Romæ, presbyteri sedent, et stant diaconi. (Venet. vol. i. p. 1083.)

^t Aug. Quæst. ex utroque mix. c. ci. (Bened. 1700. vol. iii. append. p. 77.) Quamquam Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconi modico inverecondiores videantur, sedendi tamen dignitatem in ecclesia non præsumunt.

^u Concil. Laodic. c. xx. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1500.) "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ διάκονον ἔμπροσθεν πρεσβυτέρου καθέζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ κελεύσεως τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καθέζεσθαι.—Conc. Carth. IV. c. xxxix. Ut diaconus quolibet loco, jubente presbytero, sedeat.

^x Hieron. Ep. lxxxv. ad Evagr. (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 1083. B 6.) Licet increbrescentibus vitiis, inter presbyteros, absente episcopo, sedere diaconum viderim: et in domesticis conviviis, benedictiones presbyteris dare. al. Benedictiones coram presbyteris dare.

^y Concil. Agath. lxv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1394.) Non oportet diaconum sedere præsentem presbytero, sed ex jussione presbyteri sedeat. Similiter autem honorificetur diaconus a ministris inferioribus et [omnibus] clericis.

inferior clergy in the absence of the presbyters. St. Jerome^z seems also to say, that their revenues were rather greater than those of the presbyters, which made them sometimes troublesome and assuming. Beside all this, the order of deacons was of great repute, because the archdeacon was always then one of this order, and he was commonly a man of great interest and authority in the Church; of whose powers and privileges, because it is necessary to discourse a little more particularly, I shall treat distinctly of them in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF ARCHDEACONS.

SECT. I.—*Archdeacons anciently of the same order with Deacons.*

THOUGH archdeacons, in these last ages of the Church, have usually been of the order of presbyters, yet anciently they were no more than deacons: which appears evidently from those writers who give us the first account of them. St. Jerome^a says the archdeacon was chosen out of the deacons, and was the principal deacon in every church, as the archpresbyter was the principal presbyter; and that there was but one of each in every church. Optatus calls Cæcilian^b archdeacon of Carthage; yet he was never more than a deacon, till he was ordained bishop, as has been showed before: and that made Cæcilian himself say, that if he was not rightly ordained bishop, as the Donatists pretended, he was to be treated only as a deacon^c.

^z Hieron. Ep. lxxxv. ad Evagr. (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 1083.) Presbyter noverit se lucris minorem, sacerdotio esse majorem.—Id. Com. in Ezech. c. xlviii. Ultra sacerdotes, hoc est, presbyteros intumescunt, et dignitatem non merito, sed divitiis existimant. (vol. v. p. 607.)

^a Hieron. Ep. lxxxv. ad Evagr. (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 1082.) Aut diaconi eligant de se, quem industrium noverint, et archidiaconum vocent.—Id. Ep. iv. ad Rustic. Singuli ecclesiarum episcopi, singuli archipresbyteri, singuli archidiaconi.

^b Optat. lib. i. p. 40. (p. 18, edit. Paris.) Quum correptionem archidiaconi Cæciliani ferre non posset, etc.

^c Optat. ibid. Iterum a Cæciliano mandatum est, ut si Felix in se, sicut illi

It is certain also St. Lawrence, archdeacon of Rome, was no more than the chief of the deacons, or the principal man of the seven who stood and waited at the altar, as Prudentius words it^d. From these testimonies it is very plain, that in those times the archdeacon was always one of the order of deacons.

SECT. II.—*Elected by the Bishop, and not made by seniority.*

But how the archdeacon came by his honour, and after what manner he was invested with his office, is a matter of some dispute among learned men. Salmasius^e and some others are of opinion, that originally he was no more than the senior deacon, though they own that in process of time the office became elective. Habertus^f thinks it was always elective, and that it was at the bishop's liberty and discretion to nominate which of the deacons he thought fit to the office. That it was so in the case of Athanasius, seems pretty evident from what Theodoret^g says of him, that though he was very young, yet he was made chief of the order of deacons. For this implies, as Valesius there observes, that he was chosen by the bishop, and preferred before his seniors. St. Jerome, in the forecited passage, as plainly asserts that the office went not by seniority, but election: only he seems to put the power of electing in the deacons: but if they had any hand in it, it

arbitrabantur, nihil contulisset, ipsi tanquam adhuc diaconum ordinarent Cæcilianum. (Antwerp. 1702. p. 18.)

^d Prud. Hymn. de S. Laur. v. 36, 37. p. 95, edit. Cellar.

Hic primus e septem viris,
Qui stant ad aram proximi.

^e Salmas. de Primat. p. 8. Cum primum diaconum aut primum presbyterum legimus in antiquorum scriptis, de eo intelligendum, qui ordinationis tempore prior est. Ex primo episcopo archiepiscopus exiit electione, qui olim primatum habuisset ætatis ac προγενεσίας merito. Sic etiam facti archidiaconi.—Suic. Thes. Eccles. tom. i. p. 531. Qui olim fuerint archidiaconi, docet Cl. Salmasius de Primatu Papæ, p. 8, 9, etc.

^f Habert. Pontifical. Observ. vi. p. 206. Sole clarius efficimus, archidiaconum electione, non vero tempore, dignitate, non antiquitate, diaconis prolatum et præfectum.

^g Theod. lib. i. c. xxvi. (Vales. Amstel. p. 59. D 6.) Ἀνὴρ παιδόθεν μὲν τοῖς θείοις μαθήμασιν ἐντραφεὶς ἐν ἐκάστῃ δὲ τάξει τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν χορῶν γενόμενος ἀξιάγαστος. . . συνῆν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ πάνυ, νεὸς μὲν ὢν τὴν ἡλικίαν, τοῦ χοροῦ δὲ τῶν διακόνων ἡγούμενος.

must be understood to be under the direction of the bishop, who is required by some canons to choose his own archdeacon, and ordinarily to give preference to the senior, if he was duly qualified: but if not, to make choice of any other whom he thought most fit to discharge the offices of the Church^h and the trust that was reposed in him.

SECT. III.—*Commonly persons of such interest in the Church, that they were chosen the Bishop's successors.*

The office of the archdeacon was always a place of great honour and reputation: for he was the bishop's constant attendant and assistant; and next to the bishop, the eyes of the whole Church were fixed upon him. By which means he commonly gained such an interest as to get himself chosen the bishop's successor before the presbyters. Of which it were easy to give several instances, as Athanasius, Cæcilian, and many others. And this, I presume, was the reason why St. Jerome says, that an archdeacon thought himself injuredⁱ if he was ordained a presbyter: probably because he thereby lost his interest in the Church, and was disappointed of his preferment. We might certainly conclude it was thus in the Church of Rome, if what Eulogius, a Greek writer in Photius, says, might be depended on as true; that it was a law^k at Rome to choose the archdeacon the bishop's successor, and that therefore Cornelius ordained Novatian presbyter, to deprive him of the privilege and hopes of succeeding. But I confess there is no small reason to question the truth of this relation, both because we read of no such law in any writer of the Latin Church; and because this author palpably mistakes in saying that Cornelius ordained Novatian presbyter, who was presbyter long before; and probably never was archdeacon nor deacon, but ordained presbyter immediately from a layman,

^h Conc. Agath. c. xxiii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1387.) Si officium archidiaconatus propter simpliciore naturam implere aut expedire nequiverit, ille loci sui nomen teneat, et ordinationi ecclesiæ, quem episcopus elegerit, præponatur.

ⁱ Hieron. Com. in Ezech. c. xlviii. (Venet. Vallars. vol. v. p. 607. B 8.) Certe qui primus fuerit ministrorum, quia per singula concionatur in populos, et a pontificis latere non recedit, injuriam putat, si presbyter ordinetur.

^k Eulog. ap. Phot. Cod. clxxxii. Τὸν ἀρχιδιάκονον ἐνενόμιστο διάδοχον τοῦ ἀρχιερατεύοντος καθίστασθαι.

as may be collected from the letters of Cyprian¹ and Cornelius^m, which tacitly reflect upon him for it. Yet if by 'law' Eulogius meant no more than custom, perhaps it might be customary at Rome, as at some other places, to make the archdeacons the bishops' successors; their power and privileges, as I observed, commonly gaining them a considerable interest both among the clergy and the people.

SECT. IV.—*The offices of the Archdeacon. First, to attend the Bishop at the altar, &c.*

As to the archdeacon's office, he was always the bishop's immediate minister and attendant: "A latere pontificis non recessit," to use St. Jerome's phrase, he was always by his side, ready to assist him. Particularly at the altar, when the bishop ministered, he performed the usual offices of a deacon that have been mentioned in the last chapter. The author of the Constitutions calls him the ὁ παρεστὼς τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, the deacon that stood by the bishop and proclaimed, when the communion service began, "Let no one approach in wrath against his brother; let no one come in hypocrisyⁿ." To him it belonged to minister the cup to the people, when the bishop celebrated the eucharist, and had administered the bread before him, as we learn from the account which St. Ambrose^o gives of Laurentius, archdeacon of Rome. It was his business also, as the bishop's substitute, to order all things relating to the inferior clergy, and their ministrations and services in the Church: as what deacon should read the Gospel, who should bid the prayers, which of them should keep the doors, which walk about the church to observe the behaviour of the people; which of the readers, acolythists, subdeacons, should perform

¹ Cypr. Ep. lii. al. lv. ad Antonian. (Oxon. 1682. p. 103.) Non iste (Cornelius) ad episcopatum subito pervenit, sed per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus, et in divinis administrationibus, Dominum sæpe promeritus, ad sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus adscendit.

^m Concil. Ep. ad Fabian. ap. Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. Καταλιπὼν γὰρ ὁ λαμπρὸς οὗτος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν ᾗ πιστεύσας κατηξιώθη τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου κατὰ χάριν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἐπιθέντος αὐτῷ χεῖρας εἰς πρεσβυτερίου κλῆρον.

ⁿ Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. lvii. Μήτις κατὰ τινος μήτις ἐν ὑποκρίσει. (p. 295.)

^o Ambros. de Offic. lib. i. c. xli. citat. cap. xx. § viii. (d) p. 291.

their service at such a time, or in what post and station: for these things were not precisely determined, but at the bishop's liberty to ordain and appoint them; which he commonly did by his archdeacon: whose orders and directions therefore are sometimes called 'Ordinationes,' and 'Ordinatio Ecclesiæ^p,' in some of the ancient councils. Whence, I presume, came the name Ordinary, which is a title given to archdeacons in after ages.

SECT. V.—2. *To assist him in managing the Church's Revenues.*

2. He assisted the bishop in managing and dispensing the Church's revenues, having the chief care of the poor, orphans, widows, &c., under the bishop, whose portions were assigned by him, and sent by the hands of the other deacons that were under him. The fourth Council^q of Carthage makes mention of this part of his office, when it requires the bishop not to concern himself personally in the care and government of the widows, orphans, strangers, but to commit this to his archpresbyter or archdeacon. Upon this account Prudentius, describing the offices of St. Lawrence^r, whom he makes to be archdeacon of Rome, among other things assigns him the keys of the Church's treasure, and the care of dispensing the oblations of the people. And for the same reason both he and St. Ambrose^s, and all other writers of his Passion, bring in the

^p Vide Concil. Agath. c. xxiii. conf. § ii. not. (h) p. 311.—Isidor. Hispal. Ep. ad Ludifred. ap. Gratian. Distinct. xxv. c. i. § xi. Ordinatio vestiendi altaris, etc. Sollicitudo parochiarum, et ordinatio, et jurgia, ad ejus pertinent curam.

^q Conc. Carth. IV. c. xvii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1201.) Ut episcopus gubernationem viduarum et pupillorum ac peregrinorum, non per seipsum, sed per archipresbyterum aut per archidiaconum agat.

^r Prud. Hymn. de S. Laur. v. 39—44. (p. 95, edit. Cellar.) (Biblioth. V. Patr. vol. viii. p. 437.)

Levita sublimis gradu,
Et cæteris præstantior,
Claustri sacrorum præerat,
Cœlestis arcanum domus
Fidis gubernans clavibus,
Votasque dispensans opes.

^s Ambros. de Offic. lib. ii. c. xxviii. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 103, at bottom.) (Paris. 1642. vol. ii. p. 62. A.) Tale aurum sanctus Martyr Laurentius Domino reservavit, a quo quum quærerentur thesauri ecclesiæ, promisit demonstraturum se. Sequenti die, pauperes duxit. Interrogatus ubi essent thesauri quos promise-

heathen persecutor, demanding of him those treasures which he had in his keeping: which he promising to do, in a short time after brought before him the poor, the lame, the blind, the infirm, telling him those were the riches which he had in his custody; for on them he had expended the Church's treasure.—St. Austin says this was his office, as he was archdeacon of the Church. Paulinus^t therefore calls the archdeacon 'Arcæ Custodem,' the keeper of the chest: because, though the other deacons were the dispensers and conveyers, yet he was the chief manager and director of them, and from him they took their orders, as from the guardian of the Church's treasure. It was upon this account that the Donatists charged Cæcilian, among other things, that he had prohibited the deacons from carrying any provision^u to the martyrs in prison. Which objection must be grounded upon this, that he was obliged by his office, as he was archdeacon, to see that the martyrs were provided of sustenance; which they pretended he had not only neglected, but abused his authority, in forbidding those that were under his command to minister unto them.

SECT. VI.—3. *In Preaching.*

3. Another part of his office was to assist the bishop in preaching. For as any deacon was authorized to preach by the bishop's leave; so the archdeacon, being the most eminent of the deacons, was more frequently pitched upon to discharge this office, if we may so understand those words of St. Jerome, which have been cited before in the third section, "Primus ministrorum per singula concionatur in populos;" the chief

rat, ostendit pauperes, dicens: Hi sunt thesauri ecclesiæ.—Aug. Serm. exi. de Diversis. Sanctus Laurentius archidiaconus fuit: opes ecclesiæ ab illo a persecutore quærebantur, etc. (vol. v. p. 857. B 9.) Conf. Id. de Divers. Serm. cxxiii.

^t Paulin. de Mirac. S. Martin. lib. iv. Bibl. Patr. vol. viii. p. 865. (p. 1035. edit. 1589.) Protinus adstanti diacono, quem, more priorum, Antistes sanctæ custodem legerat arcæ, Imperat, etc.

^u August. Brevic. Collat. iii. c. xiv. (Bened. 1700. vol. ix. p. 387.) (vol. vii. edit. Froben. p. 391. fin. 392.) Recitatum est a Donatistis concilium ferme septuaginta episcoporum contra Cæcilianum apud Carthaginem factum, ubi eum absentem damnaverunt, quod ad eos venire noluerit; tamquam a traditoribus ordinatus, et quia, cum esset diaconus, victum adferri martyribus in custodia constitutis prohibuisse dicebatur.

minister, or archdeacon, is many times, and in many places, employed in preaching to the people. For the word “singula” may relate both to times and places. But if any one thinks that “concionari” here signifies no more than “prædicare” and κηρύσσειν, doing the office of a holy crier in the assembly, I shall not contend about it; but only say, that St. Jerome, speaking of something that then made the archdeacons popular, seems rather to mean the office of preaching than any other.

SECT. VII.—4. *In ordaining the inferior Clergy.*

4. The archdeacon usually bore a part with the bishop in the ordinations of the inferior clergy, subdeacons, acolythists, &c. His office in this matter is particularly described in several canons^v of the fourth Council of Carthage, which relate the manner how the inferior clergy were to be ordained; viz. not by imposition of hands, which belonged only to the superior orders, but by receiving some vessels or utensils of the Church, partly from the hands of the bishop, and partly from the hands of the archdeacon. As to give only one instance in the ordination of an acolythist, the canon says, the bishop was to inform him what his duty was; and then the archdeacon was to give him a taper into his hand, that he might know that he was appointed to light the candles of the church.

SECT. VIII. — 5. *The Archdeacon had power to censure Deacons and the inferior Clergy, but not Presbyters.*

5. The archdeacon was invested also with a power of censuring the other deacons, and all the inferior clergy of the

^v Conc. Carth. IV. c. v. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1200.) Subdiaconus cum ordinatur, quia manus impositionem non accipit, patenam de episcopi manu accipiat vacuum et calicem vacuum. De manu vero archidiaconi urceolum cum aqua et mantile et manutergium.—Can. vi. Acolythus quum ordinatur, ab episcopo quidem doceatur, qualiter in officio suo agere debeat. Sed ab archidiacono accipiat ceroferarium cum cereo, ut sciat se ad accendenda ecclesiæ luminaria mancipari. Accipit et urceolum vacuum, ad suggerendum vinum in eucharistiam sanguinis Christi.—Can. ix. Ostiarius cum ordinatur, postquam ab archidiacono instructus fuerit, qualiter in domo Dei debeat conversari, ad suggestionem archidiaconi tradit ei episcopus claves ecclesiæ de altario, dicens, Sic age quasi redditurus Deo rationem pro his rebus, quæ his clavibus recluduntur.

Church. That it was so, at least in some Churches, is very evident from a passage in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon, where Ibas, bishop of Edessa, speaking of Maras, one of the deacons of his church, says he was not excommunicated by himself, but by his archdeacon^x, who, for a crime committed against a presbyter, suspended him from the communion.

But whether the archdeacon had any power over presbyters, is a matter of dispute among learned men. Salmasius^y, and the learned Suicerus^z after him, scruple not to assert, that even the archpresbyter himself in the Roman Church was subject to him. Cujacius and some others, who are cited by Baluzius^a, go one step further, and say it was so in all Churches. Yet there is not the least footstep of any such power to be met with in any ancient writer or council: but the original of all the mistake is owing to a corruption in Gratian's decree, and Gregory the Ninth's Decretals, who cite the words alleged in the margin^b, the one as from Isidore of Seville, and the other from the Council of Toledo, pretending that the archpresbyter is to be subject to the archdeacon: when yet, as both Baluzius and the Roman correctors confess, there are no such words to be found in Isidore's epistle; nor will Garsias Loaisa own them to be the genuine decree of any Council of Toledo. So that the whole credit of this matter rests upon Gratian and the compilers of the Decretals, whose authority is of little esteem in things relating to antiquity, when there is no better proof than their bare assertion. Yet I shall not deny, but that in Gratian's time it might be, as he represents it: for probably by this time the archdeacons were chosen out of the order of

^x Conc. Chalced. act. x. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 653. D 3.) Ὁ θεοσεβέστατος ἐπίσκοπος Ἰβας εἶπε . . Μάρας κατὰ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀκοινώνητός ἐστι τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀρχidiaκόνῳ, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμοί ἐστιν ἀκοινώνητος· ἐπειδὴ ὕβρισε πρεσβύτερον· διὰ τοῦτο ἀκοινώνητον αὐτὸν ἐποίησε.

^y Salmas. de Primat. c. i. p. 9. lin. pen. In Romana ecclesia vicarius fuit (archidiaconus) episcopi, et archipresbyterum etiam sub se habebat: quod mirum, cum presbyteros diaconis majores fuisse notum sit.

^z Suicer. Thesaur. vol. i. p. 533, ubi iste Salmasii locus adlegatur.

^a Baluz. Not. ad Gratian. Distinct. xxv. c. i. p. 455.

^b Grat. Distinct. xxv. c. i. ex Epist. Isidor. Hispal. ad Ludifred. (p. 413, edit. Colon. 1617.) Archipresbyter vero se esse sub archidiacono, ejusque præceptis sicut episcopi sui sciat obedire.—In Gregory's Decretal. lib. i. tit. xxiv. de officio archipresb. c. i., the same words are cited ex Concilio Toletano.

presbyters: though when first they began to be so, is not very easy to determine. Only we are certain that some centuries before the time of Gratian the custom was altered. For archdeacons in the ninth century were, some of them at least, of the order of presbyters; as appears from Hincmar's *Capitula*^c, directed to Guntharius and Odelhardus, two of his archdeacons, whom he styles presbyter-archdeacons. And there is reason enough to think it was so in the time of Gratian; the archdeacons were then generally of the order of presbyters, as they have been ever since: which makes it no wonder that in Gratian's time they should have power over the Archipresbyteri, which in the language of that age often signifies no more than rural deans, over which the archdeacons have usually power at this day. But by this the reader may judge how little such writers are to be depended on, who take their estimate of former ages from the practice of their own, and reckon every thing ancient, that is agreeable to the rules and customs of the times they live in.

SECT. IX.—*Of the name ἀπαντιτής, Circumlustrator, and whether Archdeacons had any power over the whole diocese.*

But to return to the archdeacons of the primitive Church: there is one thing more may admit of some dispute, whether the archdeacon's power anciently extended over the whole diocese, or was confined to the city or mother-church. In the middle ages of the Church, there is no question but they had power over the whole diocese. For Isidorus Hispalensis, who lived in the beginning of the seventh century, in the account which he gives of the archdeacon's office, says, the parochial clergy were under his care, that is, the deacons and inferior clergy; and that it belonged to him to order matters, and end controversies among them^d; to give the bishop an

^c Hincmar. *Capitula Archidiaconibus-Presbyteris data*, vol. viii. Conc. p. 591.

^d Isidor. *Ep. ad Ludifred. et ap. Gratian. Distinct. xxv. c. i.* Sollicitudo quoque parochitanorum (al. parochiarum) et ordinatio et jurgia ad ejus pertinent curam: pro reparandis diœcesanis basilicis ipse suggerit sacerdoti: ipse inquit parochias cum jussione episcopi, et ornamenta vel res basilicarum parochitanorum (al. parochiarum) et libertatum ecclesiasticarum episcopo idem refert.

account what churches stood in need of repairing; to make inquiry, by the bishop's order, into the state of every parish, and see what condition the ornaments and goods of the church were in, and whether the ecclesiastical liberties were maintained. Habertus^e thinks the archdeacons were invested with the same power some ages before; and for proof cites a passage out of the Council of Chalcedon, where, in an instrument^f presented by the presbyters of Edessa against Ibas, their bishop, one Abramius, a deacon of that church, in all the Latin translations, is called Diaconus 'Apantita,' which Habertus takes to be a general inspector of the Church. But there are two evident reasons against this, which it is a wonder so observing a person as Habertus should not see: 1. That Abramius was not an archdeacon, but only a private deacon of the Church: for in the same place there is mention made of another archdeacon, who, when Ibas was about to have had Abramius ordained bishop of Batena, interposed and hindered him from doing it, because he had been censured for the practice of magic, and never given any satisfaction to the Church. And though it is said that Ibas took occasion to remove that archdeacon from his office, yet it is not once intimated that he put Abramius in his room; which, if he had done, it would doubtless have been made another article of accusation against him before the council. 2. The original Greek in Labbe's edition is not *διάκονος ἀπαντιτῆς*, as Habertus reads it, but only *διάκονος ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκκλησίας*, a deacon of that our Church of Edessa: and though *ἀπαντιτῆς* be put into the margin, yet it is not owned to be any various reading, but only the editor's conjecture, which I think is not sufficient to build such an assertion upon, when no other proof or authority is pretended. Therefore I determine nothing concerning this power of the archdeacons in ancient times, but leave it to further inquiry, and the determination of every judicious reader.

^e Habert. in Pontific. part. ix. observat. vi. p. 209. Sollicitudo et ordinatio parœciarum ad archidiaconum spectat, ait Isidorus, quod maxime in diaconum Apantitam cadit, de quo in Actis Concilii Chalcedonensis in libello Samuelis et aliorum presbyterorum Edessæ, Ἀβραάμιος διάκονος ἀπαντιτῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκκλησίας.

^f Concil. Chalced. act. x. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 650. n. xvi.)

SECT. X.—*Of the name Cor-episcopi, why given to Archdeacons.*

Valesius takes notice of another name, which he thinks was sometimes given to the archdeacons, that is, the name Cor-episcopi; for which he cites the words of one Joannes Abbas^g, in a book written about the translation of the relics of St. Glodesindis. This at first may look like a corruption only of the name Chorepiscopus, because in latter ages the power of the ancient Chorepiscopi dwindled into that of the archdeacons: but when it is considered that all the deacons anciently were called the bishop's eyes, and his ears, his mouth, and his heart, as has been noted in the last chapter, sect. 18, it will appear very probable that the archdeacon should be peculiarly dignified with those titles; and therefore be called Cor-episcopi, the bishop's heart, because he was used to signify his mind and will to the people: as he is called Oculus Episcopi, not only in ancient authors^h, but in the Decretalsⁱ, and the Council of Trent^k, because he was the bishop's eye to inspect the diocese under him.

SECT. XI.—*The opinions of learned men concerning the first original of the name and office of Archdeacon.*

Some may perhaps be desirous to know further the first rise and original of the name and office of archdeacons in the Church: but this is a matter involved in so great obscurity, that it cannot easily be determined. Habertus and some others^l of the Roman communion reckon this office as ancient

^g Jo. Abbas ap. Vales. Not. in Theodoret. lib. i. c. xxvi. Hujus rei novitas dum ad notitiam supra memorati pontificis pervenisset, morarum impatiens mox in crastinum ad hoc inspiciendum sacrorum ministros cum archidiacono majore, quem Cor-episcopi dicunt, Pontifex direxit. (p. 16.)

^h Isidor. Pelus. lib. i. ep. xxix. vide c. xx. § xviii. not. (b) p. 304.

ⁱ Decretal. lib. i. tit. xxiii. c. vii. § iv. In epistola B. Clementis papæ, Oculus episcopi archidiaconus appellatur, ut loco episcopi per episcopatum prospiciens, quæ corrigenda viderit, corrigat et emendet; nisi adeo fuerint ardua negotia, quæ absque majoris sui præsentia nequeant terminari.

^k Concil. Trid. Sess. xxiv. c. xii. de Reformat. Archidiaconi etiam, qui oculi dicuntur episcopi, etc.

^l Habert. Not. in Pontific. Observat. vi. p. 207. Quæsierit a me aliquis, quam antiqua esset archidiaconi nomenclatura: nam de re constat tam antiquam esse

as that of deacons themselves, deriving both from apostolical constitution, and making Stephen the first archdeacon of the Church. But others^m, with greater reason, deduce it only from the third century; and leave it as a matter under debate and inquiry, whether there were any such thing as the archdeacon's office in the time of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, which was in the middle of the third century. This is certain, that Cornelius, in his epistle to Fabius, where he gives a catalogue of the Roman clergyⁿ, though he speaks of deacons and subdeacons, acolythists, exorcists, readers, and door-keepers, makes no particular mention of the archdeacon; nor does Cyprian ever so much as once use the name: yet before the end of this century, Cæcilian is supposed to have had the title, as well as the office, of archdeacon of Carthage, because Optatus calls him so, and the name often occurs in St. Jerome and other writers of the fourth age, in which St. Jerome lived. Baronius, indeed, urges St. Austin's authority, to prove that Stephen was properly an archdeacon: for he says St. Austin calls him 'Primicerius Diaconorum;' but he that will look into St. Austin will quickly find his mistake: for his words are not 'Primicerius Diaconorum,' but 'Primicerius Martyrum^o,' the protomartyr, as we commonly call him, because he was the

quam est ipsa diaconorum institutio: unde S. Stephanum archidiaconum vocat Menelogium. Nomen vero archidiaconi apud antiquius Concilium Nicæno reperire non esset, si vera esset illa farrago Canonum Arabicorum editionis Alphonsi Pisan. et Turriani PP. Soc. Jes.; in cujus canonibus frequentissima fit mentio archidiaconi, etc. . . Antiquioris non est mihi notæ auctor, apud quem archidiaconi nomen legerim, sancto Hieronymo, etc.—Baron. a. xxxiv. n. cclxxxv. (Antverp. 1612. vol. i. p. 237.) Quod Lucas recensendo singulorum septem diaconorum nomina, primum ordine ponat Stephanum; S. Augustinus ex eo accidisse putavit, quod primatum ageret inter diaconos: unde hæc ait: 'Inter diaconos nominatus primus, sicut inter apostolos Petrus.'] idemque primicerius diaconorum et archidiaconus, ut a Luciano et aliis nonnullis tam Græcis quam Latinis appellatus habetur.

^m Fell. Not. in Cypr. Ep. lii. al. xlix. ad Cornel. Priorius ait: Non uno crimine hæreseos laborasse videtur hic Nicostratus, qui mihi archidiaconus fuisse videtur, cui etiam creditæ erant opes et pecuniæ ecclesiæ, verum metu judicii ob rapinam et sacrilegium in Africam Nevatum sequutus est. Dispiciendum, utrum Nicostrati sæculo obtinuerit archidiaconatus munus.

ⁿ Cornel. Ep. ad Fab. ap. Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii.

^o Aug. Serm. i. de Sanctis, tom. x. Hodie celebramus natalem, quo Primicerius Martyrum migravit ex mundo. (vol. v. append. p. 253. E.)

first that suffered for the name of Christ. And hence the reader may observe by the way, that the words *Primicerius* and *Primus* do not always denote principality, or priority of power and jurisdiction, but only priority of time, or precedency of honour and dignity, in respect of place or outward order. In which sense the same St. Austin^p says in another place, that “Stephen is named first among the deacons, as Peter was among the Apostles.” Which is a primacy that may be allowed to them both, without any pretence of jurisdiction. Habertus urges further the authority of the Greek *Menologion*, which gives Stephen the title of archdeacon. But such books are not sufficient evidence, being they are of a modern date, and speak of ancient things in the language and phrase of their own times: for which reason they are not much to be depended on, except when they are backed with the concurrent testimony of some ancient authors, of which there are none in this case to yield any collateral evidence to this assertion. Yet, on the other hand, the opinion of Salmasius is equally to be discarded^q, who asserts that the office of archdeacon was not in the Church in the time of St. Jerome, though St. Jerome^r himself says, in most express words, that the custom then was to have one bishop, one archpresbyter, one archdeacon, in every Church. But this is the usual way of that author in his book ‘*de Primatu*,’ to advance paradoxes of his own fancy for ancient history, and lay down positive assertions upon the most slender conjectures, yea, many times against the plainest evidence of primitive records; as in the case before us, and many others which I have had occasion to take notice of in this discourse. It were to be wished that that author, who wrote upon

^p Aug. Serm. xciv. de Diversis. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 882. F 9.) *Stephanus inter diaconos illos nominatur primus, sicut inter apostolos Petrus.*

^q Salmas. de Primat. c. i. p. 8. Hieronymus in Epistola ad Evagrium: ‘Nam et Alexandriae a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant: quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat; aut diaconi eligant de se, quem industrium noverint, et archidiaconum vocent.’ Apparet nondum tunc archidiaconi officium ac dignitatem in ecclesia fuisse. Presbyteri, inquit, e suo numero eligebant quem in excelsiori gradu locabant et episcopum nominabant. Quod eodem modo fit, ac si diaconi de se eligerent, quem industrium nossent, et archidiaconum vocarent, etc.

^r Hieron. Ep. iv. ad Rustic. cit. ad § i. not. (a) p. 309.

an useful design, had been a little more accurate in his accounts of the state of the clergy of the primitive Church; and whilst he was demolishing the pope's supremacy, had not confusedly treated of some other orders and offices, which were of greater antiquity in the Church.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF DEACONESSSES.

SECT. I.—*The ancient name of Deaconesses, διάκονοι, πρεσβύτιδες, Viduæ, Ministræ.*

HAVING spoken of deacons and archdeacons, it remains that I say something in this place of deaconesses, because their office and service was of great use in the primitive Church. There is some mention made of them in Scripture, by which it appears that their office was as ancient as the apostolical age. St. Paul calls Phœbe 'a servant' of the Church of Cenchrea, Rom. xvi. 1. The original word is διάκονος, a deaconess, answerable to the Latin word 'Ministra,' which is the name that is given them in Pliny's epistle^s which speaks about the Christians. Tertullian^t and some others call them 'Viduæ,' widows, and their office 'Viduatus,' because they were commonly chosen out of the widows of the Church. For the same reason, Epiphanius^u and the Council of Laodicea^v call

^s Plin. lib. x. ep. xcvii. Quo magis necessarium credidi, ex duabus ancillis, quæ ministræ dicebantur, quid esset veri et per tormenta quærere.

^t Tertull. lib. i. ad Uxor. c. vii. (Paris. 1664. p. 165. C 3.) Quantum detrahant fidei, quantum obstrepant sanctitati nuptiæ secundæ, disciplina ecclesiæ et præscriptio apostoli declarat, cum digamos non sinit præsidere, cum viduam adlegi in ordinem, nisi univiram, non concedit. . . Sacerdotium viduitatis et cœlibatium est apud nationes.—It. de Veland. Virginib. c. ix. citat. seq. not. (x). —Epiphan. Hæres. lxxix. n. iv. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 1060.) Παρατηρητέον δὲ, ὅτι ἄχρι διακονισσῶν μόνον τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐπεδείχθη τάγμα, χήρας τε ὠνόμασε, καὶ τούτων τὰς ἔτι γραστέρας πρεσβύτιδας, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ πρεσβυτερίδας, ἢ ιερίσσας προσέταξε.—Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. xiii. See note (y) in the next page.

^u Epiphan. Hæres. lxxix. n. iv. See preceding note.

them πρεσβύτιδας, elderly widows, because none but such were ordinarily taken into this office.

SECT. II.—*Deaconesses to be Widows by some laws.*

For indeed by some ancient laws these four qualifications were required in every one, that was to be taken into this order. 1st, That she should be a widow. 2. That she should be a widow that had borne children. 3. A widow that was but once married. 4. One of a considerable age, forty, fifty, or sixty years old:—though all these rules admitted of exceptions. In Tertullian's time, the deaconesses were so commonly chosen out of the widows, that when a certain young virgin was made a deaconess, he speaks of it as 'a miracle or monstrous thing' in the Church^x. Yet some learned men are of opinion, that virgins were sometimes made deaconesses even in the time of Ignatius: because Ignatius, in his epistle to the Church of Smyrna^y, 'salutes the virgins that were called widows,' that is, deaconesses, as Cotelerius and Vossius truly expound it. For virgins could not be called widows congruously in any other sense. Some suspect that the word 'virgins' is a corruption crept into the text: but there is no reason for this conjecture; for Ignatius is not the only author that speaks of virgin-deaconesses. Epiphanius^z says, in his time they were some virgins, and some widows that had been but once married. The author of the Constitutions^a says the same, that the deaconess was either to be a chaste virgin, or a widow that had been the wife of one man. And one of Justinian's Novels^b

^y Concil. Laodic. c. xi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1497.) Περὶ τοῦ, μὴ δεῖν τὰς λεγόμενας πρεσβύτιδας, ἥτοι προκαθημένας, ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθίστασθαι.

^x Tertull. de Veland. Virgin. c. ix. (Paris. 1664. p. 178. B 5.) Scio alicubi virginem in viduatu ab annis nondum viginti collocatam: cui si quid refrigerii debuerat episcopus, aliter utique salvo respectu disciplinæ præstare potuisset, ne tale nunc miraculum, ne dixerim monstrum, in ecclesia denotaretur: etc.

^y Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. xiii. Ἀσπάζομαι τὰς παρθένους τὰς λεγόμενας χήρας.—Coteler. in h. l. Viduæ vocabantur; quia in gradu viduali seu diaconico erant constitutæ. (Antwerp. 1698. vol. ii. p. 38.)

^z Epiph. Exposit. Fid. n. xxi. Ἡ χηρεύσασαι ἀπὸ μονογαμίας ἢ ἀεὶ παρθένοι οὔσαι. (Colon. vol. i. p. 1104. B 9.)

^a Constit. Apost. lib. vi. c. xvii. Διακόνισσα γινέσθω παρθένος ἀγνή· εἰ δὲ μήγε, καὶν χήρα μονόγαμος, πιστὴ καὶ τιμία. (vol. i. p. 394. A 8.)

^b Justin. Novell. vi. c. vi. (Amstel. 1663. p. 14.) Ἡ παρθένους καθεστῶσας, ἢ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς γαματὰς γενομένας.

enacted it into a law, that the deaconesses should be chosen out of one of these orders. Accordingly we find in the practice of the Church, virgins as well as widows admitted to this office. Gregory Nyssen^c says, his own sister Macrina, who was a virgin, was a deaconess; and so was Lampadia, another virgin. And Sozomen^d relates, how that Chrysostom would have ordained Nicarete, a famous virgin, to this office, but she refused it for the love she had to a private and philosophic life.

SECT. III.—*And such Widows as had Children.*

Yet by some laws they were required not only to be widows, but such widows as had children also. Tertullian^e seems to intimate that this was the custom of the age he lived in, to put none into this office but such as were mothers, and had had the education of children; in the training up of whom they had learned to be tender and compassionate in their affections, and so were qualified to assist others both by their counsel and comfort. Sozomen also mentions a law^f made by Theodosius to this purpose, that no women should be admitted to the office, except they had children, and were above sixty years old, according to the express rule of St. Paul. The law is still extant in the Theodosian Code^g, in the same words as

^c Gregor. Nyssen. Vit. Macrin. (Paris. 1615. vol. ii. p. 180.) Πολλάκις αὐτῇ τοὺς περὶ τῶν γάμων προσαγαγόντων λόγους τῶν γεννησαμένων, διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς κατὰ φήμην τοῦ κάλλους μνηστεύειν ἐθέλοντας, ἄτοπον εἶναι ἔλεγε καὶ παράνομον, μὴ στέργειν τὸν ἅπαξ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῇ κυρωθέντα γάμον.—Pag. 181. Ἐπεὶ ταῖς μυστικαῖς ὑπηρουσίαις τὰς χεῖρας ἑαυτῆς ἔχρισε, κ. τ. λ.—Id. p. 197. Ἦν τις προτεταγμένη τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν παρθένων ἐν τῇ τῆς διακονίας βαθμῇ, Λαμπαδία ὄνομα αὐτῇ.

^d Sozom. lib. viii. c. xxiii. (Vales. 1700. p. 639. B 9.) Καίπερ τοιάδε οὐσα, τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐλάνθανεν ὑπὸ μετριότητος τρόπων, καὶ φιλοσοφίας, αἰὲ λανθάνειν ἐπετήδευεν ὥς μήτε εἰς ἀξίωμα διακόνου σπουδάσαι προελθεῖν, μήτε προτρεπομένου πολλάκις Ἰωάννου ἐλέσθαι ποτὲ παρθένων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἡγεῖσθαι.

^e Tertull. de Veland. Virgin. c. ix. Ad quam sedem præter annos sexaginta non tantum univiræ, id est, nuptæ, aliquando eliguntur, sed et matres, et quidem educatrices filiorum: scilicet, ut experimentis omnium adfectuum structæ, facile norint cæteras et consilio et solatio juvare, etc.

^f Sozom. lib. vii. c. xvi. (p. 590. D 7.) Τὰς γυναῖκας, εἰ μὴ παῖδας ἔχοιεν, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γένοιντο, διακονίαν Θεοῦ μὴ ἐπιτρέπεσθαι, κατὰ τὸ ἀποστόλου Παύλου ῥητὸν πρόσταγμα.

^g Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. et Clerg. leg. xxvii. Nulla nisi

Sozomen cites it: but he speaks of it as a new law, that was then made upon a particular occasion, by reason of some scandal that had happened in the Church: which is a plain intimation, that from the time of Tertullian to the making of this law, the Church had varied in her practice.

SECT. IV.—*Not to be ordained under sixty years of age, by the most ancient canons.*

And so she had likewise with respect to the age of deaconesses. For though the forementioned law of Theodosius require them to be sixty years of age complete; and Tertullian^h and St. Basilⁱ speak of the same age; yet Justinian, in one of his Novels^k, requires but fifty, and in another^l but forty; which was all that was insisted on before by the great Council of Chalcedon^m, whose words are, “No woman shall be ordained a deaconess, before she is forty years old.” And it is probable in some cases that term was not strictly required: for Sozomen saysⁿ, “Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, ordained Olympias a deaconess, though she was but a young widow, because she was a person of extraordinary virtue.” By which we may judge, that as the Church varied in her rule about this matter, so bishops took a liberty to ordain deaconesses at what age they thought fit, provided they could be assured of their probity and virtue.

emensis sexaginta annis, cui votiva domi proles sit, secundum præceptum ad diaconissarum consortium transferatur.

^h Tertull. l. c.

ⁱ Basil. Ep. Canon. c. xxiv. p. 30. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1737.) Χήραν, τὴν καταλεγείσαν εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν χηρῶν, τουτέστι τὴν διακονουμένην ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἔκρινεν ἀπόστολος γαμουμένην παρορᾶσθαι.

^k Justin. Novell. vi. c. vi. Ὑπὲρ τὸν μέσον ἤδη καθεστῶσας χρόνον καὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς πεντήκοντα ἐνιαυτοὺς, κατὰ τοὺς θείους κανόνας, ἀγούσας.

^l Novell. cxliii. c. xliii. (Paris. 1663. p. 171.) Διακόνισσαν ἐν ἀγία ἐκκλησίᾳ μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι, ἥτις ἐλάττων ἐστὶ τῶν μὲν ἐνιαυτῶν, ἢ εἰς δευτέρους ἦλθε γάμους.

^m Concil. Chalced. xiv. al. xv. (Labbe, vol. iv. Conc. p. 763.) Διακόνισσαν μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι γυναῖκα πρὸ ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα.

ⁿ Sozom. lib. viii. c. ix. (Vales. 1700. p. 621.) Καίπερ νέαν χήραν γενομένην, εἰς ἄγαν δὲ φιλοσοφοῦσαν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεσμόν, διάκονον ἐχειροτόνησε Νεκτάριος.

SECT. V.—*To be such as had been only the Wives of one man.*

But there was another qualification which they were more strict in exacting, which was, that the deaconesses should be such widows as had been only the wives of one man, according to the Apostle's prescription, 1 Tim. v. 9. Which rule they generally understood as a prohibition of electing any to be deaconesses, who had been twice married, though lawfully and successively, to two husbands, one after another. In this sense Tertullian says^o, the Apostle requires them to be 'Univiræ,' the wives of one man; which Epiphanius^p calls *χηρεύσασαι ἀπὸ μονογαμίας*, widows that have been but once married. So the author of the Constitutions, and Justinian's Novels^q, which have been cited before.

But Theodoret gives a different sense of the apostle's words: for he supposes the Apostle not to forbid the choosing of widows that had been twice married, but only such^r as had married again after they had divorced themselves from a former husband; which was such a scandalous act, as justly excluded them from the Church's service. And this sense is embraced as the most probable and rational by the learned Justellus^s, Dr. Hammond^t, Suicerus^u, and several others; of which I shall have occasion to give a further account, when I come to speak of that apostolical rule as it concerned all the clergy. Thus

^o Tertull. ad Uxor. lib. i. c. vii. Viduam adlegi in ordinationem nisi univiram non concedit. It. de Veland. Virg. c. ix. vide § iii. (e) p. 324.

^p Epiph. Exposit. Fid. n. xxi. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 1104. B 5.) *Διακόνισσαι καθίστανται εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν γυναικῶν μόνον, διὰ τὴν σεμνότητα, ἃν χρεία κατασταίῃ, λουτροῦ ἕνεκα, ἢ ἐπισκέψεως σωμάτων· καὶ αὗται δὲ μονόγαμοι ἐγκρατευσάμεναι ἢ χηρεύσασαι ἀπὸ μονογαμίας, ἢ ἀειπάρθενοι οὔσαι.*

^q Justin. Novell. vi. c. vi. See note (b) p. 323.—Constit. Apost. lib. vi. c. xvii. citat. § ii. note (a) ibid.

^r Theod. Com. 1 Tim. v. 9. (Schulze, Halæ, vol. iii. p. 664.) *Γεγονυῖα ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς γυνή· καὶ ἐντεῦθεν δῆλον, ὥς οὐ τὴν διγαμίαν ἐκβάλλει, ἀλλὰ τὸ σωφρόνως ἐν γάμφῳ βιοῦν νομοθετεῖ· οὐ γὰρ ἄνω τὸν δεύτερον γάμον νομοθετήσας, σωματικῆς ἀπολαῦσαι θεραπείας ἐκώλυσε τὴν δευτέροις ὁμιλήσασαν γάμοις· ὅς γε τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν πρὸς πάντας διαγορεύει σαφῶς.*

^s Justel. Not. ad Canon. I. Concil. Laod. tom. i. p. 83. b. 84. a. b. 85. a.

^t Hammond, Annot. in 1 Tim. iii. 2.

^u Suicer. Thes. tom. i. p. 899, ad locum Theodoreti not. (r) allegatum, hæc habet: *Τὸ, σωφρόνως ἐν γάμφῳ βιοῦν, opponitur ei, quando uxor a marito divertit, et alii nubit, adeoque δίγαμος fit.*

much will suffice to be spoken at present concerning the qualifications of deaconesses before they were ordained.

SECT. VI.—*Whether Deaconesses were anciently ordained by imposition of hands.*

The next inquiry is concerning their ordination itself; whether it was always performed by imposition of hands? And here learned men are very much divided in their sentiments. Baronius^v thinks they had no imposition of hands at the time of the Council of Nice: and he grounds his assertion upon one of the canons of that council, which, as he expounds it, denies that deaconesses were ordained by imposition of hands, and therefore makes no other account of them than as mere lay persons. Valesius^x gives the same exposition of the canon; though he owns that Balsamon and Zonaras, the ancient expositors, were of a contrary judgment, viz., that the canon speaks not of the deaconesses of the Church, but of such as returned to the Catholic Church from the Paulianists or Samosatzenian heretics, among whom they had received no imposition of hands, and therefore were to be treated as mere laics. And in this sense Suicerus^y, and Albaspinus (or -æus^z), Christianus

^v Baron. an. xxxiv. n. cclxxxiii. (Antwerp. 1612, vol. i. p. 237. C.) Quantumlibet prædicta diaconissæ curarent, non tamen erant ejusmodi, ut sicut diaconi, manus impositionem acciperent, vel aliquo sacramento initiatæ essent; nam sacrosancta Nicæna Synodus ea ex causa easdem inter laicas adnumerat. —It. Cabassut. Notit. Concil. c. lvi. p. 342.

^x Vales. Not. in Sozom. lib. viii. c. ix. (p. 129. B 14.) Apud antiquos alius mos fuit, ut docet canon xix. Concilii Nicæni. In quo sancti patres generaliter pronuntiant, diaconissas manus impositionem non habere, easque inter laicos esse numerandas. Quamquam Zonaras et Balsamo canonem illum Concilii Nicæni non generaliter de omnibus diaconissis, sed tantum de diaconissis Paulianistarum, quæ ad catholicam ecclesiam redirent, intelligendum putarunt. Sed verba ipsa canonis illius abunde eos refutant, etc.

^y Suicer. Thes. tom. i. p. 867. n. v. tot.

^z Albaspin. Not. in can. xix. Conc. Nicæni (tom. ii. Concil. p. 83. D 14.) Cum Synodus quasdam, quæ minus recte et extra ordinem institutæ essent, inter laicos deputandas esse censet; subintelligendum profecto relinquit, quasdam fuisse, qui rite et ordine consecratæ essent. Denique quid toto canone statuitur? quid præcipitur? quæ est ejus sententia? si ab hæresi redeuntes diaconissas, eundem jubet apud orthodoxos honoris locum retinere, quem inter hæreticos obtinuerant, nonne sequitur quasdam fuisse, quæ initiatæ et consecratæ essent? —Lupus, tom. i. Schol. in eumd. Can. —Fabrot. Not.

Lupus, Fabrotus, and other modern critics and expositors of the canon, explain it also. To make the reader himself judge in the matter, I must here recite the words of the canon, which are these: "Concerning the Paulianists which return to the Catholic Church, it is decreed, that they shall be by all means re-baptized. And if any of them were heretofore reckoned among the clergy, if they appear to be blameless, and without rebuke, let them be first baptized, and then ordained by the bishop of the Catholic Church: but if upon examination they be found unfit, let them be deposed. The same rule shall be observed concerning deaconesses, and all others who are reckoned among their clergy. And we particularly take notice of deaconesses^a, which appear in that habit or dignity, that having never had any imposition of hands, they are to be reckoned only among the laity." These last words about deaconesses seem to refer to what goes before; and then they must be interpreted of deaconesses among the Paulianists, who took upon them the habit of deaconesses without any consecration. Or if we understand them as spoken of deaconesses already in the Church, they may mean that there were some deaconesses which had crept into the office without imposition of hands; and such the council accounts no more than lay persons. That which will incline a man to interpret this

ad Balsam. Collect. Constitut. p. 1417. Videamus obiter, an diaconissæ inter laicos censerentur: et in ea quidem sententia sunt viri docti, quibus erroris fundus est canon xix. Conc. Nicæni. . . De sententia canonis videamus. Certe nec ipse Zonaras nec quidam recentiores videntur eum percepisse. Hoc igitur constitutum est in dicto canone, ut diaconissæ, quæ ab hæresi Paulianorum ad ecclesiam redierint, rebaptizentur, et iis quæ in eodem habitu esse noscuntur, quod nimirum non habeant manus impositionem, adeo ut omnino inter laicos deputentur, manus imponantur, anno 40—, si inveniantur idoneæ, alioquin manus non imponantur.

^a Conc. Nicæen. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 38.) Περὶ τῶν Παυλιανιστάντων, εἴτα προσφυγόντων τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅρος ἐκτίθεται ἀναβαπτίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐξάπαντος· εἰ δὲ τινες ἐν τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἐξητάσθησαν, εἰ μὲν ἄμεμπτοι καὶ ἀνεπίληπτοι φανεῖεν, ἀναβαπτισθέντες χειροτονείσθωσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου· εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀνάκρισις ἀνεπιτηδείους αὐτοὺς εὐρίσκοι, καθαιρεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς προσήκει ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν διακονισσῶν, καὶ ὅλως περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζομένων, ὁ αὐτὸς τύπος παραφυλαχθήσεται· ἐμνήσθημεν δὲ διακονισσῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ σχήματι ἐξετασθεισῶν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ χειροθεσίαν τινὰ ἔχουσιν, ὥστε ἐξάπαντος ἐν τοῖς λαϊκοῖς αὐτὰς ἐξετάζεσθαι.

canon to some such sense as this, is, that all other councils and writers speak of ordaining deaconesses by imposition of hands. Valesius himself owns that it was so in the time of the Council of Chalcedon; for in one of the canons of that council^b their ordination is expressly called both *χειροτονία* and *χειροθεσία*, ordination by imposition of hands. And the author of the Constitutions^c, speaking of their ordination, requires the bishop to use imposition of hands, with a form of prayer, which is there recited. And thus it was both in the Greek and Latin Church, so long as the order itself continued to be in use. The Council of Trullo, an. 692, speaks of their ordination in two canons^d, under the name of *χειροτονία*. And Sozomen^e uses the same word in speaking of the ordination of Olympias. And though there be not so many examples of this practice to be met with in the Latin Church, because the order was there much sooner laid aside; yet Cotelierius^f has furnished us with some out of Fortunatus and the Council of Worms, both which expressly say the ordination of deaconesses was performed by imposition of hands. In the Council of Worms, the fifteenth canon of the Council of Chalcedon is repeated. And Fortunatus' words are, "Manu superposita consecravit diaconam^g," speaking of one whom Medardus, the bishop, consecrated a deaconess, by laying his hands upon her.

^b Conc. Chalced. c. xv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 763.) Διακόνισσαν μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι γυναῖκα, πρὸ ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ταύτην μετὰ ἀκριβοῦς δοκιμασίας· εἰ δέ γε δεξαμένη τὴν χειροθεσίαν, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ παραμείνασα τῇ λειτουργίᾳ, ἑαυτὴν ἐπιδῶ γάμφῳ, ὑβρίσασα τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριν, ἢ τοιαύτη ἀναθεματίζεσθω μετὰ τοῦ αὐτῇ συναφθέντος.

^c Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 490.) Περὶ δὲ διακονίσσης Βαρθολομαῖος διατάσσομαι· ὃ ἐπίσκοπε, ἐπιθήσεις αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας, παρεστῶτος τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, καὶ τῶν διακόνων, καὶ τῶν διακονισσῶν, καὶ ἑρῆς· ὁ Θεός, κ. τ. λ.

^d Concil. Trull. c. xiv. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1150.) Μῆτε διακόνισσα πρὸ τῶν μ' χρόνων χειροτονεῖσθω.—Ibid. can. xl. Οἱ ἱεροὶ κανόνες τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν τὴν διακόνισσαν χειροτονεῖσθαι παραδεδώκασι.

^e Sozom. lib. viii. c. ix. vide § iv. not. (n) p. 325.

^f Cotelier, (vol. i. p. 407.) Not. in Constit. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xix, ad verba: 'Επιθήσεις αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας.] Frequentissime Græci, rarissime Latini. Præter Wormatienses patres ex Concilio Chalcedonensi, Fortunatus in vita Radegundis, 'manu superposita consecravit diaconam' Medardus episcopus. — Concil. Wormatiens. c. lxxiii. ex Concil. Chalced. c. xv.

^g Fortun. Vit. Radegund. ap. Surium Aug. xiii.

All which shows that it was the constant practice of the Church to ordain deaconesses by imposition of hands: and that makes it very probable that the Nicene canon is to be understood in that sense which is most agreeable to the Church's practice.

But the learned Justellus^h still raises another scruple about their ordination: he thinks this imposition of hands was not properly an ordination, but only a benediction: for he distinguishes betwixt those two things, and says, 'every solemn imposition of hands is not an ordination;' which is very true; for then the imposition of hands upon the catechumens, or upon the baptized in confirmation, or upon the penitents in order to reconcile them, or upon the sick in order to their cure, or upon any persons whatsoever to give them a common benediction, would be an ordination: but then that learned person seems not to have considered, that the imposition of hands upon the deaconesses was something more than all these; for it was a consecration of them to a certain office in the Church: which sort of imposition of hands, joined with a prayer of benediction for grace to discharge that office aright, is what the Church has always meant and called particularly by the name of Ordination.

SECT. VII.—*Not consecrated to any office of the priesthood.*

Yet we are not to imagine that this consecration gave them any power to execute any part of the sacerdotal office, or do the duties of the sacred function. Women were always forbidden to perform any such offices as those. Therefore the author of the Constitutions calls it a heathenish practice to ordain women-priests, *ἱερείας χειροτονεῖν*: for the Christian lawⁱ allowed no such custom. Some heretics, indeed, as Ter-

^h Justell. Bibl. Jur. Canon. tom. i. p. 75. Not. in Conc. Nic. c. xix. Duplex olim fuit *χειροθεσία*, *εὐλογίας* videlicet et *χειροτονίας*, ut ait Thrasius Patriarcha CP. (Act. i. Concil. Nic. ii. tom. iii. Concil.): nec *χειροθεσία* semper fuit consecrationis symbolum, sed et orationis super hominem cui manus imponebantur. Impositionis manuum, quæ ad ordinationem episcoporum et presbyterorum pertinet, meminit Paulus, 1 Tim. iv. 14. c. v. 22. . . Impositio vero manuum benedictionis adhiberi fuit solita, ut diximus, lapsis pœnitentibus, et redeuntibus ab hæreticis ad veram ecclesiam.

ⁱ Constit. Apost. lib. iii. c. ix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 315. C 5.) *Εἰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς προ-*

tullian^k observes, allowed women to teach, and exorcise, and administer baptism; but all this, he says, was against the rule^l of the Apostle. Epiphanius brings the charge particularly against the Pepuzians, which were a branch of the Montanists, that they^m made women-bishops and women-presbyters, abusing that passage of the Apostle, "In Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female," to put some colour upon their practice. He charges it also upon the Collyridiansⁿ, that they did *ἱεουργεῖν διὰ γυναικῶν*, use women to sacrifice to the Virgin Mary. Where it is observed that the charge is double, 1. That they gave divine worship to the Holy Virgin; and 2. That they used women-priests in their service. Against these he has a particular dissertation, wherein he shows at large, that no woman, from the foundation of the world, was ever ordained to offer sacrifice, or perform any solemn service of the Church^o: which if it had been allowed to any, would

λαβοῦσι διδάσκειν αὐταῖς οὐκ ἐπετρέψαμεν, πῶς ἱερατεῦσαι ταύταις παρὰ φύσιν τις συγχωρήσει; τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀθεότητος τὸ ἀγνόημα, θηλείαις θεαῖς ἱερείας χειροτονεῖν.

^k Tertull. de Præscript. c. xli. (Paris. 1665. p. 217.) Ipsæ mulieres hæreticæ quam procaces! quæ audeant docere, contendere, exorcismos agere, curationes repromittere, forsitan et tinguere.

^l Id. c. xvii. de Baptismo (p. 231. B.): Petulantia mulieris, quæ usurpavit docere, utique non etiam tinguendi jus sibi pariet: nisi si quæ nova bestia evenerit similis pristinæ: ut quemadmodum illa baptismum auferebat, ita aliqua per se eum conferat. Quod si quæ Paulo perperam adscripta sunt, ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguendique defendunt; sciant in Asia presbyterum, qui eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confessum id se amore Pauli fecisse, loco decessisse. Quam enim fidei proximum videretur, ut is docendi et tinguendi daret feminæ potestatem, qui ne discere quidem constanter mulieri permisit? Taceant, inquit, et domi maritos suos consulant.

^m Epiphan. Hæres. lxxix. Pepuzian. n. ii. Ἐπίσκοποι παρ' αὐτοῖς γυναῖκες καὶ πρεσβύτεροι γυναῖκες.

ⁿ Id. Hæres. lxxxix. Antidicomarianit. n. xxiii. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 1054, last line.) Καὶ εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον τι πειρᾶσθαι ἀθεμίτῳ καὶ βλασφήμῳ ἐπιχειρεῖν πράγματι, καὶ εἰς ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἱεουργεῖν διὰ γυναικῶν.

^o Id. Hæres. lxxix. Collyrid. n. iii. (ibid. p. 1059.) Εἰ ἱερατεύειν γυναῖκες Θεῷ προσετάσσοντο, ἢ κανονικόν τι ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔδει μᾶλλον αὐτὴν τὴν Μαρίαν ἱερατείαν ἐπιτελέσαι ἐν καινῇ διαθήκῃ τὴν καταξιοθεῖσαν ἐν κόλποις ἰδίῳις ὑποδέξασθαι τὸν παμβασιλέα Θεὸν ἐπουράνιον, Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. . . ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐδόκησεν.

certainly have been granted to the Virgin Mary herself, who was so highly favoured of God. But neither she nor any other woman had ever the priest's office committed to them. There is, indeed, says he, an order of deaconesses in the Church: but their business^p is not to sacrifice, or perform any part of the sacerdotal office, or any of the sacred mysteries, but to be a decent help to the female sex in the time of their baptism, sickness, affliction, or the like: and therefore he denies that the Church made them either presbyteresses or priestesses, ἡ πρεσβυτερίδας, ἡ ιερίσσας. Where the reader is to observe, that Epiphanius^q puts a distinction betwixt the names πρεσβύτιδας and πρεσβυτερίδας, because the former only denotes elderly women, such as the deaconesses commonly were; but the latter he uses to signify persons ordained to the office of presbyters or priests, which he absolutely denies any women in the Christian Church to be.

SECT. VIII.—*Their offices, 1. To assist at the Baptism of Women.*

And from hence it is plain the offices of the deaconesses were only to perform some inferior services of the Church, and those chiefly relating to the women, for whose sake they were ordained. One part of their office was to assist the minister at the baptizing of women, where for decency's sake they were employed to divest them, (the custom then being to baptize all adult persons by immersion,) and so to order the matter that the whole ceremony might be performed with all the decency becoming so sacred an action. This is evident from Epiphanius both in the forecited passage and other places^a. And it is taken notice of also by Justinian^b and the

^p Id. *ibid.* (p. 1060. C 3.) Καὶ ὅτι μὲν διακονισσῶν τάγμα ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερατεύειν, οὐδέ τι ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν, ἕνεκεν δὲ σεμνότητος τοῦ γυναικείου γένους, ἢ δι' ὥραν λουτροῦ, ἢ ἐπισκέψεως πάθους, ἢ πόνου, καὶ ὅτε γυμνωθεῖν σῶμα γυναίου, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἱερουργούντων θεαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς διακονούσης.

^q Epiph. *ibid.* n. iv. (p. 1060.) Χήρας τε ὠνόμασε, καὶ τούτων τὰς ἐτι γραοτέρας πρεσβύτιδας, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ πρεσβυτερίδας, ἢ ιερίσσας προσέταξεν.

^a Epiph. *Exposit. Fid.* n. xxi. vide § v. not. (p) pag. 326.

^b Justin. *Novell.* vi. c. vi. (Amstel. 1663. p. 14.) Ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν παρίεναι διακονίαν, καὶ τοῖς τε προσκυνητοῖς ὑπηρετεῖσθαι βαπτίσμασι, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις

author^c of the Constitutions, who adds, that ‘the deaconesses were used to anoint the women in baptism with the holy oil;’ as the custom of the Greek Church then was, not only for the bishops, presbyters, and deacons, but also for the deaconesses to use this ceremony of unction before baptism; of which Cotelierius, in his notes^d, gives several instances out of the ancient writers, but these belong to another place.

SECT. IX.—2. *To be a sort of private Catechists to the Women-Catechumens.*

2. Another part of their office was to be a sort of private catechists to the women-catechumens, who were preparing for baptism. For though they were not allowed to teach publicly in the Church, yet they might privately instruct and teach those how to make the proper answers that were required of all persons at their baptism. The author of the short notes on the epistles under the name of St. Jerome^e, calls this, ‘private ministry of the word,’ which the deaconesses performed in the Eastern Churches in his time. And it was so usual and ordinary a part of their office in the African Churches, that the fathers of the fourth Council of Carthage^f

παρεῖναι τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις, ἅπερ ἐν τοῖς σεβασμιωτάτοις μυστηρίοις δι’ αὐτῶν εἰώθε πράττεσθαι.

^c Constit. Apost. lib. iii. c. xv. Πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῷ φωτίζεσθαι γυναῖκας, ὁ διάκονος χρίσει μὲν μόνον τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐλαίῳ· καὶ μετ’ αὐτὸν ἡ διάκονος ἀλείψει αὐτάς. (vol. i. p. 322. B 6.)

^d Cotelier. in loc. (i. 287.) Hoc etiam loco ad baptizandas feminas adhibentur diaconissæ, ut eas inungant, neve a viris adspiciantur nudæ. Et quidem quod spectat ad unctionem, illustre habemus in Joannis Moschi Prato Spirituali, c. iii. exemplum, de Conone presbytero, cui in cœnobio ibi memorato baptismum accedentibus conferre demandatum fuerat. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἔχριεν καὶ ἐβάπτισεν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτο παραγενομένους· καθ’ ὅτι οὐκ ἔχριεν γυναῖκα, ἐσκανδαλίζετο. Ἐν μίᾳ οὖν ἦλθεν κόρη Περσία, ἐπὶ τὸ βαπτισθῆναι· ἦν δὲ εὐειδὴς πάνυ ὡραία, ὥστε μὴ δυνηθῆναι τὸν πρεσβύτερον αὐτὴν χρίσαι τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐλαίῳ· καὶ ποιησάσης αὐτῆς δύο ἡμέρας, ἤκουσεν ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Πέτρος, ἐξεπλάγη ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι, καὶ ἠθέλησεν ἀφορίσαι διάκονον γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐποίησεν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὸν τόπον. Ambrosius Camaldulensis vertit, ‘ne contra canones fecisse videretur,’ quia male legebat τύπον, quem-admodum pro γεγονότι, γέροντι.

^e Hieron. Com. in Rom. xvi. 1. (Venet. Vallars. vol. xi. p. 215. C 5.) Sicut etiam nunc in Orientalibus diaconissæ in suo sexu ministrare videntur in baptismo, sive in ministerio verbi, quia privatim docuisse feminas invenimus, etc.

^f Conc. Carth. IV. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 1201.) Viduæ, vel sancti-

Usher observes^o, that no ancient writers beside these two make any mention of this as part of the office of deaconesses: and in another place of the Constitutions^p this distinction is plainly expressed: "Let the door-keepers stand at the gate of the men; and the deaconesses, at the gate of the women."

SECT. XIII.—6. *To preside over the Widows, &c.*

Lastly, they were to assign all women their places, and regulate their behaviour in the Church^q; to preside over the rest of the widows^r; whence in some canons they are styled *προκαθημέναι*, governesses; as Balsamon and Zonaras note upon the Council of Laodicea^s: and if any woman had any suit to prefer to a deacon or a bishop, a deaconess was to introduce her^t. These were the offices of the deaconesses in the primitive Church, which I have been a little more particular in describing, because they are not now so commonly known; the order itself having been for some ages wholly laid aside.

SECT. XIV.—*How long this order continued in the Church.*

If it be inquired how long this order continued in the Church, and what time it was totally abolished? I answer, it was not laid aside every where at once, but continued in the Greek Church longer than in the Latin, and in some of the Latin Churches longer than in others. In the Greek Church they continued to the time of Balsamon, that is, to the latter end of the twelfth century: for he speaks of them^u as then

^o Usset. Dissertat. xvi. p. 224, apud Coteler. (fol. cxv. edit. Oxon. 1644.) Diaconissis portarum committit custodiam, quod veterum alius facit nullus; etc.

^p Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. lvii. (p. 295. A 10.) Στηκέτωσαν οἱ μὲν πυλωροὶ εἰς τὰς εἰσόδους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, φυλάσσοντες αὐτάς, αἱ δὲ διάκονοι εἰς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν.

^q Ibid. lib. ii. c. lviii. (vol. i. p. 298. D 7.) Εἰ δὲ πτωχὸς, ἢ ἀγενὴς, ἢ ξένος ἐπέλθοι, πρεσβύτης, ἢ νέος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ τόπος οὐχ ὑπάρχει, καὶ τούτοις τόπον ποιήσει ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ ὁ διάκονος. . . τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ ποιείτω καὶ ἡ διάκονος ταῖς ἐπερχομέναις γυναιξὶ πτωχαῖς, ἥτοι πλουσίαις.

^r Ibid. lib. iii. c. vii.

^s Conc. Laodic. xi. (tom. i. p. 1497.) Περὶ τοῦ, μὴ δεῖν τὰς λεγομένας πρεσβύτιδας, ἥτοι προκαθημένας, ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθίστασθαι.

^t Constitut. lib. ii. c. xxvi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 269. C 2.) Ἄνευ τῆς διακόνου μηδεμία προσίτω γυνὴ τῷ διακόνῳ, ἢ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ.

^u Balsam. Resp. ad Interrog. Marci, c. xxxv. ap. Leunclav. Jur. Gr. Rom.

ministering in the Church of Constantinople : though it appears from some other passages of the same author, that in other Churches they were generally laid aside^x. In the Latin Church, there were some decrees made against their ordination long before. For the first Council of Orange^y, an. 441, forbids any more deaconesses to be ordained. And the Council of Epone^z, an. 517, has a canon to the same purpose, wholly abrogating their consecration. Not long after which, the second Council of Orleans, an. 533, renewed the decree^a against them. And before any of these, the Council of Laodicea, in the Eastern Church, had forbidden them, under the name of ancient widows or governesses, decreeing^b that no such for the future should be constituted in the Church. But these decrees had no effect at all in the East ; nor did they universally take effect in the West till many ages after. The author, indeed, under the name of St. Ambrose, would lead an unwary reader into a great mistake : for he makes as if the order of deaconesses was no where used^c but among the Montanists ; ignorantly

tom. i. p. 381. Πάλαι ποτὲ καὶ τάγματα διακονισσῶν τοῖς κανόσι ἐπεγινώσκετο, καὶ εἶχον καὶ αὐταὶ βαθμὸν ἐν τῷ βήματι ἢ δὲ τῶν ἐμμήνων κάκωσις τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν ταύτην ἐκ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἁγίου βήματος ἀπεξένωσε· παρὰ δὲ τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θρόνου τῶν Κωνσταντινοπολιτῶν διακόνισσαι προχειρίζονται μίαν μὲν μετουσίαν μὴ ἔχουσαι ἐν τῷ βήματι, ἐκκλησιάζουσαι δὲ τὰ πολλὰ, καὶ τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν ἐκκλησιαστικῶς διορθούμεναι.

^x Id. Comment. in Concil. Chalced. c. xv. Τὰ τοῦ παρόντος κανόνοϛ πάντῃ ἐσχόλασεν· διακόνισσα γὰρ σήμερον οὐ χειροτονεῖται, κἂν καταχρηστικῶς τινὲς τῶν ἀσκητριῶν διακόνισσαι λέγωνται.

^y Concil. Arausic. I. c. xxvi. (Labbe, vol. iii. Conc. p. 1451.) Diaconæ omnimodis non ordinandæ.

^z Conc. Epaonens. c. xxi. (Labbe, vol. iv. Conc. p. 1578.) Viduarum consecrationem, quas diaconas vocitant, ab omni regione nostra penitus abrogamus.

^a Conc. Aurel. II. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1782.) Placuit, ut nulli postmodum feminæ diaconalis benedictio pro conditionis hujus fragilitate credatur.

^b Concil. Laodicen. c. xi. vide § xiii. not. (s) p. antec.

^c Ambros. Com. in 1 Tim. iii. 11. (Paris. 1642. vol. iii. p. 578. B.) Cataphrygæ erroris occasionem captantes, propter quod post diaconos mulieres alloquitur, etiam ipsas diaconas ordinari debere vana præsumptione defendunt, cum sciant apostolos septem diaconos elegerisse. Numquid nulla mulier tunc idonea inventa est, cum inter undecim apostolos sanctas mulieres fuisse legamus ? sed ut hæretici animum suum verbis, non sensu legis abstruere videantur, apostoli verbis contra sensum innituntur apostoli, ut cum ille mulierem in ecclesia in silentio esse debere præcipiat, illi e contra etiam auctoritatem in ecclesia vindicent ministerii.

as that of deacons themselves, deriving both from apostolical constitution, and making Stephen the first archdeacon of the Church. But others^m, with greater reason, deduce it only from the third century; and leave it as a matter under debate and inquiry, whether there were any such thing as the archdeacon's office in the time of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, which was in the middle of the third century. This is certain, that Cornelius, in his epistle to Fabius, where he gives a catalogue of the Roman clergyⁿ, though he speaks of deacons and subdeacons, acolythists, exorcists, readers, and door-keepers, makes no particular mention of the archdeacon; nor does Cyprian ever so much as once use the name: yet before the end of this century, Cæcilian is supposed to have had the title, as well as the office, of archdeacon of Carthage, because Optatus calls him so, and the name often occurs in St. Jerome and other writers of the fourth age, in which St. Jerome lived. Baronius, indeed, urges St. Austin's authority, to prove that Stephen was properly an archdeacon: for he says St. Austin calls him 'Primicerius Diaconorum;' but he that will look into St. Austin will quickly find his mistake: for his words are not 'Primicerius Diaconorum,' but 'Primicerius Martyrum^o,' the protomartyr, as we commonly call him, because he was the

quam est ipsa diaconorum institutio: unde S. Stephanum archidiaconum vocat Menelogium. Nomen vero archidiaconi apud antiquius Concilium Nicæno reperire non esset, si vera esset illa farrago Canonum Arabicorum editionis Alphonsi Pisan. et Turriani PP. Soc. Jes.; in cujus canonibus frequentissima fit mentio archidiaconi, etc. . . Antiquioris non est mihi notæ auctor, apud quem archidiaconi nomen legerim, sancto Hieronymo, etc.—Baron. a. xxxiv. n. cclxxxv. (Antverp. 1612. vol. i. p. 237.) Quod Lucas recensendo singulorum septem diaconorum nomina, primum ordine ponat Stephanum; S. Augustinus ex eo accidisse putavit, quod primatum ageret inter diaconos: unde hæc ait: 'Inter diaconos nominatus primus, sicut inter apostolos Petrus.'] idemque primicerius diaconorum et archidiaconus, ut a Luciano et aliis nonnullis tam Græcis quam Latinis appellatus habetur.

^m Fell. Not. in Cypr. Ep. lii. al. xlix. ad Cornel. Priorius ait: Non uno crimine hæreseos laborasse videtur hic Nicostratus, qui mihi archidiaconus fuisse videtur, cui etiam creditæ erant opes et pecuniæ ecclesiæ, verum metu judicii ob rapinam et sacrilegium in Africam Nevatum sequutus est. Dispiciendum, utrum Nicostrati sæculo obtinuerit archidiaconatus munus.

ⁿ Cornel. Ep. ad Fab. ap. Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii.

^o Aug. Serm. i. de Sanctis, tom. x. Hodie celebramus natalem, quo Primicerius Martyrum migravit ex mundo. (vol. v. append. p. 253. E.)

first that suffered for the name of Christ. And hence the reader may observe by the way, that the words *Primicerius* and *Primus* do not always denote principality, or priority of power and jurisdiction, but only priority of time, or precedency of honour and dignity, in respect of place or outward order. In which sense the same St. Austin^p says in another place, that “Stephen is named first among the deacons, as Peter was among the Apostles.” Which is a primacy that may be allowed to them both, without any pretence of jurisdiction. Habertus urges further the authority of the Greek Menologion, which gives Stephen the title of archdeacon. But such books are not sufficient evidence, being they are of a modern date, and speak of ancient things in the language and phrase of their own times: for which reason they are not much to be depended on, except when they are backed with the concurrent testimony of some ancient authors, of which there are none in this case to yield any collateral evidence to this assertion. Yet, on the other hand, the opinion of Salmasius is equally to be discarded^q, who asserts that the office of archdeacon was not in the Church in the time of St. Jerome, though St. Jerome^r himself says, in most express words, that the custom then was to have one bishop, one archpresbyter, one archdeacon, in every Church. But this is the usual way of that author in his book ‘*de Primatu*,’ to advance paradoxes of his own fancy for ancient history, and lay down positive assertions upon the most slender conjectures, yea, many times against the plainest evidence of primitive records; as in the case before us, and many others which I have had occasion to take notice of in this discourse. It were to be wished that that author, who wrote upon

^p Aug. Serm. xciv. de Diversis. (Bened. 1700. vol. v. p. 382. F 9.) *Stephanus inter diaconos illos nominatur primus, sicut inter apostolos Petrus.*

^q Salmas. de Primat. c. i. p. 8. Hieronymus in Epistola ad Evagrium: ‘Nam et Alexandriae a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant: quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciet; aut diaconi eligant de se, quem industrium noverint, et archidiaconum vocent.’ Apparet nondum tunc archidiaconi officium ac dignitatem in ecclesia fuisse. Presbyteri, inquit, e suo numero eligebant quem in excelsiori gradu locabant et episcopum nominabant. Quod eodem modo fit, ac si diaconi de se eligerent, quem industrium nossent, et archidiaconum vocarent, etc.

^r Hieron. Ep. iv. ad Rustic. cit. ad § i. not. (a) p. 309.

an useful design, had been a little more accurate in his accounts of the state of the clergy of the primitive Church; and whilst he was demolishing the pope's supremacy, had not confusedly treated of some other orders and offices, which were of greater antiquity in the Church.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF DEACONESSES.

SECT. I.—*The ancient name of Deaconesses, διάκονοι, πρεσβύτιδες, Viduæ, Ministræ.*

HAVING spoken of deacons and archdeacons, it remains that I say something in this place of deaconesses, because their office and service was of great use in the primitive Church. There is some mention made of them in Scripture, by which it appears that their office was as ancient as the apostolical age. St. Paul calls Phœbe 'a servant' of the Church of Cenchrea, Rom. xvi. 1. The original word is διάκονος, a deaconess, answerable to the Latin word 'Ministra,' which is the name that is given them in Pliny's epistle^s which speaks about the Christians. Tertullian^t and some others call them 'Viduæ,' widows, and their office 'Viduatus,' because they were commonly chosen out of the widows of the Church. For the same reason, Epiphanius^u and the Council of Laodicea^v call

^s Plin. lib. x. ep. xcvii. Quo magis necessarium credidi, ex duabus ancillis, quæ ministræ dicebantur, quid esset veri et per tormenta quærere.

^t Tertull. lib. i. ad Uxor. c. vii. (Paris. 1664. p. 165. C 3.) Quantum detrahant fidei, quantum obstrepant sanctitati nuptiæ secundæ, disciplina ecclesiæ et præscriptio apostoli declarat, cum digamos non sinit præsidere, cum viduam adlegi in ordinem, nisi univiram, non concedit. . . Sacerdotium viduitatis et cœlibatium est apud nationes.—It. de Veland. Virginib. c. ix. citat. seq. not. (x). —Epiphan. Hæres. lxxix. n. iv. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 1060.) Παρατηρητέον δὲ, ὅτι ἄχρι διακονισσῶν μόνον τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐπεδείχθη τάγμα, χήρας τε ὠνόμασε, καὶ τούτων τὰς ἔτι γραιότερας πρεσβύτιδας, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ πρεσβυτερίδας, ἢ ἱερίσας προσέταξε.—Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. xiii. See note (y) in the next page.

^u Epiphan. Hæres. lxxix. n. iv. See preceding note.

them *πρεσβύτιδας*, elderly widows, because none but such were ordinarily taken into this office.

SECT. II.—*Deaconesses to be Widows by some laws.*

For indeed by some ancient laws these four qualifications were required in every one, that was to be taken into this order. 1st, That she should be a widow. 2. That she should be a widow that had borne children. 3. A widow that was but once married. 4. One of a considerable age, forty, fifty, or sixty years old:—though all these rules admitted of exceptions. In Tertullian's time, the deaconesses were so commonly chosen out of the widows, that when a certain young virgin was made a deaconess, he speaks of it as 'a miracle or monstrous thing' in the Church^x. Yet some learned men are of opinion, that virgins were sometimes made deaconesses even in the time of Ignatius: because Ignatius, in his epistle to the Church of Smyrna^y, 'salutes the virgins that were called widows,' that is, deaconesses, as Cotelierius and Vossius truly expound it. For virgins could not be called widows congruously in any other sense. Some suspect that the word 'virgins' is a corruption crept into the text: but there is no reason for this conjecture; for Ignatius is not the only author that speaks of virgin-deaconesses. Epiphanius^z says, in his time they were some virgins, and some widows that had been but once married. The author of the Constitutions^a says the same, that the deaconess was either to be a chaste virgin, or a widow that had been the wife of one man. And one of Justinian's Novels^b

^v Concil. Laodic. c. xi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1497.) *Περὶ τοῦ, μὴ δεῖν τὰς λεγομένας πρεσβύτιδας, ἥτοι προκαθημένας, ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθίστασθαι.*

^x Tertull. de Veland. Virgin. c. ix. (Paris. 1664. p. 178. B 5.) *Scio alicubi virginem in viduatu ab annis nondum viginti collocatam: cui si quid refrigerii debuerat episcopus, aliter utique salvo respectu disciplinæ præstare potuisset, ne tale nunc miraculum, ne dixerim monstrum, in ecclesia denotaretur: etc.*

^y Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. xiii. *Ἀσπάζομαι τὰς παρθένους τὰς λεγομένας χήρας.*—Coteler. in h. l. *Viduae vocabantur; quia in gradu viduali seu diaconico erant constitutæ.* (Antwerp. 1698. vol. ii. p. 38.)

^z Epiph. Exposit. Fid. n. xxi. *Ἡ χηρεύσασαι ἀπὸ μονογαμίας ἢ αἰὲ παρθένοι οὔσαι.* (Colon. vol. i. p. 1104. B 9.)

^a Constit. Apost. lib. vi. c. xvii. *Διακόνισσα γινέσθω παρθένος ἀγνή· εἰ δὲ μήγε, καὶν χήρα μονόγαμος, πιστὴ καὶ τιμία.* (vol. i. p. 394. A 8.)

^b Justin. Novell. vi. c. vi. (Amstel. 1663. p. 14.) *Ἡ παρθένους καθεστώσας, ἢ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς γαματὰς γενομένας.*

enacted it into a law, that the deaconesses should be chosen out of one of these orders. Accordingly we find in the practice of the Church, virgins as well as widows admitted to this office. Gregory Nyssen^c says, his own sister Macrina, who was a virgin, was a deaconess; and so was Lampadia, another virgin. And Sozomen^d relates, how that Chrysostom would have ordained Nicarete, a famous virgin, to this office, but she refused it for the love she had to a private and philosophic life.

SECT. III.—*And such Widows as had Children.*

Yet by some laws they were required not only to be widows, but such widows as had children also. Tertullian^e seems to intimate that this was the custom of the age he lived in, to put none into this office but such as were mothers, and had had the education of children; in the training up of whom they had learned to be tender and compassionate in their affections, and so were qualified to assist others both by their counsel and comfort. Sozomen also mentions a law^f made by Theodosius to this purpose, that no women should be admitted to the office, except they had children, and were above sixty years old, according to the express rule of St. Paul. The law is still extant in the Theodosian Code^g, in the same words as

^c Gregor. Nyssen. Vit. Macrin. (Paris. 1615. vol. ii. p. 180.) Πολλάκις αὐτῇ τοὺς περὶ τῶν γάμων προσαγαγόντων λόγους τῶν γεννησαμένων, διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς κατὰ φήμην τοῦ κάλλους μνηστεύειν ἐθέλοντας, ἄτοπον εἶναι ἔλεγε καὶ παράνομον, μὴ στέργειν τὸν ἅπαξ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῇ κυρωθέντα γάμον.—Pag. 181. Ἐπεὶ ταῖς μυστικαῖς ὑπηρουσίαις τὰς χεῖρας ἑαυτῆς ἔχρισε, κ. τ. λ.—Id. p. 197. Ἦν τις προτεταγμένη τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν παρθένων ἐν τῇ τῆς διακονίας βαθμῇ, Λαμπαδία ὄνομα αὐτῇ.

^d Sozom. lib. viii. c. xxiii. (Vales. 1700. p. 639. B 9.) Καίπερ τοιάδε οὖσα, τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐλάνθανεν ὑπὸ μετριότητος τρόπων, καὶ φιλοσοφίας, αἰὲ λανθάνειν ἐπετήδευεν ὥς μήτε εἰς ἀξίωμα διακόνου σπουδάσαι προελθεῖν, μήτε προτρεπομένου πολλάκις Ἰωάννου ἐλέσθαι ποτὲ παρθένων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἡγεῖσθαι.

^e Tertull. de Veland. Virgin. c. ix. Ad quam sedem præter annos sexaginta non tantum univiræ, id est, nuptæ, aliquando eliguntur, sed et matres, et quidem educatrices filiorum: scilicet, ut experimentis omnium adfectuum structæ, facile norint cæteras et consilio et solatio juvare, etc.

^f Sozom. lib. vii. c. xvi. (p. 590. D 7.) Τὰς γυναῖκας, εἰ μὴ παῖδας ἔχοιεν, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γένοιτο, διακονίαν Θεοῦ μὴ ἐπιτρέπεσθαι, κατὰ τὸ ἀποστόλου Παύλου ῥητὸν πρόσταγμα.

^g Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. et Clerg. leg. xxvii. Nulla nisi

Sozomen cites it: but he speaks of it as a new law, that was then made upon a particular occasion, by reason of some scandal that had happened in the Church: which is a plain intimation, that from the time of Tertullian to the making of this law, the Church had varied in her practice.

SECT. IV.—*Not to be ordained under sixty years of age, by the most ancient canons.*

And so she had likewise with respect to the age of deaconesses. For though the forementioned law of Theodosius require them to be sixty years of age complete; and Tertullian^h and St. Basilⁱ speak of the same age; yet Justinian, in one of his Novels^k, requires but fifty, and in another^l but forty; which was all that was insisted on before by the great Council of Chalcedon^m, whose words are, “No woman shall be ordained a deaconess, before she is forty years old.” And it is probable in some cases that term was not strictly required: for Sozomen saysⁿ, “Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, ordained Olympias a deaconess, though she was but a young widow, because she was a person of extraordinary virtue.” By which we may judge, that as the Church varied in her rule about this matter, so bishops took a liberty to ordain deaconesses at what age they thought fit, provided they could be assured of their probity and virtue.

emensis sexaginta annis, cui votiva domi proles sit, secundum præceptum ad diaconissarum consortium transferatur.

^h Tertull. l. c.

ⁱ Basil. Ep. Canon. c. xxiv. p. 30. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1737.) Χήραν, τὴν καταλεγεῖσαν εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν χηρῶν, τουτέστι τὴν διακονουμένην ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἔκρινεν ἀπόστολος γαμουμένην παρορᾶσθαι.

^k Justin. Novell. vi. c. vi. Ὑπὲρ τὸν μέσον ἤδη καθεστῶσας χρόνον· καὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς πεντήκοντα ἐνιαυτοὺς, κατὰ τοὺς θεῖους κανόνας, ἀγούσας.

^l Novell. cxliii. c. xliii. (Paris. 1663. p. 171.) Διακόνισσαν ἐν ἀγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι, ἥτις ἐλάττων ἐστὶ τῶν μ' ἐνιαυτῶν, ἢ εἰς δευτέρους ἦλθε γάμους.

^m Concil. Chalced. xiv. al. xv. (Labbe, vol. iv. Conc. p. 763.) Διακόνισσαν μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι γυναῖκα πρὸ ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα.

ⁿ Sozom. lib. viii. c. ix. (Vales. 1700. p. 621.) Καίπερ νέαν χήραν γενομένην, εἰς ἄγαν δὲ φιλοσοφοῦσαν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεσμὸν, διάκονον ἐχειροτόνησε Νεκτᾶριος.

SECT. V.—*To be such as had been only the Wives of one man.*

But there was another qualification which they were more strict in exacting, which was, that the deaconesses should be such widows as had been only the wives of one man, according to the Apostle's prescription, 1 Tim. v. 9. Which rule they generally understood as a prohibition of electing any to be deaconesses, who had been twice married, though lawfully and successively, to two husbands, one after another. In this sense Tertullian says^o, the Apostle requires them to be 'Univiræ,' the wives of one man; which Epiphanius^p calls *χηρεύσασαι ἀπὸ μονογαμίας*, widows that have been but once married. So the author of the Constitutions, and Justinian's Novels^q, which have been cited before.

But Theodoret gives a different sense of the apostle's words: for he supposes the Apostle not to forbid the choosing of widows that had been twice married, but only such^r as had married again after they had divorced themselves from a former husband; which was such a scandalous act, as justly excluded them from the Church's service. And this sense is embraced as the most probable and rational by the learned Justellus^s, Dr. Hammond^t, Suicerus^u, and several others; of which I shall have occasion to give a further account, when I come to speak of that apostolical rule as it concerned all the clergy. Thus

^o Tertull. ad Uxor. lib. i. c. vii. Viduam adlegi in ordinationem nisi univiram non concedit. It. de Veland. Virg. c. ix. vide § iii. (e) p. 324.

^p Epiph. Exposit. Fid. n. xxi. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 1104. B 5.) Διακόνισσαι καθίστανται εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν γυναικῶν μόνον, διὰ τὴν σεμνότητα, ἃν χρεῖα κατασταίῃ, λουτροῦ ἕνεκα, ἢ ἐπισκέψεως σωματῶν· καὶ αὗται δὲ μονόγαμοι ἐγκρατευσάμεναι ἢ χηρεύσασαι ἀπὸ μονογαμίας, ἢ ἀειπάρθενοι οὔσαι.

^q Justin. Novell. vi. c. vi. See note (b) p. 323.—Constit. Apost. lib. vi. c. xvii. citat. § ii. note (a) ibid.

^r Theod. Com. 1 Tim. v. 9. (Schulze, Halæ, vol. iii. p. 664.) Γεγονυῖα ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς γυνή· καὶ ἐντεῦθεν δῆλον, ὥς οὐ τὴν διγαμίαν ἐκβάλλει, ἀλλὰ τὸ σωφρόνως ἐν γάμῳ βιοῦν νομοθετεῖ· οὐ γὰρ ἄνω τὸν δεῦτερον γάμον νομοθετήσας, σωματικῆς ἀπολαῦσαι θεραπείας ἐκώλυσεν τὴν δευτέροις ὁμιλήσασαν γάμοις· ὅς γε τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν πρὸς πάντας διαγορεύει σαφῶς.

^s Justel. Not. ad Canon. I. Concil. Laod. tom. i. p. 83. b. 84. a. b. 85. a.

^t Hammond, Annot. in 1 Tim. iii. 2.

^u Suicer. Thes. tom. i. p. 899, ad locum Theodoretī not. (r) allegatum, hæc habet: Τὸ, σωφρόνως ἐν γάμῳ βιοῦν, opponitur ei, quando uxor a marito divertit, et alii nubit, adeoque δίγαμος fit.

much will suffice to be spoken at present concerning the qualifications of deaconesses before they were ordained.

SECT. VI.—*Whether Deaconesses were anciently ordained by imposition of hands.*

The next inquiry is concerning their ordination itself; whether it was always performed by imposition of hands? And here learned men are very much divided in their sentiments. Baronius^v thinks they had no imposition of hands at the time of the Council of Nice: and he grounds his assertion upon one of the canons of that council, which, as he expounds it, denies that deaconesses were ordained by imposition of hands, and therefore makes no other account of them than as mere lay persons. Valesius^x gives the same exposition of the canon; though he owns that Balsamon and Zonaras, the ancient expositors, were of a contrary judgment, viz., that the canon speaks not of the deaconesses of the Church, but of such as returned to the Catholic Church from the Paulianists or Samosatzenian heretics, among whom they had received no imposition of hands, and therefore were to be treated as mere laics. And in this sense Suicerus^y, and Albaspinus (or -æus^z), Christianus

^v Baron. an. xxxiv. n. cclxxxiii. (Antverp. 1612, vol. i. p. 237. C.) Quantumlibet prædicta diaconissæ curarent, non tamen erant ejusmodi, ut sicut diaconi, manus impositionem acciperent, vel aliquo sacramento initiate essent; nam sacrosancta Nicæna Synodus ea ex causa easdem inter laicas adnumerat. —It. Cabassut. Notit. Concil. c. lvi. p. 342.

^x Vales. Not. in Sozom. lib. viii. c. ix. (p. 129. B 14.) Apud antiquos alius mos fuit, ut docet canon xix. Concilii Nicæni. In quo sancti patres generaliter pronuntiant, diaconissas manus impositionem non habere, easque inter laicos esse numerandas. Quamquam Zonaras et Balsamo canonem illum Concilii Nicæni non generaliter de omnibus diaconissis, sed tantum de diaconissis Paulianistarum, quæ ad catholicam ecclesiam redirent, intelligendum putarunt. Sed verba ipsa canonis illius abunde eos refutant, etc.

^y Suicer. Thes. tom. i. p. 867. n. v. tot.

^z Albaspin. Not. in can. xix. Conc. Nicæni (tom. ii. Concil. p. 83. D 14.) Cum Synodus quasdam, quæ minus recte et extra ordinem institutæ essent, inter laicos deputandas esse censet; subintelligendum profecto relinquit, quasdam fuisse, qui rite et ordine consecratæ essent. Denique quid toto canone statuitur? quid præcipitur? quæ est ejus sententia? si ab hæresi redeuntes diaconissas, eundem jubet apud orthodoxos honoris locum retinere, quem inter hæreticos obtinuerant, nonne sequitur quasdam fuisse, quæ initiate et consecratæ essent? —Lupus, tom. i. Schol. in eumd. Can. —Fabrot. Not.

Lupus, Fabrotus, and other modern critics and expositors of the canon, explain it also. To make the reader himself judge in the matter, I must here recite the words of the canon, which are these: "Concerning the Paulianists which return to the Catholic Church, it is decreed, that they shall be by all means re-baptized. And if any of them were heretofore reckoned among the clergy, if they appear to be blameless, and without rebuke, let them be first baptized, and then ordained by the bishop of the Catholic Church: but if upon examination they be found unfit, let them be deposed. The same rule shall be observed concerning deaconesses, and all others who are reckoned among their clergy. And we particularly take notice of deaconesses^a, which appear in that habit or dignity, that having never had any imposition of hands, they are to be reckoned only among the laity." These last words about deaconesses seem to refer to what goes before; and then they must be interpreted of deaconesses among the Paulianists, who took upon them the habit of deaconesses without any consecration. Or if we understand them as spoken of deaconesses already in the Church, they may mean that there were some deaconesses which had crept into the office without imposition of hands; and such the council accounts no more than lay persons. That which will incline a man to interpret this

ad Balsam. Collect. Constitut. p. 1417. Videamus obiter, an diaconissæ inter laicos censerentur: et in ea quidem sententia sunt viri docti, quibus erroris fundus est canon xix. Conc. Nicæni. . . De sententia canonis videamus. Certe nec ipse Zonaras nec quidam recentiores videntur eum percepisse. Hoc igitur constitutum est in dicto canone, ut diaconissæ, quæ ab hæresi Paulianorum ad ecclesiam redierint, rebaptizentur, et iis quæ in eodem habitu esse noscuntur, quod nimirum non habeant manus impositionem, adeo ut omnino inter laicos deputentur, manus imponantur, anno 40—, si inveniantur idoneæ, alioquin manus non imponantur.

^a Conc. Nicæni. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 38.) Περὶ τῶν Παυλιανιστάντων, εἴτα προσφυγόντων τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅρος ἐκτίθεται ἀναβαπτίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐξάπαντος· εἰ δὲ τινες ἐν τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἐξητάσθησαν, εἰ μὲν ἄμεμπτοι καὶ ἀνεπίληπτοι φανεῖν, ἀναβαπτισθέντες χειροτονείσθωσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου· εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀνάκρισις ἀνεπιτηδείους αὐτοὺς εὕρίσκοι, καθαιρεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς προσήκει· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν διακονισσῶν, καὶ ὅλως περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζομένων, ὁ αὐτὸς τύπος παραφυλαχθήσεται· ἐμνήσθημεν δὲ διακονισσῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ σχήματι ἐξετασθεισῶν, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ χειροθεσίαν τινὰ ἔχουσιν, ὥστε ἐξάπαντος ἐν τοῖς λαϊκοῖς αὐτὰς ἐξετάζεσθαι.

canon to some such sense as this, is, that all other councils and writers speak of ordaining deaconesses by imposition of hands. Valesius himself owns that it was so in the time of the Council of Chalcedon; for in one of the canons of that council^b their ordination is expressly called both *χειροτονία* and *χειροθεσία*, ordination by imposition of hands. And the author of the Constitutions^c, speaking of their ordination, requires the bishop to use imposition of hands, with a form of prayer, which is there recited. And thus it was both in the Greek and Latin Church, so long as the order itself continued to be in use. The Council of Trullo, an. 692, speaks of their ordination in two canons^d, under the name of *χειροτονία*. And Sozomen^e uses the same word in speaking of the ordination of Olympias. And though there be not so many examples of this practice to be met with in the Latin Church, because the order was there much sooner laid aside; yet Cotelierius^f has furnished us with some out of Fortunatus and the Council of Worms, both which expressly say the ordination of deaconesses was performed by imposition of hands. In the Council of Worms, the fifteenth canon of the Council of Chalcedon is repeated. And Fortunatus' words are, "Manu superposita consecravit diaconam^g," speaking of one whom Medardus, the bishop, consecrated a deaconess, by laying his hands upon her.

^b Conc. Chalced. c. xv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 763.) Διακόνισσαν μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι γυναῖκα, πρὸ ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ταύτην μετὰ ἀκριβοῦς δοκιμασίας· εἰ δέ γε δεξαμένη τὴν χειροθεσίαν, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ παραμείνασα τῇ λειτουργίᾳ, ἑαυτὴν ἐπιδῶ γάμφῳ, ὑβρίσασα τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριν, ἢ τοιαύτη ἀναθεματιζέσθω μετὰ τοῦ αὐτῇ συναφθέντος.

^c Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 490.) Περὶ δὲ διακονίσσης Βαρθολομαῖος διατάσσομαι ὡς ἐπίσκοπε, ἐπιθήσεις αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας, παρεστῶτος τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, καὶ τῶν διακόνων, καὶ τῶν διακονισσῶν, καὶ ἐρεῖς· ὁ Θεός, κ. τ. λ.

^d Concil. Trull. c. xiv. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1150.) Μήτε διακόνισσα πρὸ τῶν μ' χρόνων χειροτονεῖσθω.—Ibid. can. xl. Οἱ ἱεροὶ κανόνες τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν τὴν διακόνισσαν χειροτονεῖσθαι παραδεδώκασι.

^e Sozom. lib. viii. c. ix. vide § iv. not. (n) p. 325.

^f Cotelier. (vol. i. p. 407.) Not. in Constit. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xix. ad verba: 'Επιθήσεις αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας.] Frequentissime Græci, rarissime Latini. Præter Wormatienses patres ex Concilio Chalcedonensi, Fortunatus in vita Radegundis, 'manu superposita consecravit diaconam' Medardus episcopus. — Concil. Wormatiens. c. lxxiii. ex Concil. Chalced. c. xv.

^g Fortun. Vit. Radegund. ap. Surium Aug. xiii.

All which shows that it was the constant practice of the Church to ordain deaconesses by imposition of hands: and that makes it very probable that the Nicene canon is to be understood in that sense which is most agreeable to the Church's practice.

But the learned Justellus^h still raises another scruple about their ordination: he thinks this imposition of hands was not properly an ordination, but only a benediction: for he distinguishes betwixt those two things, and says, 'every solemn imposition of hands is not an ordination;' which is very true; for then the imposition of hands upon the catechumens, or upon the baptized in confirmation, or upon the penitents in order to reconcile them, or upon the sick in order to their cure, or upon any persons whatsoever to give them a common benediction, would be an ordination: but then that learned person seems not to have considered, that the imposition of hands upon the deaconesses was something more than all these; for it was a consecration of them to a certain office in the Church: which sort of imposition of hands, joined with a prayer of benediction for grace to discharge that office aright, is what the Church has always meant and called particularly by the name of Ordination.

SECT. VII.—*Not consecrated to any office of the priesthood.*

Yet we are not to imagine that this consecration gave them any power to execute any part of the sacerdotal office, or do the duties of the sacred function. Women were always forbidden to perform any such offices as those. Therefore the author of the Constitutions calls it a heathenish practice to ordain women-priests, *ἱερείας χειροτονεῖν*: for the Christian lawⁱ allowed no such custom. Some heretics, indeed, as Ter-

^h Justell. Bibl. Jur. Canon. tom. i. p. 75. Not. in Conc. Nic. c. xix. Duplex olim fuit *χειροθεσία*, *εὐλογίας* videlicet et *χειροτονίας*, ut ait Thrasius Patriarcha CP. (Act. i. Concil. Nic. ii. tom. iii. Concil.): nec *χειροθεσία* semper fuit consecrationis symbolum, sed et orationis super hominem cui manus imponebantur. Impositionis manuum, quæ ad ordinationem episcoporum et presbyterorum pertinet, meminit Paulus, 1 Tim. iv. 14. c. v. 22. . . Impositio vero manuum benedictionis adhiberi fuit solita, ut diximus, lapsis pœnitentibus, et redeuntibus ab hæreticis ad veram ecclesiam.

ⁱ Constit. Apost. lib. iii. c. ix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 315. C 5.) *Εἰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς προ-*

tullian^k observes, allowed women to teach, and exorcise, and administer baptism; but all this, he says, was against the rule^l of the Apostle. Epiphanius brings the charge particularly against the Pepuzians, which were a branch of the Montanists, that they^m made women-bishops and women-presbyters, abusing that passage of the Apostle, “In Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female,” to put some colour upon their practice. He charges it also upon the Collyridiansⁿ, that they did *ἱεουργεῖν διὰ γυναικῶν*, use women to sacrifice to the Virgin Mary. Where it is observed that the charge is double, 1. That they gave divine worship to the Holy Virgin; and 2. That they used women-priests in their service. Against these he has a particular dissertation, wherein he shows at large, that no woman, from the foundation of the world, was ever ordained to offer sacrifice, or perform any solemn service of the Church^o: which if it had been allowed to any, would

λαβοῦσι διδάσκειν αὐταῖς οὐκ ἐπετρέψαμεν, πῶς ἱερατεῦσαι ταύταις παρὰ φύσιν τις συγχωρήσει; τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀθεότητος τὸ ἀγνόημα, θηλείαις θεαῖς ἱερείας χειροτονεῖν.

^k Tertull. de Præscript. c. xli. (Paris. 1665. p. 217.) Ipsæ mulieres hæreticæ quam procaces! quæ audeant docere, contendere, exorcismos agere, curationes repromittere, forsitan et tinguere.

^l Id. c. xvii. de Baptismo (p. 231. B.): Petulantia mulieris, quæ usurpavit docere, utique non etiam tinguendi jus sibi pariet: nisi si quæ nova bestia evenerit similis pristinæ: ut quemadmodum illa baptismum auferebat, ita aliqua per se eum conferat. Quod si quæ Paulo perperam adscripta sunt, ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguendique defendunt; sciant in Asia presbyterum, qui eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confessum id se amore Pauli fecisse, loco decessisse. Quam enim fidei proximum videretur, ut is docendi et tinguendi daret feminæ potestatem, qui ne discere quidem constanter mulieri permisit? Taceant, inquit, et domi maritos suos consulant.

^m Epiphanius. Hæres. lxxix. Pepuzian. n. ii. Ἐπίσκοποι παρ’ αὐτοῖς γυναῖκες καὶ πρεσβύτεροι γυναῖκες.

ⁿ Id. Hæres. lxxxix. Antidicomarianit. n. xxiii. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 1054, last line.) Καὶ εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον τὶ πειρᾶσθαι ἀθεμίτῳ καὶ βλασφήμῳ ἐπιχειρεῖν πράγματι, καὶ εἰς ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἱεουργεῖν διὰ γυναικῶν.

^o Id. Hæres. lxxix. Collyrid. n. iii. (ibid. p. 1059.) Εἰ ἱερατεύειν γυναῖκες Θεῷ προσετάσσοντο, ἢ κανονικόν τι ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔδει μᾶλλον αὐτὴν τὴν Μαρίαν ἱερατείαν ἐπιτελέσαι ἐν καινῇ διαθήκῃ τὴν καταξιωθεῖσαν ἐν κόλποις ἰδίοις ὑποδέξασθαι τὸν παμβασιλέα Θεὸν ἐπουράνιον, Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ . . ἀλλ’ οὐκ εὐδόκησεν.

certainly have been granted to the Virgin Mary herself, who was so highly favoured of God. But neither she nor any other woman had ever the priest's office committed to them. There is, indeed, says he, an order of deaconesses in the Church : but their business^p is not to sacrifice, or perform any part of the sacerdotal office, or any of the sacred mysteries, but to be a decent help to the female sex in the time of their baptism, sickness, affliction, or the like : and therefore he denies that the Church made them either presbyteresses or priestesses, ἡ πρεσβυτερίδας, ἡ ιερίσσας. Where the reader is to observe, that Epiphanius^q puts a distinction betwixt the names πρεσβύτιδας and πρεσβυτερίδας, because the former only denotes elderly women, such as the deaconesses commonly were ; but the latter he uses to signify persons ordained to the office of presbyters or priests, which he absolutely denies any women in the Christian Church to be.

SECT. VIII.—*Their offices, 1. To assist at the Baptism of Women.*

And from hence it is plain the offices of the deaconesses were only to perform some inferior services of the Church, and those chiefly relating to the women, for whose sake they were ordained. One part of their office was to assist the minister at the baptizing of women, where for decency's sake they were employed to divest them, (the custom then being to baptize all adult persons by immersion,) and so to order the matter that the whole ceremony might be performed with all the decency becoming so sacred an action. This is evident from Epiphanius both in the forecited passage and other places^a. And it is taken notice of also by Justinian^b and the

^p Id. *ibid.* (p. 1060. C 3.) Καὶ ὅτι μὲν διακονισσῶν τάγμα ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερατεῦειν, οὐδὲ τι ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν, ἕνεκεν δὲ σεμνότητος τοῦ γυναικείου γένους, ἡ δὲ ὥραν λουτροῦ, ἡ ἐπισκέψεως πάθους, ἡ πόνου, καὶ ὅτε γυμνωθεῖ σῶμα γυναιίου, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἱεουργούντων θεαθεῖ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς διακονούσης.

^q Epiph. *ibid.* n. iv. (p. 1060.) Χήρας τε ὠνόμασε, καὶ τούτων τὰς ἔτι γραστέρας πρεσβύτιδας, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ πρεσβυτερίδας, ἡ ιερίσσας προσέταξεν.

^a Epiph. *Exposit. Fid.* n. xxi. vide § v. not. (p) pag. 326.

^b Justin. *Novell.* vi. c. vi. (Amstel. 1663. p. 14.) Ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν παρίεναι διακονίαν, καὶ τοῖς τε προσκυνητοῖς ὑπηρετεῖσθαι βαπτίσμασι, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις

author^c of the Constitutions, who adds, that ‘the deaconesses were used to anoint the women in baptism with the holy oil;’ as the custom of the Greek Church then was, not only for the bishops, presbyters, and deacons, but also for the deaconesses to use this ceremony of unction before baptism; of which Cotelarius, in his notes^d, gives several instances out of the ancient writers, but these belong to another place.

SECT. IX.—2. *To be a sort of private Catechists to the Women-Catechumens.*

2. Another part of their office was to be a sort of private catechists to the women-catechumens, who were preparing for baptism. For though they were not allowed to teach publicly in the Church, yet they might privately instruct and teach those how to make the proper answers that were required of all persons at their baptism. The author of the short notes on the epistles under the name of St. Jerome^e, calls this, ‘private ministry of the word,’ which the deaconesses performed in the Eastern Churches in his time. And it was so usual and ordinary a part of their office in the African Churches, that the fathers of the fourth Council of Carthage^f

παρεῖναι τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις, ἅπερ ἐν τοῖς σεβασμιωτάτοις μυστηρίοις δι’ αὐτῶν εἶωθε πράττεσθαι.

^c Constit. Apost. lib. iii. c. xv. Πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῷ φωτίζεσθαι γυναῖκας, ὁ διάκονος χρίσει μὲν μόνον τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐλαίῳ· καὶ μετ’ αὐτὸν ἡ διάκονος ἀλείψει αὐτάς. (vol. i. p. 322. B 6.)

^d Cotelar. in loc. (i. 287.) Hoc etiam loco ad baptizandas feminas adhibentur diaconissæ, ut eas inungant, neve a viris adspiciantur nudæ. Et quidem quod spectat ad unctionem, illustre habemus in Joannis Moschi Prato Spirituali, c. iii. exemplum, de Conone presbytero, cui in cœnobio ibi memorato baptismum accedentibus conferre demandatum fuerat. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἔχριεν καὶ ἐβάπτισεν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτο παραγενομένους· καθ’ ὅτι οὖν ἔχριεν γυναῖκα, ἐσκανδαλίζετο. Ἐν μία οὖν ἦλθεν κόρη Περσία, ἐπὶ τὸ βαπτισθῆναι· ἦν δὲ εὐειδὴς πάνυ ὥραϊα, ὥστε μὴ δυνηθῆναι τὸν πρεσβύτερον αὐτὴν χρίσαι τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐλαίῳ· καὶ ποιησάσης αὐτῆς δύο ἡμέρας, ἤκουσεν ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Πέτρος, ἐξεπλάγη ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι, καὶ ἠθέλησεν ἀφορίσαι διάκονον γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐποίησεν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὸν τόπον. Ambrosius Camaldulensis vertit, ‘ne contra canones fecisse videretur,’ quia male legebat τύπον, quemadmodum pro γεγονότι, γέροντι.

^e Hieron. Com. in Rom. xvi. 1. (Venet. Vallars. vol. xi. p. 215. C 5.) Sicut etiam nunc in Orientalibus diaconissæ in suo sexu ministrare videntur in baptismo, sive in ministerio verbi, quia privatim docuisse feminas invenimus, etc.

^f Conc. Carth. IV. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 1201.) Viduæ, vel sancti-

require it as a necessary qualification in deaconesses when they are ordained, that they shall be persons of such good understanding as to be able to instruct the ignorant and rustic women, how to make responses to the interrogatories which the minister puts to them in baptism, and how they were to order their conversation afterward.

SECT. X.—3. *To visit and attend Women that were sick and in distress.*

3. Another part of their employment was to visit and attend women that were sick: which is noted by Epiphanius^g and the author of the Constitutions^h, who says they were employed likewise in delivering the bishop's messages and directions to women that were in health, whom the deacons could not visit because of unbelievers: that is, because of the scandal and reproach which the heathens were ready to cast upon them.

SECT. XI.—4. *To minister to the Martyrs and Confessors in prison.*

4. In times of danger and persecution they were employed in ministering to the martyrs in prison, because they could more easily gain access to them, and go with less suspicion, and less danger and hazard of their lives from the heathen, than the deacons or any other ministers of the Church could do. Cotelariusⁱ and Gothofred collect this from some passages

moniales, quæ ad ministerium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur, tam instructæ sint ad officium, ut possint apto et sano sermone docere imperitas et rusticas mulieres, tempore quo baptizandæ sunt, qualiter baptizatori interrogatæ respondeant, et qualiter, accepto baptismo, vivant.

^g Epiph. Hær. lxxix. n. iii. vide § vii. not. (o) p. 331. Exposit. Fid. n. xxi. vide § v. not. (p) p. 326.

^h Constitut. Apost. lib. iii. c. xv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 322. B.) Προχειρίσαι δὲ καὶ διάκονον πιστὴν καὶ ἁγίαν εἰς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν ὑπηρεσίας· ἔστι γὰρ ὁπόταν ἐν τισιν οἰκίαις ἄνδρα διάκονον γυναιξὶν οὐ δύναται πέμπειν διὰ τοὺς ἀπίστους· ἀποστελεῖς οὖν γυναῖκα διάκονον διὰ τὰς τῶν φαύλων διανοίας.—Cap. xix. Ἡ γυνὴ τὰς γυναῖκας σπουδάζουσα θεραπεύειν.—Hieron. Ep. ii. ad Nepot. Multas anus alit ecclesia, quæ officium ægrotanti præstant, etc.

ⁱ Cotelar. Not. in lib. iii. c. xv. Denique ad diaconas pertinuisse puto, visitationem carcere detentorum, nec non collectionem pecuniæ ad liberandos eos. Id sane innuunt Lucianus et Libanius, etc. vide seqq. not. (k) et (l).—Gothofred. Comment. in Codic. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. ii. leg. xxvii. tom. vi. p. 61.

in Lucian and Libanius, which seem plainly to refer to this part of the deaconesses' ministry. For Lucian, in one of his dialogues, speaking of Peregrine the philosopher, how he was caressed by the Christians whilst he was in prison for the profession of their religion, says, "In the morning one might observe the old women, the widows, waiting at the prison gate with some of the orphan children^k:" where by the widows he doubtless means the deaconesses of the Christians. And there is little question but Libanius^l means the same, when he says, that "the mother or mistress of the old women, when she finds any one bound in prison, runs about, and begs and makes a collection for him." This plainly refers to the great charity and liberality of the Christians towards their martyrs, which was collected and sent to them by the hand of these deaconesses.

SECT. XII.—5. *To attend the Women's Gate in the Church.*

5. In the Greek Churches the deaconesses had also the charge of the doors of the Church: which part of their office is mentioned by the author^m of the Constitutions, and the author under the name of Ignatiusⁿ, who styles them *φρουρούς τῶν ἁγίων πυλώνων*, the keepers of the holy gates. But probably this was only in such Churches as made a distinction betwixt the men's gate and the women's gate: for Bishop

^k Lucian. Peregrin. (tom. iv. Opp. edit. Basil. 8. p. 176.) (Bipont. vol. viii. p. 279.) *Καὶ ἔωθεν μὲν εὐθὺς ἦν ὁρᾶν παρὰ τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ περιμένοντα γραῖδια, χήρας τινὰς, καὶ παιδία ὀρφανά.* Conf. ad h. l. Coteler. ad Constit. lib. iii. c. xv. (vol. i. p. 286.)

^l Liban. Orat. xvi. in Tisamenum, edit. Morell. p. 452. (ap. Coteler. tom. i. p. 287.) *Μητέρα δὲ γραῶν, εἴπερ εἶη τῷ δεδεμένῳ, πλανωμένην ἀγείρειν ὅσον προσαιτοῦσα δύνηται.*—Item Orat. de Vincit, cited by Gothofred. *Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀκούει διατί οὐ καλεῖς διὰ τῶν δὲ τῶν* (malim ita, addit Cotelerius, l. c. *quam ut editum est, διὰ τῶν δετῶν 'per vinctos')* *ἐξιόντων γυναῖκα δεῦρο τῶν ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ φιλοτιμουμένων, εἰτ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τὰ γόνατα προσπεσὼν πείθει προσαιτοῦσαν ἄγειν τί σοι;*

^m Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xxviii. *Διακόνισσα οὐκ εὐλογεῖ· ἀλλ' οὐδέ τι ὦν ποιοῦσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ἢ οἱ διάκονοι, ἐπιτελεῖ· ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ φυλάττειν τὰς θύρας, κ. τ. λ.* (vol. i. p. 494. C 9.)

ⁿ Pseudo-Ignat. Ep. ad Antioch. n. xii. *Ἀσπάζομαι τὰς φρουροὺς τῶν ἁγίων πυλώνων, τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ διακόνους.*

Usher observes^o, that no ancient writers beside these two make any mention of this as part of the office of deaconesses: and in another place of the Constitutions^p this distinction is plainly expressed: "Let the door-keepers stand at the gate of the men; and the deaconesses, at the gate of the women."

SECT. XIII.—6. *To preside over the Widows, &c.*

Lastly, they were to assign all women their places, and regulate their behaviour in the Church^q; to preside over the rest of the widows^r; whence in some canons they are styled *προκαθημέναι*, governesses; as Balsamon and Zonaras note upon the Council of Laodicea^s: and if any woman had any suit to prefer to a deacon or a bishop, a deaconess was to introduce her^t. These were the offices of the deaconesses in the primitive Church, which I have been a little more particular in describing, because they are not now so commonly known; the order itself having been for some ages wholly laid aside.

SECT. XIV.—*How long this order continued in the Church.*

If it be inquired how long this order continued in the Church, and what time it was totally abolished? I answer, it was not laid aside every where at once, but continued in the Greek Church longer than in the Latin, and in some of the Latin Churches longer than in others. In the Greek Church they continued to the time of Balsamon, that is, to the latter end of the twelfth century: for he speaks of them^u as then

^o Usser. Dissertat. xvi. p. 224, apud Coteler. (fol. cxv. edit. Oxon. 1644.) Diaconissis portarum committit custodiam, quod veterum alius facit nullus; etc.

^p Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. lvii. (p. 295. A 10.) Στηκέτωσαν οἱ μὲν πυλωροὶ εἰς τὰς εἰσόδους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, φυλάσσοντες αὐτάς, αἱ δὲ διάκονοι εἰς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν.

^q Ibid. lib. ii. c. lviii. (vol. i. p. 298. D 7.) Εἰ δὲ πτωχὸς, ἢ ἀγενὴς, ἢ ξένος ἐπέλθοι, πρεσβύτης, ἢ νέος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ τόπος οὐχ ὑπάρχει, καὶ τοῦτοις τόπον ποιήσει ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ ὁ διάκονος. . . τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ ποιείτω καὶ ἡ διάκονος ταῖς ἐπερχομέναις γυναιξὶ πτωχαῖς, ἥτοι πλουσίαις.

^r Ibid. lib. iii. c. vii.

^s Conc. Laodic. xi. (tom. i. p. 1497.) Περὶ τοῦ, μὴ δεῖν τὰς λεγομένας πρεσβύτιδας, ἥτοι προκαθημένας, ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθίστασθαι.

^t Constitut. lib. ii. c. xxvi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 269. C 2.) Ἄνευ τῆς διακόνου μηδεμία προσίτω γυνὴ τῷ διακόνῳ, ἢ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ.

^u Balsam. Resp. ad Interrog. Marci, c. xxxv. ap. Leunclav. Jur. Gr. Rom.

ministering in the Church of Constantinople : though it appears from some other passages of the same author, that in other Churches they were generally laid aside^x. In the Latin Church, there were some decrees made against their ordination long before. For the first Council of Orange^y, an. 441, forbids any more deaconesses to be ordained. And the Council of Epone^z, an. 517, has a canon to the same purpose, wholly abrogating their consecration. Not long after which, the second Council of Orleans, an. 533, renewed the decree^a against them. And before any of these, the Council of Laodicea, in the Eastern Church, had forbidden them, under the name of ancient widows or governesses, decreeing^b that no such for the future should be constituted in the Church. But these decrees had no effect at all in the East ; nor did they universally take effect in the West till many ages after. The author, indeed, under the name of St. Ambrose, would lead an unwary reader into a great mistake : for he makes as if the order of deaconesses was no where used^c but among the Montanists ; ignorantly

tom. i. p. 381. Πάλαι ποτὲ καὶ τάγματα διακονισσῶν τοῖς κανόσι ἐπεγινώσκετο, καὶ εἶχον καὶ αὗται βαθμὸν ἐν τῷ βήματι· ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐμμήνων κάκωσις τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν ταύτην ἐκ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἁγίου βήματος ἀπεξένωσε· παρὰ δὲ τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θρόνου τῶν Κωνσταντινοπολιτῶν διακόνισσαι προχειρίζονται μίαν μὲν μετουσίαν μὴ ἔχουσαι ἐν τῷ βήματι, ἐκκλησιάζουσαι δὲ τὰ πολλὰ, καὶ τὴν γυναικωνίτιν ἐκκλησιαστικῶς διορθοῦμεναι.

^x Id. Comment. in Concil. Chalced. c. xv. Τὰ τοῦ παρόντος κανόνοϛ πάντῃ ἐσχόλασεν· διακόνισσα γὰρ σήμερον οὐ χειροτονεῖται, κὰν καταχρηστικῶς τινὲς τῶν ἀσκητριῶν διακόνισσαι λέγωνται.

^y Concil. Arausic. I. c. xxvi. (Labbe, vol. iii. Conc. p. 1451.) Diaconæ omnimodis non ordinandæ.

^z Conc. Epæonens. c. xxi. (Labbe, vol. iv. Conc. p. 1578.) Viduarum consecrationem, quas diaconas vocitant, ab omni regione nostra penitus abrogamus.

^a Conc. Aurel. II. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1782.) Placuit, ut nulli postmodum feminae diaconalis benedictio pro conditionis hujus fragilitate credatur.

^b Concil. Laodicen. c. xi. vide § xiii. not. (s) p. antec.

^c Ambros. Com. in 1 Tim. iii. 11. (Paris. 1642. vol. iii. p. 578. B.) Cataphrygæ erroris occasionem captantes, propter quod post diaconos mulieres alloquitur, etiam ipsas diaconas ordinari debere vana præsumptione defendunt, cum sciant apostolos septem diaconos elegisse. Numquid nulla mulier tunc idonea inventa est, cum inter undecim apostolos sanctas mulieres fuisse legamus? sed ut hæretici animum suum verbis, non sensu legis abstruere videantur, apostoli verbis contra sensum innituntur apostoli, ut cum ille mulierem in ecclesia in silentio esse debere præcipiat, illi e contra etiam auctoritatem in ecclesia vindicent ministerii.

confounding the presbyteresses of the Montanists with the deaconesses of the Church. And the author under the name of St. Jerome is not so much more to be regarded, when he seems to intimate that, in his time, the order of deaconesses was wholly laid aside in the West, and only retained in the Oriental Churches^d. For I have already showed (Sect. VI.) from Venantius Fortunatus, who lived an. 560, and the Council of Worms, which was held in the ninth century,—that deaconesses were still retained in some parts of the Western Church; which may be evinced also from the *Ordo Romanus*^e, and other rituals in use about that time, where among other forms we meet with an “*Ordo ad Diaconam faciendam*,” an order or form to consecrate a deaconess. But in an age or two after, that is, in the tenth or eleventh century, Bona^f thinks the whole order was quite extinct.

SECT. XV.—*Another notion of the name Diaconissa, as it signifies a Deacon's Wife.*

Before I make an end of this subject, I cannot but acquaint the reader, that there is another notion of the name Diaconissa, sometimes to be met with in the writers of the middle ages of the Church, who use it to signify not a deaconess, but a deacon's wife, in the same sense as Presbytera signifies the wife of a presbyter, and Episcopa the wife of a bishop. The word Episcopa is thus used in the second Council of Tours, where it is said, that if a bishop have not a wife, there shall no train of women follow him^g. So also the words Presbytera, Diaconissa, and Subdiaconissa^h, for the wives of a presbyter,

^d Hieron. Com. in Rom. xvi. 1. (Vallars. vol. ii. p. 215. C 4.) Sicut etiam nunc in Orientalibus diaconissæ in suo sexu ministrare videntur in baptismo, sive in ministerio verbi, quia privatim docuisse feminas invenimus, sicut Priscillam, cujus vir Aquila vocabatur. Conf. id. 1 Tim. iii. 11.

^e Ordo Rom. p. 161, in Biblioth. Patr. tom. ix. Par. 1624.

^f Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. i. c. xxv. n. xv. p. 287. (Antwerp. 1677. p. 482.) Ante annos fere sexcentos cessavit in Occidente earum ordinatio et ministerium: in Oriente vero jam desierat, vivente Balsamone, ut ipse ait in notis ad Concil. Chalced. c. xv.

^g Concil. Turon. ii. c. xiii. (Labbe, vol. v. Conc. p. 855.)

^h Ibid. c. xix. Si inventus fuerit presbyter cum sua presbytera, aut diaconus cum sua diaconissa, aut subdiaconus cum sua subdiaconissa, annum integrum excommunicatus habeatur. (p. 858. A 8.)

a deacon, and a subdeacon, occur a little after in the same council. And so in the Council of Auxerreⁱ and some other places. From which a learned and ingenious examiner^k of the Council of Trent concludes, that bishops in those times were not as yet obliged by the law of celibacy not to cohabit with their wives, in the Gallican Church. But I shall freely own, I take this to be a mistake; for from the time of Pope Siricius, the celibacy of the clergy began to be pressed in the Western Church, and these very canons do enforce it: therefore I lay no greater stress upon them than they will bear. For as for the cause of the married clergy, it needs not be defended by such arguments, having the rule and practice of the whole Catholic Church, for some of the purest ages, to abet and support it:—of which I shall give a just account hereafter, when I come to consider the general qualifications that were necessarily required of the clergy of the primitive Church; among which the vow of celibacy will be found to have no place. What, therefore, these canons mean by *Episcopa* and *Presbytera*, is no more than the wife of a bishop or presbyter, which they had before they were ordained; but in those declining ages of the Church, were not allowed to cohabit with them after ordination. This explication agrees both with the scope of those canons and the practice of the times they were made in. And we have no dispute with Antonius Augustinus^l, or any candid writer of the Romish communion, who carry this notion no higher than the ages in which it was broached: but when Baronius^m and others trans-

ⁱ Concil. Antisiodorens. c. xxi. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 959.) *Non licet presbytero, post acceptam benedictionem, in uno lecto cum presbytera sua dormire, nec in peccato carnali misceri, nec diacono, aut subdiacono.*

^k Gentillet. Exam. Concil. Trident. lib. iv. p. 259.

^l Anton. Aug. de Emendat. Gratiani, lib. i. dial. xx. p. 226.

^m Baron. an. lviii. n. xviii. (Lucae, vol. i. p. 497.) (Antverp. 1612. vol. i. p. 524.) *At illud, quod ad hæc spectat, in primis dicendum est, conjugatos olim sæpius eligi contigisse; ea tamen lege, ut quantumlibet necessitate cogente ejusmodi adsumerentur, consentiente primum uxore, sic electi desinerent prorsus usu conjugii esse viri; atque adeo, ut si inventi essent liberis operam dare, redigerentur in ordinem. Quod ita apostolica traditione receptum usuque probatum erat, ut quantumlibet Jovinianus impurissimus esset, adfirmaret tamen hoc ipsum: ad quem Hieronymus: ‘Certe,’ inquit, ‘confiteris, non posse esse episcopum, qui in episcopatu filios faciat; alioquin si deprehensus fuerit, non quasi vir*

fer it to the primitive ages, and make the practice of the Western Church in the sixth age to be the practice of the universal Church in all ages,—they manifestly prevaricate, and put a fallacy upon their readers, which it may be sufficient to have hinted here, and shall be more fully made out in its proper place.

tenebitur, sed quasi adulter damnabitur.' Adeo, inquam, alta radice fixa in ecclesia erat continentia sacerdotum, ut eam convellere ipsi hæretici desperarent: quippe qui non ignorarent, ab apostolis esse plantatam, ac felicissime propagatam. Quod patres in Concilio secundo Carthaginensi ingenue sunt professi, testantes id sanctos apostolos docuisse, et in ecclesia antiquitus ab omnibus esse servatum: sicque interdum ad sacros ordines conjugati adsciscerentur, ut a conjugii usu penitus temperarent.

THE DEDICATION.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JONATHAN,

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

AND PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

MY LORD,

As the kind entertainment which your lordship and the world have been pleased to give the first part of this work, has encouraged me to go on, in hopes of doing public service to the Church ; so the nature of the subject contained in this second volume¹ being but a continuation of the former account of the primitive clergy, obliges me again with all submission to present this second part to your lordship, in hopes of no less kind acceptance and approbation. The matters here treated of are, many of them, things of the greatest importance, which, when plainly set in order, and presented to public view, may, perhaps, excite the zeal of many in the present age to copy out those necessary duties, by the practice of which the primitive Church attained to great perfection and glory ; and, as I may say, still provokes and calls us to the same attainments, by so many excellent rules and noble examples. In the fourth and sixth of these books, I have endeavoured to

¹ The second volume of the original edition of the *Origines Ecclesiasticæ* commences with Book III.

draw up something of the general character of the primitive clergy, by showing what qualifications were required in them before their ordination, and what sort of laws they were to be governed by afterwards, respecting both their lives and labours, in the continual exercise of the duties of their function. Many of them, I must own, have been very affecting to myself in the consideration of them; and I was willing to hope they might prove so to such others as would be at the pains to read them: for here are both directions and provocations of the best sort, to excite our industry and inflame our zeal, and to make us eager and restless in copying out the pattern set before us. If any shall think I have collected these things together to reflect upon any persons in the present age, I shall only say with one of the ancients¹ in a like case, they mistake my design, which was not to reproach any man's person who bears the sacred character of a priest, but to write what might be for the public benefit of the Church. For, as when orators and philosophers describe the qualities which are required to make a complete orator or philosopher, they do no injury to Demosthenes or Plato, but only describe things nakedly in themselves, without any personal applications;—so in the description of a bishop or priest, and explication of ancient rules, nothing more is intended but to propose a mirror of the priesthood, in which it will be in every man's power and conscience to take a view of himself, so as either to grieve at the sight of his own deformity, or rejoice when he beholds his own beauty in the glass.

Nothing is here proposed but rules and examples of the noblest virtues; probity and integrity of life; studies and labours becoming the clerical function; piety and devotion in

¹ Hieron. Ep. lxxxiii. ad Ocean. (tom. ii. p. 323.) (Vallars. vol. i. p. 421. E 6.) Ne quis me in sugillationem istius temporis sacerdotum scripsisse, quæ scripsi, existimet, sed in ecclesiæ utilitatem. Ut enim oratores et philosophi, describentes qualem velint esse perfectum oratorem et philosophum, non faciunt injuriam Demostheni et Platoni, sed res ipsas absque personis definiunt: sic in descriptione episcopi, et in eorum expositione quæ scripta sunt, quasi speculum sacerdotii proponitur. Jam in potestate et conscientia singulorum est, quales se ibi aspiciant: ut vel dolere ad deformitatem, vel gaudere ad pulchritudinem possint.

our constant addresses to God ; fidelity, diligence, and prudence in preaching His word to men ; carefulness and exactness, joined with discretion and charity, in the administration of public and private discipline ; candour and ingenuity in composing needless disputes among good men ; and zeal in opposing and confronting the powerful and wily designs of heretics and wicked men ; together with resolution and patience in suffering persecutions, calumnies, and reproaches, both from professed enemies and pretended friends ; with many other instances of the like commendable virtues, which shined in the lives, and adorned the profession, of the primitive clergy ; whose rules and actions, I almost promise myself, your lordship and all good men will read with pleasure, because they will but see their own beauty represented in the glass : and they that fall short of the character here given, will find it a gentle admonition and spur to set in order the things that are wanting in their conduct, and to labour with more zeal to bring themselves a little nearer to the primitive standard.

Your lordship is enabled, by your high station and calling, to revive the exercise of ancient discipline among your clergy in a more powerful way : and you have given us already some convincing proofs, that it is your settled resolution and intention so to do. As the thoughts of this is a real pleasure to the diligent and virtuous, so it is to be hoped it will prove a just terror to those of the contrary character ; and by introducing a strict discipline among the clergy, make way for the easier introduction of it among the laity also ; the revival of which has long been desired, though but slow steps are made toward the restoration of it. In the mean time, it becomes every man according to his ability, though in a lower station, to contribute his endeavours toward the promoting these good ends. To which purpose I have collected and digested these observations upon the laws and discipline of the ancient clergy, that such as are willing to be influenced by their practice may have great and good examples set before them ; whilst they whom examples cannot move may be influenced another way, by the authority which your lordship and others in the same

station are invested with, for the benefit and edification of the Church; the promoting of which is, and ever will be, the hearty endeavour of him who is,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most dutiful and obedient servant,

JOSEPH BINGHAM.

BOOK III.

OF THE INFERIOR ORDERS OF THE CLERGY IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE FIRST ORIGINAL OF THE INFERIOR ORDERS, AND
THE NUMBER AND USE OF THEM: AND HOW THEY
DIFFERED FROM THE SUPERIOR ORDERS OF BISHOPS,
PRESBYTERS, AND DEACONS.

SECT. I.—*The inferior orders not of Apostolical, but only
Ecclesiastical Institution, proved against Baronius and the
Council of Trent.*

HAVING, in the last book, discoursed of the superior orders of the clergy in the primitive Church, I come now to treat of those which are commonly called the inferior orders. And here our first inquiry must be concerning the original and number of them. The two great oracles of the Romish Church, Baronius^a and the Council of Trent^b, are very dog-

^a Baron. an. xlv. n. lxxviii. (Antverp. 1612. vol. i. p. 355.) Ignatius ejusmodi numerat ecclesiasticos ordines et officia, sic scribens ad Antiochenos: 'Saluto,' inquit, 'sanctum presbyterorum collegium, saluto sacros diaconos;' et paullo post: 'Saluto hypodiaconos, lectores, cantores, janitores, laborantes, exorcistas, confessores: saluto custodes sacrorum vestibulorum,' etc. hæcque omnia ministeria ex apostolica institutione fluxisse satis demonstrat, dum superius eosdem Antiochenos alloquutus, hæc ait: 'Pauli et Petri fuistis discipuli: ne perdati depositum.' Porro Ignatius inter illa non ordines tantum, sed et officia quædam recensuit ecclesiastica, nempe cantorum et laborantium.

^b Concil. Trident. sess. xxiii. cap. ii. Ab ipso ecclesiæ initio, sequentium ordinum nomina, atque uniuscujusque eorum propria ministeria, subdiaconi, scilicet, acolythi, exorcistæ, lectoris, et ostiarii, in usu fuisse cognoscuntur.—It.

matical and positive in their assertions both about their rise and number, that they are precisely five, viz. subdeacons, acolythists, exorcists, readers, and door-keepers; and that they are all of apostolical institution. And herein they are followed not only by Bellarmine^c, and the common writers of that side, but also by Schelstrate^d, a person who lived in greater light, and might have seen through the mists that were cast before the eyes of others. Cardinal Bona^e distinguishes between subdeacons and the rest. He fairly owns, that acolythists, exorcists, readers, and door-keepers, are not of apostolical institution, as the modern school-men pretend; but as to subdeacons, he joins with them entirely, and says^f, that though

Catechism. ad parochos, tit. 'de Sacramento Ordinis,' p. 222. (p. 275. n. xxiv. edit. Lugdun. an. 1682.) Docendum igitur erit, hosce omnes ordines septenario numero contineri, semperque ita a catholica ecclesia traditum esse, quorum nomina hæc sunt, ostiarius, lector, exorcista, acolythus, subdiaconus, diaconus, sacerdos.

^c Bellarm. de Clericis, lib. i. c. xi. tot.

^d Schelstrat. Concil. Antioch. Restitut. Dissert. iv. c. xvii. art. ii. p. 519, 520. Joannes Morinus exercitatione xiv. acturus de minoribus ordinibus secundum Græcos capite 1, hunc titulum præfigit: 'Demonstratur, ab annis milie supra centum, nullam fuisse apud orientales trium minorum ordinum memoriam. Immo, hoc silentium extendi posse ad tempora apostolis vicina.' Per tres illos ordines a Græcis sublato intelligit ostiariorum, exorcistarum, et acolythorum. 'Una,' inquit, 'est illis ordinatio nempe lectoris, et si quis curiosius agere velit, duas illis tribuet, cantoris nimirum et lectoris jam citati.' Hoc autem ut probet extendi posse ad tempora apostolis vicina, producit liturgiam antiquam S. Marco tributam, quæ tres ordines minores omittit: 'Memento etiam ubique degentium orthodoxorum episcoporum, presbyterorum, diaconorum, subdiaconorum, lectorum, cantorum, monachorum, viduarum, laicorum.' Canonem item lxix. Apostolorum: 'Si quis episcopus, aut presbyter, aut diaconus, aut hypodiaconus, aut lector, aut cantor, sanctam quadragesimam non jejunarit, vel quartam, vel parasceuen, deponitor.' Constitutiones Clementis, lib. viii. cap. xxxi., adferentes duntaxat gradus presbyterorum, diaconorum, hypodiaconorum, lectorum, aut cantorum, et diaconissarum. Demum S. Ephrem Constantini Magni temporibus, in sermone parænetico de secundo Domini adventu: 'Tunc clerici ab aliis dividuntur clericis, episcopi ab episcopis, diaconi ab aliis diaconis, et subdiaconi, cantores, atque lectores, a se invicem.' Verum miror, Joannem Morinum ex hisce testimoniis probare conatum, silentium trium ordinum extendi posse ad tempora apostolis vicina, etc.

^e Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xxv. n. 17. (Antverp. 1677. p. 483.) Acolythos, exorcistas, lectores, et ostiarios; quos ab apostolis, vel ab immediatis eorum successoribus institutos, doctores scholastici adserunt, sed non probant.

^f Bona, ibid. n. 16. (p. 482.) Subdiaconorum licet expressa mentio in sacris

the Scripture makes no express mention of them, yet their institution must be referred either to Christ, or at least to his apostles. The French writers are not generally so tenacious of this opinion, as having never sworn to receive the decrees of the Tridentine fathers with an implicit faith; but many of them ingenuously confess the rise of the inferior orders to be owing only to ecclesiastical institution. Morinus^g undertakes to prove, that there was no such order as that of acolythists, or exorcists, or door-keepers, among the Greeks in the age next to the apostles; nor does Schelstrate disprove his arguments, though he makes a show of refuting them. Duarenus^h says there were no such orders originally in the first and primitive Church. Coteleriusⁱ confesses their original is involved wholly in obscurity; that there is no mention made of any of them in Ignatius, or any other ancient writer before Cyprian and Tertullian. And therefore Habertus^k is clearly of opinion that it would be more advisable for their Church to expunge all the inferior orders out of the number and catalogue of sacraments, and refer them only to ecclesiastical institution, as the ancient divines were used to do. By the ancient divines he means the school-men, who were generally of this opinion heretofore. For Peter Lombard, who is set at the head of them, declares^l that the primitive Church had no orders below those of presbyters and deacons; nor did the

litteris non reperiatur, eorum tamen institutio vel ad Christum, ut recentiores scholastici existimant, vel ad apostolos referenda est.

^g Morin. de Ordin. Exercitat. xiv. c. i. tot. p. 188—192. conf. not. (d).

^h Duaren. de Minister. et Beneficiis Ecclesiast. lib. i. c. xiv. In veteri ecclesia non erat hæc munerum distinctio, quæ postea in usum venit, ut alii ostiarii dicerentur, alii lectores, exorcistæ, aut acolythi; sed diaconorum hypodiaconorumque munere conjuncta erant hæc omnia.

ⁱ Coteler. not. in Constitut. Apost. lib. ii. c. xxv. (vol. i. p. 258.) Quo post apostolos tempore minores ordines, diaconatu inferiores, coeperint in ecclesia instituti, adeo obscuritate involvitur, ut nulla possit certa conjectura deprehendi atque explicari.

^k Habert. Archieratic. part. v. observat. i. p. 48. Consultius, meo quidem judicio, ordines hierarchicis inferiores, ipsumque adeo hypodiaconi, et a sacramentorum usu expungere, et ad institutionem duntaxat ecclesiasticam cum antiquis theologis referre.

^l Lombard. Sent. lib. iv. distinct. xxiv. p. 348. Hos solos primitiva ecclesia legitur habuisse, et de his solis præceptum apostoli habemus. Subdiaconos vero et acolythos, procedente tempore, ecclesia sibi constituit.

apostle give command about any other: but the Church, in succeeding ages, instituted subdeacons and acolythists herself. And this is the opinion of Aquinas^m, and Amalarius Fortunatusⁿ, and many others. Schelstrate himself owns^o, that it was the opinion of two popes, Urban II. and Innocent III., that the order of subdeacons was not reckoned among the sacred orders of the primitive Church: it was indeed an inferior order in the third century, but not dignified with the title of a sacred or superior order till the twelfth age of the Church; when, as Menardus informs us out of a MS. book of Petrus Cantor^p, a writer of that age, it was then but just newly dignified with that character: that is, in an age when

^m Aquin. Supplem. part. iii. quæst. xxxvii. art. ii. resp. ad 2dum. In primitiva ecclesia, propter paucitatem ministrorum, omnia inferiora ministeria diaconibus committebantur, ut patet per Dionysium, cap. iii. Eccles. Hierarchiæ, ubi dicit: 'Ministrorum alii stant ad portas clausas; alii aliud proprii ordinis operantur; alii autem sacerdotibus proponunt super altare sacrum panem et benedictionis calicem.' Nihilominus erant omnes prædictæ potestates, sed implicite, in una diaconi potestate. Sed postea ampliatus est cultus divinus; et ecclesia quod implicite habebat in uno ordine, explicite tradidit in diversis.

ⁿ Amalar. de Offic. Eccles. lib. ii. c. vi. (tom. vi. Biblioth. SS. Patr. p. 933.) Notandum est, eos ordines, qui potissimum necessarii sunt in ecclesia, apostolum Paulum denominasse et eorum mores depinxisse, sine quibus non potest rite immolatio altaris celebrari, scilicet, sine sacerdote et diacono. Ut sine retractatione sacerdos vigilet circa hostias, necessarius est diaconus ad ministranda ea quæ necessaria sunt sacerdoti: cæteri ordines his adjecti sunt. Crescente ecclesia, crevit officium ecclesiasticum: ut multitudini ecclesiæ subveniri posset, adjiciuntur inferiores in adjutorio præpositorum.

^o Schelstrat. de Concil. Antioch. p. 514, 515. Scio Urbanum secundum in synodo Beneventana apud Ivonem in decreto (parte v. c. 72.) statuisse: 'Nullus in episcopatum eligatur, nisi in sacris ordinibus religiose vivens inventus est: sacros autem ordines dicimus diaconatus, presbyteratus. Hos siquidem solos primitiva ecclesia legitur habuisse: super his solis præceptum apostoli habemus. Subdiaconi vero, quia et ipsi altaribus administrant, opportunitate exigente concedimus sed rarissime, si tamen spectatæ sint religionis et scientiæ, etc. Et Innocentium tertium hæc ita interpretatum fuisse in epistola ad Mutinensem episcopum relata per Gregorium papam IX. libro i. decret. tit. xiv. c. ix. 'quod Urbanus ad statum primitivæ ecclesiæ se referens, (in quo subdiaconatus ordo sacer minime dicebatur) instituit, ut de subdiacono (nisi utilitatis causa, etc.) non posset electio celebrari.' Et ipsum Innocentium addidisse: 'ut subdiaconus in episcopum valeat libere eligi, sicut diaconus vel sacerdos,' etc.

^p Pet. Cantor de Verbo Munifico, ap. Hug. Menard. p. 280. (citante Schelstrat. p. 515.) Prima manus impositio debetur diaconibus ordinandis: de novo enim institutum est, subdiaconatum esse sacrum ordinem.

bishops and presbyters began to be reckoned but one order, in compliance with an hypothesis peculiar to the Romish Church, then the order of subdeacons stepped up to be a superior order. And whereas the primitive Church was used to reckon the three superior orders to be those of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, the Romish Church now began to speak in a different style, and count the three superior orders those of priests, deacons, and subdeacons: so that this last became a superior order, which, for some ages before, had been only an inferior order, and at first was no order at all. For the testimonies, alleged by Schelstrate after Bellarmine and Baronius, to prove the inferior orders of apostolical institution, are of no authority or weight in this case. The epistle under the name of Ignatius ‘ad Antiochenos,’ and the Constitutions under the name of Clemens Romanus, which are the only authorities pretended in this matter, are now vulgarly known to be none of their genuine writings, but the works of some authors of much later date. So that till some better proofs be given, there will be reason to conclude, that these inferior orders were not of apostolical, but only of ecclesiastical constitution.

SECT. II.—*No certain number of them in the primitive Church.*

And this may be argued further, not only from the silence of the most ancient writers, but also from the accounts of those who speak of them presently after their institution. For though the Romish Church determines them to be precisely five in number, yet in the ancient Church there was no such rule; but some accounts speak of more than five, and others not of so many; which argues that they were not of apostolical institution. The author under the name of Ignatius^q reckons six without acolythists, viz. subdeacons, readers, singers, door-keepers, Copiatæ, and exorcists. The author of the Constitutions under the name of Clemens Romanus^r counts but four

^q Ignat. Ep. ad Antioch. n. xii. (Coteler. vol. ii. p. 113.) Ἀσπάζομαι ὑποδιακόνους, ἀναγνώστας, ψάλτας, πυλωροὺς, τοὺς κοπιῶντας, ἐπορκιστάς.

^r Constit. Apost. lib. iii. c. xi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 138.) Ἀλλ’ οὐτε τοῖς λοιποῖς κληρικοῖς ἐπιτρέπομεν βαπτίζειν οἷον ἀναγνώσταις, ἢ ψάλταις, ἢ

of these orders, viz. subdeacons, readers, singers, and door-keepers. For he makes no mention of the Copiatæ, or of acolythists: and though he speaks of exorcists, yet he says^s expressly it was no Church order. The Apostolical Canons^t, as they are commonly called, name only three, subdeacons, readers, and singers. And though the author under the name of St. Jerome^u mentions four, yet he brings the Copiatæ or Fossarii into the account, and makes them the first order of the clergy, leaving out acolythists and exorcists. Epiphanius^x makes no mention of acolythists; but instead of them, puts in the Copiatæ and interpreters. Others add the Parabolani also; and, except Cornelius^y, there is scarce any other ancient writer who is so precise to the number of five inferior orders, as now computed in the Church of Rome.

SECT. III.—*Not instituted in all Churches at the same time.*

The reason of which difference must needs be this, that there was no certain rule left originally about such orders; but every Church instituted them for herself, at such times and in such numbers as her own necessities seemed to require. For at first most of the offices of these inferior orders were performed by the deacons, as I have had occasion to show in another place^z: but as the number of converts increased in large Churches, such as that of Rome, which confined herself

πυλωροῖς, ἢ ὑπηρέταις· ἢ μόνοις ἐπισκόποις, καὶ πρεσβυτέροις, ἐξυπηρετουμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν διακόνων.

^s Ibid. lib. viii. c. xxvi. Ὁ αὐτὸς περὶ ἐπορκιστοῦ διατάσσομαι ἐπορκιστῆς οὐ χειροτονεῖται.

^t Can. Apost. can. lxix. (ibid. p. 40.) Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ὑποδιάκονος, ἢ ἀναγνώστης, ἢ ψάλτης, τὴν ἁγίαν τεσσαρακοστὴν τοῦ πάσχα οὐ νηστεύει, ἢ τετράδα, ἢ παρασκευὴν, οὐ νηστεύει, καθαιρεῖσθω.

^u Hieron. de Septem Ordin. Eccles. tom. iv. p. 81. (edit. Francof. 1684. tom. iv. p. 56, 57, 58, 59.)

^x Epiphani. Exposit. Fid. n. xxi. Εἴθ' ἐξῆς τούτων, ἐπορκισταὶ, καὶ ἐρμηνευταὶ γλώσσης εἰς γλῶσσαν ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγνώσεσιν, ἢ ἐν ταῖς προσομιλίαις· λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ κοπιαταὶ, οἱ τὰ σώματα περιστέλλοντες τῶν κοιμωμένων· καὶ θυρωροὶ, καὶ ἡ πᾶσα εὐταξία. (vol. i. p. 1104. B 11.)

^y Cornel. Ep. ad Fab. apud Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. (Vales. 1695. p. 198. D 2.) Ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἡγνόει· πῶς γάρ; πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι τεσσαράκοντα ἕξ· διακόνους ἑπτὰ· ὑποδιακόνους ἑπτὰ, ἀκολούθους δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· ἅμα πυλωροῖς δύο καὶ πενήκοντα.

^z Lib. ii. c. xx. § xv. p. 301.

to the number of seven deacons, the duties of the deacons' office quickly became too great and heavy for them: whereupon a sort of assistants to them were appointed, first in those great Churches, under the names of these inferior orders, to take off from the deacons some of the heavy burden that lay upon them. And that is the reason why we meet with the inferior orders in such great and populous Churches as Rome and Carthage, in the beginning of the third century; whereas in many of the lesser Churches all the offices were still performed by deacons, even in the fourth and fifth centuries: which may be concluded from the words of the author under the name of St. Austin^a, where, speaking of the deacons of Rome, he says, the reason why they did not perform all the inferior services of the Church was, that there was a multitude of the lesser clergy under them; whereas otherwise they must have taken care of the altar and its utensils, &c., as it was in other Churches at that time.—Which seems evidently to imply, that these inferior orders were not taken into all Churches, when that author made this observation.

SECT. IV.—*The principal use of them in the primitive Church, to be a sort of nursery for the Hierarchy.*

But such Churches as admitted them, made them subservient to divers good ends and purposes. For besides that of relieving the deacons in some part of their office, they were also a sort of nursery for the sacred hierarchy, or superior orders of the Church. For in those days, such Churches as had these orders settled in them, commonly chose their superior ministers, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, out of them; and the clergy of these lesser orders were a sort of candidates under trial and probation for the greater. For the Church, not having the advantage of Christian academies at that time, took this method to train up fit persons for the ministry, first exercising them in some of the lower offices, that they might be the better disciplined and qualified for the duties of the superior

^a Aug. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. tom. iv. c. ci. (Bened. 1700. vol. iii. append. p. 77. A 3.) Ut non omnia ministeria obsequiorum per ordinem agant, multitudo facit clericorum. Nam utique altare portarent et vasa ejus, et aquam in manus funderent sacerdoti; sicut videmus per omnes ecclesias.

functions. And by this means every bishop knew perfectly both the abilities and morals of all the clergy of his diocese; for they were bred up under his eye, and governed by his care and inspection. In some places they lived all in one house, and eat all at one table: as Possidius^b particularly notes of St. Austin's Church at Hippo,—and Sozomen^c of the Church of Rhinocurura, in the confines of Palestine and Egypt,—that they had house and table and every thing in common. Hence it became a custom in Spain, in the time of the Gothic kings, about the end of the fifth century, for parents to dedicate their children very young to the service of the Church: in which case they were taken into the bishop's family, and educated under him by some discreet and grave presbyter, whom the bishop deputed for that purpose, and set over them by the name of Præpositus, and Magister Disciplinæ, the superintendent, or master of discipline, because his chief business was to inspect their behaviour, and instruct them in the rules and discipline of the Church. As we may see in the second and fourth Councils of Toledo^d, which give directions about this affair.

SECT. V.—*Not allowed to forsake their service, and return to a more secular life again.*

And upon this account these inferior clergy were tied as well as others to the perpetual service of the Church, when once they had devoted and dedicated themselves to it: they might not then forsake their station, and return to a mere secular life again at their own pleasure. The Council of

^b Possid. Vit. Aug. c. xxv. (Bened. vol. x. append. p. 184.) Cum ipso semper clerici una etiam domo ac mensa sumtibusque communibus alebantur et vestiebantur.

^c Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxxi. Κοινὴ δὲ ἐστὶ τοῖς αὐτόθι κληρικοῖς οἰκησίς τε καὶ τράπεζα, καὶ τ' ἄλλα πάντα. (p. 559. C.)

^d Concil. Tolet. II. c. i. (Labbe, vol. iv. Conc. p. 1733.) De his, quos voluntas parentum a primis infantiae annis clericatus officio manciparit, statuimus observandum, ut mox cum detonsi, vel ministerio electorum contraditi fuerint, in domo ecclesiae, sub episcopali praesentia, a praeposito sibi debeant erudiri.—It. Conc. Tolet. IV. c. xxiv. (Labbe, vol. v. Conc. p. 1713.) Si qui in clero puberes aut adolescentes existunt, omnes in uno conclavi atrii commorentur: ut lubricae aetatis annos non in luxuria, sed in disciplinis ecclesiasticis agant, deputati probatissimo seniori, quem magistrum doctrinae et testem vitae habeant.

Chalcedon^e has a peremptory canon to this purpose: that if any person, ordained among the clergy, betake himself to any military or civil employment, and does not repent and return to the office he had first chosen for God's sake, he should be anathematized. Which is repeated in the Council of Tours^f, and Tribur^g, and some others, where it is interpreted so as to include the inferior orders as well as the superior.

SECT. VI.—*How they differed from the superior orders, in name, in office, and manner of Ordination.*

But though they agreed in this, yet in other respects they differed very much from one another. As first in name: the clergy of the superior orders are commonly called the *ἱερώμενοι*, holy and sacred^h, as in Socrates and others: whence the name, Hierarchy, is used by the author under the name of Dionysius the Areopagiteⁱ, to signify peculiarly the orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons; as Hallier, a famous Sorbonne doctor, has abundantly proved against Cellotius the Jesuit, in his learned and elaborate Defence^k of the Hierarchy of the Church. But, on the other hand, the inferior orders in the ancient canons have only the name of *Insacrati*, unconsecrated; as in the Council of Agde^l, where the '*Insacrati Ministri*' are for-

^e Concil. Chalced. c. vii. (Labbe, vol. iv. Conc. p. 759.) Τοὺς ἅπασι ἐν κλήρῳ κατειλεγμένους, ἧ καὶ μονάσαντας, ὠρίσαμεν, μήτε ἐπὶ στρατείαν, μήτε ἐπὶ ἀξίαν κοσμικὴν ἔρχεσθαι ἢ τοῦτο τολμῶντας, καὶ μὴ μεταμελουμένους, ὥστε ἐπιστρέψαι ἐπὶ τοῦτο, ὃ διὰ Θεὸν πρότερον εἴλοντο, ἀναθεματίζεσθαι.

^f Concil. Turonic. l. c. v. (Labbe, vol. iv. Conc. p. 1051.) Si quis clericus, relicto officii sui ordine, laicam voluerit agere vitam, vel se militiæ tradiderit, excommunicationis poena feriat.

^g Concil. Tribur. c. xxvii. (Labbe, vol. ix. p. 454.) In synodo Chalcedonensi statutum est, ut clerici qui semel in clero deputati sunt, neque ad militiam, neque ad aliquam veniant dignitatem mundanam. . . . Nos autem eandem sequentes canonicam auctoritatem, statuimus, ut clericus, etc.

^h Socrat. lib. i. c. xi. (Vales. 1700. p. 33. B 1.) Ὁ δὲ πρὸς λυσιτελείαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ κόσμον τῶν ἱερωμένων διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ συμβουλήν γεγρονε, τοῦτο διηγῆσομαι.—Id. lib. i. c. xv. Τοῦτόν φησιν ὁ Ῥουφῖνος κομιδῇ νήπιον ὄντα, παίζειν σὺν ἑτέροις ἡλικιώταις ἱερὸν παίγνιον· τοῦτο δὲ ἦν μίμησις ἱεροσύνης καὶ τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν ἱερωμένων ἀνδρῶν.

ⁱ Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccles. c. v. n. 2. tot.

^k Hallier. Defensio Hierarch. Eccles. lib. i. c. iii. lib. iii. sect. ii. c. i. & ii.

^l Conc. Agath. c. lxvi. (Labbe, vol. iv. Conc. p. 1394.) Non oportet insacratos

bidden to touch the sacred vessels, or to enter into the Diaconicon or sanctuary, it is plain there must be meant the inferior orders. 2. Another difference, which gave rise to the former distinction, was the different ceremonies observed in the manner of their ordination. The one were always ordained at the altar; the others not so: the one with the solemn rite of imposition of hands; the other commonly without it. Whence St. Basil^m calls the one *βαθμός*, a degree; but the other *ἀχειροτόνητος ὑπηρεσία*, an inferior ministry, which had no imposition of hands. 3. The main difference was in the exercise of their office and function. The one were ordained to minister before God as priests, to celebrate his sacraments, expound his word publicly in the Church, &c. In which respects the three superior orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, are said, by Optatus and others, to have each their share and degree in the Christian priesthood, as has been noted in the former bookⁿ: but the inferior orders were not appointed to any such ministry, but only to attend the ministers in divine service, and perform some lower and ordinary offices, which any Christian by the bishop's appointment was qualified to perform. What these offices were, shall be showed by a particular account of them in the following chapters.

ministros licentiam habere in secretarium, quod Græci diaconicon appellant, ingredi, et contingere vasa dominica.

^m Basil. Ep. can. li. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1745.) Τὸ κατὰ κληρικοὺς ἀδιαφορίστως οἱ κανόνες ἐξέθεντο, κελεύσαντες μίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς παραπесоῦσιν ὀρίζεσθαι τιμωρίαν, τὴν ἐκπτώσιν τῆς ὑπηρεσίας, εἴτε ἐν βαθμῷ τυγχάνοιεν, εἴτε καὶ ἀχειροτονήτῳ ὑπηρεσία προσκαρτεροῖεν.

ⁿ Vide lib. ii. c. xix. § xv. p. 268.

CHAPTER II.

OF SUBDEACONS.

SECT. I.—*No mention of Subdeacons till the third century.*

THE first notice we have of this order in any ancient writers is in the middle of the third century, when Cyprian and Cornelius lived, who both speak of subdeacons as settled in the Church in their time. Cyprian^a mentions them at least ten times in his Epistles; and Cornelius, in his famous epistle to Fabius^b, bishop of Antioch, where he gives a catalogue of the clergy then belonging to the Church of Rome, reckons seven subdeacons among them. But some think they were not quite so early in the Greek Church: for Habertus^c says, no Greek writer speaks of them before Athanasius^d, who lived in the fourth century.

SECT. II.—*Their Ordination performed without imposition of hands, in the Latin Church.*

The author of the Constitutions indeed refers them to an apostolical original; and, in compliance with that hypothesis, brings in Thomas the Apostle giving directions to bishops to ordain them with imposition of hands and prayer, as he does for all the rest of the inferior orders^e. But that author is

^a Cyprian. Ep. viii. xx. xxix. xxxiv. xxxv. xlv. lxxviii. lxxix. edit. Oxon.

^b Ap. Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. vide cap. i. § ii. not. (y) pag. 350.

^c Habert. Archierat. p. 49. Apud Græcos serius auditum hypodiaconi nomen . . . Hypodiaconi nomen apud S. Anastasium primum legi, Epist. ad Solitarios, ubi Ariani ἡρπασαν Εὐτύχιον ὑποδιάκονον ἄνδρα καλῶς ὑπηρετοῦντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ὑπηρετεῖν enim hypodiaconorum proprium.

^d Athan. Epist. ad Solitar. Vit. agent. (tom. i. p. 380, edit. Paris. 1698.)

^e Constitut. Apost. lib. viii. c. xxi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 490.) Περί τῶν ὑποδιακόνων ἐγὼ Θωμᾶς διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις· ὑποδιάκονον χειρο-

singular in this: for it does not appear to have been the practice of the Greek Church, whose customs he chiefly represents: St. Basil, a more credible witness, says of this, and all the other inferior orders, that they were ἀχειροτόνητοι^f, ordained without imposition of hands. And for the Latin Church it is evident, from a canon of the fourth Council of Carthage, where we have the form and manner of their ordination thus expressed: “When a subdeacon is ordained^g, seeing he has no imposition of hands, let him receive an empty patin and an empty cup from the hands of the bishop, and an ewer and towel from the archdeacon.” Which form, wholly excluding imposition of hands, is a good collateral evidence (as Habertus^h confesses ingenuously) to prove that this order was not instituted by the apostles: for they did not use to omit this ceremony in any of their ordinations.

SECT. III.—*A brief account of their Offices.*

As to the office of subdeacons, we may in some measure learn what it was, from the forementioned canon, viz. that it was to fit and prepare the sacred vessels and utensils of the altar, and deliver them to the deacon in time of divine service. But they were not allowed to minister as deacons at the altar; no, nor so much as to come within the rails of it, to set a patin or cup, or the oblations of the people thereon: as appears from a canonⁱ of the Council of Laodicea, which forbids the ὑπηρέται, by which is meant subdeacons, to have any place within the Diaconicon, or sanctuary, or to touch the holy vessels, meaning at the communion-table:—though this is

τονῶν, ὃ ἐπίσκοπε, ἐπιθήσεις ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ ἐρεῖς, Δέσποτα Θεέ, κ. τ. λ.

^f Basil. Epist. can. li. See not. (m) p. 354.

^g Concil. Carthag. IV. c. v. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1200.) Subdiaconus cum ordinatur, quia manus impositionem non accipit, patenam de episcopi manu accipiat vacuum, et calicem vacuum. De manu vero archidiaconi, urceolum cum aqua, et mantile, et manutergium.

^h Habert. Archierat. p. 48. Quia istud eo mihi probabilius, quo apud Latinos hypodiacono manus haudquaquam imponatur, quam tamen ceremoniam divinæ institutionis et apostolici temporis ordinatio procul dubio requireret.

ⁱ Conc. Laodic. c. xxi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1500.) Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὑπηρέτας ἔχειν χώραν ἐν τῷ διακονικῷ, καὶ ἄπτεσθαι δεσποτικῶν σκευῶν.

now their office in the Church of Rome; and in that, Bona^k owns they differ from those of the ancient Church.—Another of their offices was to attend the doors of the Church during the communion-service. This is mentioned by the Council of Laodicea, in a canon^l which fixes them to that station. And Valesius thinks Eusebius meant them when, describing the temple of Paulinus, he speaks of some^m whose office it was *θυραυλεῖν καὶ ποδηγεῖν τοὺς εἰσιόντας*, to attend the doors, and conduct those that came in to their proper places. The author of the Constitutionsⁿ divides this office between the deacons and subdeacons, ordering the deacons to stand at the men's gate, and the subdeacons at the women's, that no one might go forth, nor the doors be opened, in the time of the oblation.—Besides these offices in the Church, they had another office out of the Church, which was to go on the bishop's embassies with his letters or messages to foreign Churches. For in those days, by reason of the persecutions, a bishop did not so much as send a letter to a foreign Church but by the hands of one of his clergy: whence Cyprian^o gives such letters the name of 'Literæ Clericæ:' and the subdeacons were the men that were commonly employed in this office; as appears from every one of those epistles in Cyprian which speak of subdeacons; particularly in that which he wrote to the clergy of Carthage in his retirement, where he tells them^p, that having

^k Bona, Rer. Litur. lib. i. c. xxv. n. xvi. (Antverp. 1677. p. 483.) *Olim nec calicem, nec patenam, nec oblationes in altari ponebant, sed hæc omnia porrigebant diaconis, eisque serviebant intra sanctuarium.*

^l Concil. Laodic. c. xxii. (Labbe, vol. i. Concil. p. 1500.) *Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὑπηρέτην ὡράριον φορεῖν, οὐδὲ τὰς θύρας ἐγκαταλιμπάνειν.*

^m Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. x. c. iv. (p. 315. C 8. Amstel. 1695.) *Οἷς δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐπιτρέπων εἰσόδους· θυραυλεῖν καὶ ποδηγεῖν τοὺς εἰσιόντας κατατάττων.*—Vales. in h. l. p. 174. C. *Intelligit Eusebius hypodiaconos, qui portas ecclesiæ servabant, et intrantes singulos ad sua loca deducebant.*

ⁿ Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 471. E 5.) *Οἱ δὲ διάκονοι ἰστάσθωσαν εἰς τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν θύρας· καὶ οἱ ὑποδιάκονοι εἰς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν, ὅπως μή τις ἐξέλθοι μήτε ἀνοιχθῇ ἡ θύρα, καὶ πιστός τις ᾗ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναφορᾶς.*

^o Cypr. Ep. iv. al. ix. (p. 19.) *Grave est, si epistolæ clericæ veritas mendacio aliquo et fraude corrupta est.*

^p Cypr. Ep. xxiv. al. xxix. (Oxon. 1682. p. 55.) *Quoniam oportuit me per clericos scribere; scio autem nostros plurimos absentes esse, paucos vero, qui illic sunt, vix ad ministerium quotidiani operis sufficere; necesse fuit novos*

occasion to write to the Church of Rome, and needing some of the clergy to convey his letter by, he was obliged to ordain a new subdeacon for that purpose, because the Church could not spare him one at that time, having scarce enough left to perform her own daily services. These were anciently the chief of the subdeacon's offices at their first institution.

SECT. IV.—*What Offices they might not perform.*

And great care was taken, that they should not exceed their bounds, or encroach too much upon the deacon's office. They might not take upon them to minister the bread^a or the cup to the people at the Lord's table; they might not bid the prayers, or do any part of that service which the deacons did, as they were the κήρυκες or holy criers of the Church. This is the meaning of the canon^r of the Council of Laodicea, which prohibits the subdeacons from wearing an orarium in time of divine service; which was a habit of deacons that they made use of as a signal to give notice of the prayers, and other services of the Church, to the catechumens, penitents, &c., who were to observe their directions: this habit, therefore, the subdeacons might not wear, because it was a distinguishing habit of a superior order. And further, to show the same subjection and deference to deacons as deacons did to presbyters, they are forbidden, by another canon^s of that council, to sit in the presence of a deacon without his leave.

SECT. V.—*The singularity of the Church of Rome in keeping to the precise number of Seven Subdeacons.*

There is but one thing more I shall note concerning this order, which is the singularity of the Church of Rome in keeping to the number of seven subdeacons. For in the

aliquos constituere, qui mitterentur: fecisse me autem sciatis lectorem Satorum, et hypodiaconum Optatum confessorem.

^a Concil. Laod. c. xxv. (Labbe, vol. i. Conc. p. 1501.) "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὑπηρέτας ἄρτον διδόναι, οὐδὲ ποτήριον εὐλογεῖν.

^r Ibid. c. xxii. (p. 1500.) Οὐ δεῖ ὑπηρέτην ὠράριον φορεῖν.

^s Ibid. c. xx. (p. 1500.) "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ διάκονον ἔμπροσθεν πρεσβυτέρου καθέζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ κελεύσεως τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καθέζεσθαι· ὁμοίως δὲ ἔχειν τιμὴν καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, καὶ πάντων τῶν κληρικῶν.

Epistle of Cornelius^t, which gives us the catalogue of the Romish clergy, we find but seven deacons and seven subdeacons, though there were forty-four presbyters and forty-two acolythists, and of exorcists, readers, and door-keepers, no less than fifty-two. But other Churches did not tie themselves to follow this example. For in the great Church of Constantinople, and three lesser that belonged to it, there were ninety subdeacons; as may be seen in one of Justinian's Novels^u, where he gives a catalogue of the clergy, and fixes the number of every order, amounting to above five hundred in the whole.

CHAPTER III.

OF ACOLYTHISTS.

SECT. I.—*Acolythists an order peculiar to the Latin Church, and never mentioned by any Greek writers, for four centuries.*

NEXT to the subdeacons, the Latin writers commonly put acolythists, which was an order peculiar to the Latin Church: for there was no such order in the Greek Church for above four hundred years; nor is it ever so much as mentioned among the orders of the Church by any Greek writer all that time, as Cabassutius^a and Schelstrate^b confess. And though

^t Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. vide c. i. § ii. not. (y) pag. 350.

^u Justin. Novell. iii. cap. i. (Paris. 1742. p. 7.) Θεσπίζομεν, μὴ περαιτέρω μὲν ἐξήκοντα πρεσβυτέρων, κατὰ τὴν ἀγιωτάτην μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν εἶναι διακόνους δὲ ἄρρενας ἑκατὸν, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ θηλείας καὶ ὑποδιακόνους ἐννευήκοντα.

^a Cabassut. Notit. Concil. c. xlii. p. 249, edit. Lugdun. 1670. [In recentioribus editionibus nihil quod huc faceret, invenire potui: istam autem vetustiore, qua usus est auctor noster, videre non licuit: *Grischor.*] Acolythorum apud Græcos, etsi vox ipsa Græca sit, vel nulla mentio, vel saltem ambigua, etc. Lugdun. 1702. p. 36.

^b Schelstrat. de Concil. Antioch. Dissert. iv. c. xvii. p. 526. Mirum profecto, si Johannes VIII., in laudata superius epistola, per acolythos intellexisset ordinem acolythorum, qui apud Græcos non exstabat, etc.

it occurs sometimes in the latter Greek rituals, yet Schelstrate says it is there only another name for the order of subdeacons. But in the Latin Church, these two were distinguished: for Cornelius, in his catalogue, makes a plain difference between them, in saying there were forty-two acolythists, and but seven subdeacons in the Church of Rome. Cyprian also speaks of them^c frequently in his Epistles, as distinct from the order of subdeacons; though wherein their offices differed, is not very easy to determine from either of those authors.

SECT. II.—*Their Ordination and Office.*

But in the fourth Council of Carthage, there is a canon which gives a little light in the matter. For there we have the form of their ordination, and some intimation of their office also. The canon^d is to this effect: “When any acolythist is ordained, the bishop shall inform him how he is to behave himself in his office: and he shall receive a candlestick with a taper in it from the archdeacon, that he may understand that he is appointed to light the candles of the Church. He shall also receive an empty pitcher to furnish wine for the eucharist of the blood of Christ.” So that the acolythist’s office seems at that time to have consisted chiefly in these two things, lighting the candles of the Church, and attending the ministers with wine for the eucharist: the designation to which office needed no imposition of hands, but only the bishop’s appointment, as is plain from the words of the canon now cited.

SECT. III.—*The origination of the Name.*

Some think^e they had another office, which was to accompany and attend the bishop whithersoever he went; and that they were called acolythists upon this account: or perhaps

^c Cypr. Ep. vii. xxxiv. lii. lix. lxxvii. lxxviii. lxxix. edit. Oxon.

^d Concil. Carth. IV. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 1200.) Acolythus quum ordinatur, ab episcopo quidem doceatur, qualiter in officio suo agere debeat. Sed ab archidiacono accipiat ceroferarium cum cereo, ut sciat se ad accendenda luminaria mancipari. Accipiat et urceolum vacuum ad suggerendum vinum in eucharistiam sanguinis Christi.

^e Duaren. de Minist. et Benefic. lib. i. c. xiv. Quartus gradus est eorum, qui ‘acoluthi’ Græce dicebantur, ideo fortassis, quia episcopum comitabantur, quocumque proficisci vellet.

because they were obliged to attend at funerals in the company of the *Canonicae* and *Ascetriae*, with whom they are joined in one of Justinian's Novels^f. The original word ἀκόλουθος, as Hesychius^g explains it, signifies a young servant, or an attendant who waits continually upon another. And the name seems to be given them from this. But the inference which a learned person^h makes from hence, that the order of acolythists was first in the Greek Church, because the name is of Greek original,—seems not to be so certain: because it can hardly be imagined that it should be an order of the Greek Church, and yet no Greek writer before Justinian's time make any mention of it.

SECT. IV.—*Whether Acolythists be the same with the Deputati and Ceroferarii of later ages.*

I know, indeed, St. Jeromeⁱ says, it was a custom in the Oriental Churches to set up lighted tapers when the Gospel was read, as a token and demonstration of their joy: but he does not so much as once intimate, that they had a peculiar order of acolythists for this purpose. Nor does it appear that this was any part of their office in the Latin Church: for that which the Council of Carthage speaks of, is probably no more than lighting the candles at night, when the Church was to meet for their 'Lucernalis Oratio,' or evening prayer. This office of acolythists, as much as the Romanists contend for the apostolical institution of it, is now no longer in being in the Church of Rome, but changed into that of the *Ceroferarii*, or taper-bearers, whose office is only to walk before the deacons,

^f Justin. Novell. l. ix. tot.

^g Hesych. Ἀκόλουθος, ὁ νεώτερος παῖς, θεράπων, ὁ περὶ τὸ σῶμα.

^h Felli Not. in Cypr. Epist. vii. Munus erat (acoluthorum) si quod aliud, per totam ecclesiam, hoc sæculo receptissimum. Quod Orientales attinet, nomen a Græcis haustum ostendit apud illos in usu fuisse. De Romana ecclesia, litteræ Cornelii ad Fabium Antiochiensem id abunde testantur.

ⁱ Hieron. contr. Vigilant. tom. ii. p. 123. (epistol. lx. tom. ii. p. 85. a. edit. Francof. 1684.) (Venet. Vallars. vol. ii. p. 394.) Absque martyrum reliquiis per totas Orientis ecclesias, quando legendum est evangelium, accenduntur luminaria, jam sole rutilante: non utique ad fugandas tenebras, sed ad signum lætitiæ demonstrandum.

&c., with a lighted taper in their hands. Which is so different from the office of the ancient acolythists, that Duarenus^k cannot but express his wonder how the one came to be changed into the other; and why their doctors should call him an acolythist of the ancient Church, who is no more than a taper-bearer of the present. Cardinal Bona^l carries the reflection a little further; and with some resentment complains that the inferior orders of the Romish Church bear no resemblance to those of the primitive Church, and that for five hundred years the ancient discipline had been lost.

CHAPTER IV.

OF EXORCISTS.

SECT. I.—*Exorcists at first no peculiar order of the Clergy.*

THERE is nothing more certain than that in the apostolical age, and the next following, the power of exorcizing, or casting out devils, was a miraculous gift of the Holy Ghost, not confined to the clergy, much less to any single order among them, but given to other Christians also, as many other extraordinary

^k Duaren. de Minist. et Benefic. lib. i. c. xiv. p. 74. (p. 1161. a. edit. Francof. 1598.) Nescio quomodo tandem factum est, ut hoc munus in luminariorum curam postea conversum sit, et doctores nostri passim acolythos ceroferarios interpretentur.

^l Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xxv. n. 18. (Antverp. 1677. p. 485.) Abiit nunc in desuetudinem hæc distinctio, quæ diaconos, subdiaconos, et acolythos tantum comprehendebat. Desierunt quoque minorum ordinum officia, quæ plerumque a pueris, et ab hominibus mercede conductis, nullisque ordinibus initiatis, exercentur. Priscis temporibus nemo clericus ordinabatur, qui alicui ecclesiæ non esset addictus. Admissi autem pueri in consortium cleri primo litteras, cantum, et ritus ecclesiasticos edoceri solebant, ut passim legimus in vitis pontificum: tum ostiarii, deinde lectores ordinabantur, et sic per gradus ad reliquos ordines adscendebant, cum prius singulorum officia exercuissent. Atque hinc oriebatur, ut rerum ecclesiasticarum peritissimi essent, in quibus fuerant ab ipsa pene infantia enutriti. Collabi cœpit hæc disciplina ante annos circiter quingentos, donec paullatim ad illos mores deventum est, quibus nunc utimur et vivimus.

spiritual gifts then were. Origen^a says private Christians, that is, laymen, did by their prayers and abjurations dispossess devils. And Socrates^b observes particularly of Gregory Thaumaturgus, that whilst he was a layman, he wrought many miracles, healing the sick, and casting out devils by sending letters to the possessed party only. And that this power was common to all orders of Christians, appears further from the challenges of the ancient apologists, Tertullian^c and others, to the heathens, wherein they undertake that if they would bring any person, possessed with a devil, into open court before the magistrate, any ordinary Christian should make him confess that he was a devil, and not a god. Minucius^d speaks of this power among Christians, but he does not ascribe it to any particular order of men; as neither does Justin Martyr^e, nor Irenæus^f,

^a Orig. contr. Cels. lib. vii. (Cambr. p. 334.) Οὐκ ὀλίγοι Χριστιανῶν ἀπελάυνουσι τῶν πασχόντων, σὺν οὐδενὶ περιέργῳ καὶ μαγικῷ ἢ φαρμακευτικῷ πράγματι, ἀλλὰ μόνῃ εὐχῇ καὶ ὀρκώσεσιν ἀπλουστέραις, καὶ ὅσα ἂν δύναιτο προσάγειν ἀπλούστερος ἄνθρωπος; ὥς ἐπίπαν γὰρ ἰδιῶται τὸ τοιοῦτον πράττουσι, παραστάσης τῆς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ Χριστοῦ χάριτος τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων εὐτελές καὶ ἀσθενές, οὐ πάντως δεόμενον, πρὸς τὸ ἡττηθῆναι, καὶ εἶξαν ὑπεξελεῖν ἀπὸ ψυχῆς ἀνθρώπου καὶ σώματος, σοφοῦ τινος καὶ δυνατοῦ ἐν ταῖς λογικαῖς περὶ τῆς πίστεως ἀποδείξεσιν.

^b Socrat. lib. iv. c. xxvii. (Vales. 1700. p. 200. C.) Λαϊκὸς ὢν πολλὰ σημεῖα ἐποίησε, νοσοῦντας θεραπεύων, καὶ δαίμονας δι' ἐπιστολῶν φυγαδεύων.

^c Tertull. Apol. c. xxiii. (Paris. 1664. p. 24. D 5.) Edatur hic aliquis sub tribunalibus vestris, quem dæmone agi constet. Jussus a quolibet Christiano loqui spiritus ille, tam se dæmonem confitebitur de vero, quam alibi deum de falso.

^d Minuc. Octav. (Paris. 1836. p. 464.) Hæc omnia sciunt plerique, pars vestrum, ipsos dæmonas de semetipsis confiteri, quoties a nobis tormentis verborum, et orationis incendiis de corporibus exiguntur.

^e Justin. Apol. i. (Venet. 1747. p. 96.) Δαιμονιολήπτους γὰρ πολλοὺς κατὰ πάντα τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρα πόλει, πολλοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀνθρώπων τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἐπορκίζοντες κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἐπορκιστῶν καὶ ἐπαστῶν καὶ φαρμακευτῶν μὴ ἰαθέντας ἰάσαντο, καὶ ἔτι νῦν ἰῶνται, καταργοῦντες καὶ ἐκδιώκοντες τοὺς κατέχοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δαίμονας.

^f Iren. lib. ii. c. lvi. Nec enim (qui sunt a Simone et Carpocrate) cœcis possunt donare visum, neque surdis auditum, neque omnes dæmones effugare, præter eos, qui ab ipsis immittuntur, si tamen et hoc faciunt, &c.—Cap. lvii. In illius nomine, qui vere illius sunt discipuli, ab ipso accipientes gratiam, perficiunt ad beneficia reliquorum hominum, quemadmodum unusquisque accepit donum ab eo. Alii enim dæmones excludunt firmissime et vere, ut etiam sæpissime credant ipsi, qui emundati sunt a nequissimis spiritibus, et sint in ecclesia, etc. (Venet. 1734. pp. 164 & 166.)

nor Cyprian^g, nor Arnobius^h, though they frequently speak of such a power in the Church.

SECT. II.—*Bishops and Presbyters, for the three first centuries, the usual Exorcists of the Church.*

But as this gift was common to all orders of men, so it is reasonable to believe that it was, in a more especial manner, conferred upon the bishops and presbyters of the Church, who, when there was any occasion to use any exorcism in the Church, were the ordinary ministers of it. Thus Cardinal Bonaⁱ understands that famous passage of Tertullian^k, where speaking of a Christian woman who went to the theatre and returned possessed with a devil, he says the unclean spirit was rebuked in exorcism for presuming to make such an attempt upon a

^g Cyprian. ad Donat. (Oxon. 1682. p. 4.) (p. 3, edit. Paris.) Inde jam facultas datur, castitate sobria, mente integra, voce pura, in medelam dolentium, posse venenorum virus extinguere; animorum desipientium labes reddita sanitate purgare; infestis jubere pacem, violentis quietem, ferocientibus lenitatem; immundos et erraticos spiritus, qui se expugnandis hominibus immerserint, ad confessionem minis increpantibus cogere; ut recedant, claris verberibus urgere; conflictantes, ejulantes, gementes, incremento poenae propagantis extendere; flagris cedere, igne torrere.

^h Arnob. cont. Gent. lib. i. (p. 18, edit. Hamburg. 1610.) Quid? quod istas virtutes, quæ sunt a nobis summam, non (ut rei poscebat magnitudo) depromtæ, non tantum ipse perfecit vi sua, verum (quod erat sublimius) multos alios experiri, et facere sui nominis cum adfectione permisit. Nam cum videret (Christus) futuros vos esse gestarum ab se rerum, divinique operis abrogatores, ne qua subesset suspicio, magicis se artibus munera illa beneficiaque largitum, ex immensa illa populi multitudine, quæ suam gratiam sectabatur admirans, piscatores, opifices, rusticanos, atque id genus delegit imperitorum, qui per varias gentes missi, cuncta illa miracula sine ullis fucis atque adminiculis perpetrarent. Verbo ille compescuit verminantium membrorum cruces, et illi verbo compescuerunt furialium vermina passionum. Imperio ille uno exturbavit a corporibus daemones, et exanimatis suos restituit sensus: sub eorum portantes et illi se casibus, jussione non alia sanitati et constantiæ reddiderunt. (Lips. 1816. p. 34.)

ⁱ Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xxv. n. xvii. (Antverp. 1677. p. 484.) An isti (Tertullianus et Minucius Felix) de exorcistis loquantur, tamquam de clericis ad hoc officium specialiter ordinatis; vel potius presbyteri eo tunc munere fungerentur, sicut revera sunt episcopi, incertum est.

^k Tertull. de Spectac. c. xxvi. (Paris. 1664. p. 83. C 5.) Theatrum adiit, et inde cum daemonio rediit. Itaque in exorcismo cum oneraretur immundus spiritus, quod ausus esset fidelem adgredi; constanter, Et justissime quidem (inquit) feci, in meo eam inveni.

believer: to which the spirit replied, that 'he had a right to her, because he found her upon his own ground.' This exorcism, I say, Bona supposes to be performed by some presbyter of the Church endowed with that miraculous gift. And the like may be said of those exorcists in Cyprian¹ who cast out devils by a divine power; and of those also who are mentioned by Firmilian^m, as persons inspired by divine grace to discern evil spirits and detect them; as one of them did a woman of Cappadocia, who pretended to be inspired, and to work miracles, and to baptize, and consecrate the eucharist by divine direction. These exorcisms were plainly miraculous, and prove nothing more than that some persons had such a gift, who probably were some eminent presbyters of the Church; at least they do not prove that exorcists were as yet become any distinct order among the clergy in the Church.

SECT. III.—*In what sense every man his own Exorcist.*

Some think the order was as old as Tertullian, because Ulpian, the great lawyer, who lived in Tertullian's time, in one of his booksⁿ, speaks of exorcizing as a thing used by impostors; by whom probably he means the Christians. Gothofred thinks he means the Jewish exorcists, who were commonly impostors indeed: but admitting that he means Christians (which is more probable, considering what Lactantius^o says

¹ Cyprian. Ep. lxxvi. al. lxix. ad Magnum, p. 187. (p. 154, edit. Paris. 1666.) Quod hodie etiam geritur, ut per exorcistas voce humana et potestate divina flagelletur, et uratur, et torqueatur diabolus.

^m Firmilian. Ep. lxxv. ap. Cyprian. (Oxon. p. 223.) (pp. 146, 147, edit. cit.) Unus de exorcistis vir probatus et circa religiosam disciplinam bene semper conversatus, qui exhortatione quoque fratrum plurimorum, qui et ipsi fortes ac laudabiles in fide aderant, excitatus, erexit se contra illum spiritum nequam revincendum; qui subtili fallacia etiam hoc paullo ante prædixerat, venturum quemdam aversum et tentatorem infidelem. Tamen ille exorcista inspiratus Dei gratia fortiter restitit, et esse illum nequissimum spiritum, qui prius sanctus putabatur, ostendit.

ⁿ Ulpian. lib. viii. de Tribunal. in Digest. lib. l. tit. xiii. leg. i. Si incantavit, si imprecatus est, si (ut vulgari verbo impostorum utar) exorcizavit. (Justin. Cod. p. 773.)

^o Lactant. Instit. lib. v. c. xi. Domitius (Ulpianus) de officio proconsulis libro septimo, rescripta principum nefaria collegit, ut doceret, quibus poenis adfici oporteret eos, qui se cultores Dei confiterentur. (Paris. 1836. p. 142.)

of him, that he published a collection of the penal laws that had been made against them); yet it proves no more than what every one owns, that exorcizing was a thing then commonly known and practised among the Christians. Others urge the authority of Tertullian himself in his book ‘*De Corona Militis*,’ where yet he is so far from owning any particular order of exorcists, that he rather seems to make every man his own exorcist. For there among other arguments which he urges to dissuade Christians from the military life under heathen emperors, he makes use of this^p, “that they would be put to guard the idol temples; and then they must defend those devils by night, whom they had put to flight by day by their exorcisms;” by which he means their prayers, as Junius rightly understands him. And so, in another place, dissuading Christians from selling such things as would contribute towards upholding of idolatry, or the worship of devils, he argues thus, that otherwise the devils would be their ‘*Alumni* ;’ that is, might be said to be fostered and maintained by them, so long as they furnished out materials to carry on their service: and “with what confidence,” says he^q, “can any man exorcize his own *Alumni*, those devils, whose service he makes his own house an armoury to maintain?” Vicecomes^r and Bona^s by mistake understand this as spoken of exorcism before baptism, taking the word ‘*Alumni*’ to signify the catechumens of the Church: whereas indeed it signifies devils in this place, who are so called by Tertullian in respect of those who contribute to uphold their worship: for such men are a sort of foster-fathers to them. So that this passage, when rightly understood, makes nothing for the antiquity of exorcists, as a

^p Tertull. de Coron. Milit. c. xi. (Paris. 1664. p. 107. C 3.) Quos interdum exorcismis fugavit, noctibus defensabit, etc.

^q Tertull. de Idol. c. xi. (p. 92. A 9.) Qua constantia exorcizabit alumnos suos, quibus domum suam cellarium præstat?

^r Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. ii. c. xxx. p. 362.

^s Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. i. c. xxv. n. xvii. (Antwerp. 1677. p. 484.) Omitto alia Tertulliani loca, quæ a quibusdam adferri solent ad hujus ordinis antiquitatem ostendendam, ut de Idololatria, c. xii., de Anima, c. lvii., de Corona Militis, c. xi.: in his enim de solempni exorcismo sermo est, qui baptismo præmitti solet.

peculiar order of the clergy, but only shows in what sense every Christian is to be his own exorcist, viz. by his prayers, resisting the devil, that he may flee from him.

SECT. IV.—*Exorcists constituted into an order in the latter end of the third century.*

Setting aside then both that extraordinary power of exorcizing, which was miraculous, and this ordinary way also, in which every man was his own exorcist; it remains to be inquired, when the order of the exorcists was first settled in the Church. And here I take Bona's opinion to be the truest, that it came in upon the withdrawing^t of that extraordinary and miraculous power: which probably was by degrees, and not at the same time in all places. Cornelius^u, who lived in the third century, reckons exorcists among the inferior orders of the Church of Rome; yet the author of the Constitutions, who lived after him, says^x it was no certain order, but God bestowed the gift of exorcizing as a free grace upon whom He pleased: and therefore consonant to that hypothesis, there is no rule among those Constitutions for giving any ordination to exorcists, as being appointed by God only, and not by the Church. But the credit of the Constitutions is not to be relied upon in this matter: for it is certain by this time exorcists were settled as an order, in most parts of the Greek Church as well as the Latin: which is evident from the Council of Antioch, an. 341, in one of whose canons^y leave is given to the Chorepiscopi to promote the subdeacons, readers, exorcists; which argues, that those were then all standing orders of the Church. After this exorcists are frequently mentioned among the inferior orders, by the writers of the fourth century,

^t Bona, *ibid.* Postea subtracta hac potestate constituit ecclesia ordinem, qui dæmonia expelleret.

^u Ap. Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. vide c. i. § ii. not. (y) pag. 350.

^x Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xxvi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 491.) Ἐπορκιστῆς οὐ χειροτονεῖται· εὐνοίας γὰρ ἐκουσίου τὸ ἔπαθλον, καὶ χάριτος Θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ, ἐπιφοιτῆσει τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

^y Concil. Antioch. c. x. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 565.) Τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, ἢ ταῖς χώραις, ἢ τοὺς καλουμένους χωρεπισκόπους.. ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ.. καθιστᾶν ἀναγνώστας, καὶ ὑποδιακόνους, καὶ ἐπορκιστάς.

as in the Council of Laodicea^z, Epiphanius^a, Paullinus^b, Sulpicius Severus^c, and the rescripts of Theodosius^d, and Gratian^e, in the Theodosian code, where those emperors grant them the same immunity from civil offices, as they do to the other orders of the clergy.

SECT. V.—*Their ordination and office.*

Their ordination and office is thus described by the fourth Council of Carthage^f: “When an exorcist is ordained, he shall receive at the hands of the bishop a book, wherein the forms of exorcizing are written, the bishop saying, ‘Receive thou these and commit them to memory; and have thou power to lay hands upon the energumens, whether they be baptized or only catechumens.’” These forms were certain prayers, together

^z Concil. Laodic. c. xxiv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1501.) “Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικοῦς ἀπὸ πρεσβυτέρων ἕως διακόνων, καὶ ἐξῆς τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς τάξεως ἕως ὑπηρετῶν, ἢ ἀναγνώστῶν, ἢ ψαλτῶν, ἢ ἐπορκιστῶν, ἢ θυρωρῶν, ἢ τοῦ τάγματος τῶν ἀσκητῶν, εἰς καπηλεῖον εἰσιέναι.—Can. xxvi. vide inf. not. (h). ”

^a Epiphan. Exposit. Fid. n. xxi. vide supra c. i. § ii. sub not. (x) pag. 350.

^b Paullin. Natal. iv. S. Felicis (Biblioth. Max. Patr. tom. vi. p. 274.)

. . . Primis lector servivit in annis :

Inde gradum cepit, cui munus voce fidei

Adjurare malos et sacris pellere verbis.

Quod quia perspicua meriti virtute regebat,

Jure sacerdotis veneranda insignia nactus

Mente loco digna meritum decoravit honorem.

^c Sulpic. Vit. S. Martin. c. v. Tentavit idem Hilarius, imposito diaconi officio, sibi eum (Martinum) arctius implicare, et ministerio vincere divino: sed cum sæpissime restitisset, indignum se esse vociferans; intellexit vir altioris ingenii, hoc eum modo posse constringi, si id ei officii imponeret, in quo quidam locus injuriæ videretur. Itaque exorcistam eum esse præcepit. Quam ille ordinationem ne despexisse tamquam humiliorem videretur, non repudiavit.

^d Cod. Theod. lib. xii. tit. i. de Decurion. leg. cxxi. (tom. iv. p. 464, edit. Lugdun. 1665.) Qui ante secundum consulatum Mansuetudinis meæ ex ordine curialis vel presbyteri fastigium, vel ministerium diaconi, vel exorcistæ suscepit officium, omne ejus patrimonium immune a curialibus nexibus habeatur ac liberum.

^e Ibid. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episcop. leg. xxiv. (tom. v. p. 56.) Presbyteros, diaconos, subdiaconos, atque exorcistas et lectores, ostiarios etiam, et omnes perinde, qui primi sunt, personalium munerum expertes esse præcipimus.

^f Concil. Carth. IV. c. vii. (tom. ii. p. 1200.) Exorcista quum ordinatur, accipiat de manu episcopi libellum, in quo scripti sunt exorcismi, dicente sibi episcopo, ‘Accipe, et commenda memoriæ, et habeto potestatem imponendi manus super energumenum, sive baptizatum, sive catechumenum.’

with adjurations in the name of Christ, commanding the unclean spirit to depart out of the possessed person: which may be collected from the words of Paullinus concerning the promotion of St. Felix to this office, where he says^g, from a reader he arose to that degree, whose office was to adjure evil spirits, and to drive them out by certain holy words. It does not appear that they were ordained to this office by any imposition of hands, either in the Greek or Latin Church: but yet no one might pretend to exercise it either publicly or privately, in the Church or in any house, without the appointment of the bishop, as the Council of Laodicea^h directs; or at least the license of a Chorepiscopus, who in that case was authorizedⁱ by the bishop's deputation.

SECT. VI.—*A short account of the Energumens, their names and station in the Church.*

As to the energumens, for whose sake this office was appointed, they were so called from the Greek word ἐνεργούμενοι, which, in its largest signification, denotes persons who are under the motion and operation of any spirit, whether good or bad; but in a more restrained sense it is used by ecclesiastical writers for persons whose bodies are seized or possessed with an evil spirit. Upon which account they are otherwise called δαιμονιζόμενοι, daemoniacs, and κατεχόμενοι, possessed. And because this was frequently attended with great commotions and vexations and disturbances of the body, occasioning sometimes phrenzy and madness, sometimes epileptic fits, and other violent tossings and contortions; such persons are often, upon that account, styled χειμαζόμενοι by the Greek, and Hyemantes by the Latin writers; that is, tossed as in a winter-storm or tempest. Thus the author of the Constitutions in some places^k styles them simply χειμαζόμενοι: by

^g Paullin. Natal. iv. S. Felic. See note (b) p. 368.

^h Conc. Laod. c. xxvi. "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐπορκίζειν τοὺς μὴ προαχθέντας ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων, μήτε ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, μήτε ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις.

ⁱ Concil. Antioch. c. x. vide § iv. not. (y) p. 367.

^k Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. xxxv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 499.) Ἐσπέρας γενομένης συναθροίσαις τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὧ ἐπίσκοπε, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ἐπιλύχνιον ψαλμὸν, προσφωνήσει ὁ διάκονος ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων καὶ χειμαζομένων καὶ τῶν φωτιζομένων καὶ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ.—Can. xxxvii.

which that he means the energumens, is evident, because in another place¹ he styles them *χειμαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου*, such as were under the commotions and vexations of Satan; and tells us that prayer was made for them under that character, in the oblation at the altar for all states and conditions of men, that God would deliver them from that violent energy or agitation of the wicked one. And thus most learned men, except Albaspinæus, understand that phrase in the canon of the Council of Ancyra^m, which orders some certain notorious sinners, *εἰς τοὺς χειμαζομένους εὐχεσθαι*, to pray ‘in Loco Hyemantium,’ in that part of the church where the dæmoniacs stood, which was a place separate from all the rest. And some also thinkⁿ the name *κλυδωνιζόμενοι* was given to the energumens upon the same account; because it signifies persons agitated by a spirit, as a wave in a tempest.

SECT. VII.—*The Exorcist chiefly concerned in the care of them.*

Now these energumens, or dæmoniacs, or whatever other name they were called by, were the persons about whom the exorcists were chiefly concerned. For besides the prayers which were offered for them in all public assemblies, by the deacons and bishops, and the whole congregation (some forms of which prayers may be seen in the author of the Constitutions^o), the exorcists were obliged to pray over them at

Ὡσαύτως ὁρθρον ὁ διάκονος μετὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ὁρθρινὸν, καὶ ἀπολῦσαι αὐτὸν τοὺς κατηχουμένους καὶ χειμαζομένους καὶ βαπτιζομένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν μετανοίᾳ.

¹ Constit. lib. viii. c. xii. (ibid. p. 482. E 3.) Ἐτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν χειμαζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου . . ὅπως καθαρίσῃς ἐκ τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ πονηροῦ.

^m Concil. Ancyra. c. xvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1461.) Τοὺς ἀλογευσαμένους καὶ λεπροὺς ὄντας ἦτοι λεπρώσαντας, τούτους προσέταξεν ἡ ἀγία σύνοδος εἰς τοὺς χειμαζομένους εὐχεσθαι.

ⁿ Vide Dodwell. Dissertat. i. in Cyprian. n. vii. Propius ad MSS. fidem accedet, si klydonizomeni legamus, et de energumenis sive maniacis intelligamus, qui lymphatici Latinis, *χειμαζόμενοι* Græcis quoque patribus audiunt. Idem enim valet primaria quoque significatione *χειμαζόμενοι* quod *κλυδωνιζόμενοι*.

^o Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 466. B.) Εὐξασθε οἱ ἐνεργούμενοι ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, ἐκτενῶς πάντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως ὁ φιλόανθρωπος Θεὸς διὰ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτιμήσῃ τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις καὶ πονηροῖς πνεύμασι, κ. τ. λ.

other times^p, when there was no assembly in the church ; and to keep them employed in some innocent business, as in sweeping the church and the like^q, to prevent more violent agitations of Satan, lest idleness should tempt the tempter ; and to see them provided of daily food and sustenance^r, while they abode in the church ; which it seems was the chief place of their residence and habitation.

SECT. VIII.—*The duty of Exorcists in reference to the Catechumens.*

This was the exorcists' office in reference to the energumens ; to which Valesius^s and Gothofred^t add another office, viz. that of exorcizing the catechumens before baptism. Which is a matter that will admit of some dispute. For it does not appear always to have been the exorcists' office, save only in one of these two cases : either first when a catechumen was also an energumen, which was a case that very often happened : and then he was to be committed to the care of the exorcists, whose office was to exorcise all energumens, whether they were baptized, or only catechumens, as is evident from the canon already alleged, sect. 5, out of the Council of Carthage. Or, secondly, it might happen that the exorcist was also made the catechist ; and in that case there can be no question but that his office was as well to exorcize as to instruct the catechumens. But then the catechists' office was many times

^p Concil. Carth. IV. c. xc. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1207.) Omni die exorcistæ energumenis manus imponant.

^q Ibid. can. xci. Pavimenta domorum Dei energumeni verrant.

^r Ibid. can. xcii. Energumenis, in domo Dei adsidentibus, victus quotidianus per exorcistas opportuno tempore ministretur.

^s Vales. Not. in Euseb. de Martyr. Palæstin. c. ii. (p. 156. B 5.) Nec semel duntaxat exsufflabantur atque exorcizabantur catechumeni : sed post singulas catecheses discincti et excalceati deducebantur ad exorcistam, ut ab eo purgarentur.

^t Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. leg. xxiv. (Lugdun. 1665. vol. v. p. 57.) Exorcismi et exorcizandi usus, nascente ecclesia, fuit dæmoniorum ejiciendorum potestas. Mox translatus usus ad baptismum et catechumenos : credito semel, malum spiritum hominem nascentem inhabitare, qui baptismo excludi deberet. Itaque exorcismi et exorcistarum geminus jam usus fuit extra donum miraculi : catechumenos videlicet instituere et baptismo intervenire, spiritui immundo depellendo.

separate from that of the exorcists (though some modern writers confound them together): sometimes a presbyter, or a deacon, or a reader was the catechist; and in that case, it seems more probable, that the exorcism of the catechumens was performed by the catechist than by the exorcist; and for that reason I shall treat of the office of catechist distinctly in its proper place.

CHAPTER V.

OF LECTORS OR READERS.

SECT. I.—*The order of Readers not instituted till the third century.*

It is the opinion now of the most learned men, even in the Romish Church, that there was no such order as that of readers, distinct from others, for at least two ages in the primitive Church. Bona owns^a it to be one of the four orders, which he thinks only of ecclesiastical institution. And Cotelierius^b says there is no mention made of it before the time of Tertullian, who is the first author that speaks of it as a

^a Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xxv. n. xvii. (Antwerp. 1677. p. 484.) Dicendum cum S. Thoma (in Supplem. tertiæ P. qu. 37. art. 2.) quod temporibus apostolorum omnia ministeria, quæ ordinibus minoribus competunt, non a distinctis personis, sed ab uno duntaxat ministro exercebantur, qui et ostiarii et lectoris et exorcistæ et acoluthi officio fungebatur. Verba Angelici Doctoris hæc sunt: 'In primitiva ecclesia,' etc. (vide supra c. i. § i. sub not. (m) p. 348.) Contigit nimirum ecclesiæ, quod hominibus solet, qui dum tenue patrimonium habent, uno servo contenti sunt, qui solus omnia administrat. Si vero redditus augeantur, servorum etiam augetur numerus; eoque magis crescit familia, quo illi locupletiores evadunt. Sic evangelicæ prædicationis initio, parvula adhuc et latitans ecclesia paucis indiguit ecclesiasticarum functionum ministris. Crescente autem credentium multitudine, et auctis facultatibus ex fidelium oblationibus, cum soli diaconi non possent omnibus incumbere, diversa onera et officia diversis personis distributa sunt; ex quo factum est, ut splendidiori et augustiori apparatu ecclesiasticarum functionum ceremoniæ peragerentur.

^b Cotelier. Not. in Constit. Ap. lib. ii. c. xxv. (p. 238.) Primus, quod sciam, lectores nominat Tertullianus libro de Præscriptione Hæreticorum, c. xli.

standing order in the Church. For writing against the heretics^c, he objects to them that their orders were desultory and inconstant: a man was a deacon among them one day, and a reader the next. Which implies, that it was otherwise in the Church, and that readers then were as much a settled order as deacons or any other. Cyprian, who lived not long after Tertullian, frequently speaks of them as an order of the clergy. In one place^d he says he had made one Saturus a reader; and in another place he mentions one Aurelius, a confessor, whom he had ordained a reader for his singular merits, and constancy in time of persecution^e: and for the same reason he made Celerinus, another confessor, one of the same order among the clergy. So that it was then reckoned not only a clerical office, but an honourable office, to be a reader in the Church, and such a one as a confessor needed not to be ashamed of^f. Sometimes persons of the greatest dignity were ordained to this office, as Julian is said to have been in the Church of Nicomedia^g while he professed himself a Christian. Sozomen^h says expressly, that both he and his brother Gallus were reckoned among the clergy, and read the Scriptures publicly to the people. And there is no writer of that age but always speaks of readers as a distinct order of the clergy in the Church.

^c Tertull. de Præscript. c. xli. Hodie diaconus, qui cras lector.

^d Cyprian. Ep. xxiv. al. xxix. Fecisse me sciatis lectorem Saturum.

^e Cypr. Epist. xxxiii. al. xxxviii. (Oxon. p. 75.) Merebatur Aurelius clericæ ordinationis ultiores gradus et incrementa majora, non de annis suis sed de meritis æstimandus; sed interim placuit, ut ab officio lectoris incipiat, etc.

^f Cyprian. Ep. xxxiv. al. xxxix. (ibid. p. 76.) Referimus ad vos Celerinum . . . clero nostro non humana suffragatione, sed divina dignatione conjunctum, etc.

^g Socrat. lib. iii. c. i. Καὶ δὴ τῆς ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ ἐκκλησίας ἀναγνώστης καθίσταται. (p. 136. D.)—Gregor. Nazianz. Invect. i. tom. i. p. 58. Τῷ μέν γε κλήρω φέροντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐγκατελέλεξαν, ὥστε καὶ τὰς θείας ὑπαναγινώσκειν τῷ λαῷ βίβλους, κ. τ. λ.

^h Sozom. lib. v. c. ii. (Vales. 1700. p. 483. A 4.) Ἐνθα δὴ θεραπείας καὶ ἀγωγῆς βασιλικῆς ἡξιοῦντο, καὶ μαθήμασι καὶ γυμνασίοις τοῖς καθ' ἡλικίαν ἐχρῶντο, καὶ λόγων διδασκάλοις, καὶ τοῖς ὑφηγηταῖς τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν ὡς καὶ κλήρω ἐγκαταλεγῆναι, καὶ ὑπαναγινώσκειν τῷ λαῷ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς βίβλους.

SECT. II.—*By whom the Scriptures were read in the Church before the institution of that order.*

But since the order of readers, though frequently spoken of in the third and fourth ages, are never once mentioned in the two first, it will be proper to inquire by whom the Scriptures were read in the Church for those two centuries. Mr. Basnageⁱ is of opinion that the Christian Church at first followed the example of the Jewish Church, and in this matter took her model from the synagogue; where, as he observes out of Dr. Lightfoot^k, the custom was, on every sabbath-day, to have seven readers, first a priest, then a Levite, and after them five Israelites, such as the minister of the congregation (whom they called the bishop or inspector and angel of the Church) thought fit to call forth and nominate for that purpose: he thinks it was much after the same manner in the Christian Church; the office was not perpetually assigned to any particular man, but chiefly performed by presbyters and deacons,

ⁱ Basnag. Exercit. in Baron. p. 623. Liceat mihi pauca eruditi Lightfootii referre, ad perantiquum juxta ac sanctissimum morem explicandum. 'Die sabbati erant septem lectores legis, die expiationis sex, diebus festis quinque, noviluniis septemque diebus solemnum festorum quatuor, secundo quintoque septimanæ die tres. Porro lex a paucioribus quam tribus legi non poterat: a tribus, inquam, sibi invicem succedentibus. Septem sabbato lectores hoc ordine legebant: primo sacerdos; tum Levita; deinde quinque Israelitæ sibi invicem succedentes. Si nullus illic adesset sacerdos, aut Levita, septem tum Israelitæ legebant. Si adesset illic sacerdos nullusque Levita, tunc bis sacerdos legebat . . . שליו צבור Angelus ecclesiæ, aut minister congregationis, evocabat eum qui lecturus erat, conscendebatque is cathedram (בִּימָה βῆμα) in medio synagogæ positam hunc ad usum, eique librum legis tradebat, quem aperiebat, inspiciebatque, quis locus legendus esset; sed non incipiebat, donec archisynagogus incipere ipsum juberet . . . priusquam legeret, inchoabat ab oratione, benedictione laudationeque Dei, quod eos in populum suum elegisset, suamque ipsis legem dedisset. Tum incipit; stansque toto tempore legit . . . ut legebat, stabat juxta minister congregationis, quo attenderet, rectene pronuntiaret legeretque: hinc dicebatur רבן episcopus aut superinspector, ut supra observatum est.' Lightfoot. Harm. p. 479. Huic exercendo muneri nullus ordo sacer requirebatur: idcirco Christus, qui nec ortum ducebat a tribu Levitica, nec a popularibus secus habebatur atque homo plebeius, 'cum venisset Nazaretham, ubi fuerat nutritus, intravit, ut consueverat, die sabbati in synagogam, καὶ ἀνέστη ἀναγνῶναι, et surrexit ut legeret.' Luc. iv. 16. Hunc in legendo morem ac priscis Christianis observatum fuisse, probabilissimum est.

^k Lightfoot. Harmon. p. 479. vide not. anteced. (i). See the octavo edition of Lightfoot, vol. v. p. 124.

yet so as that any other might do it by the bishop's appointment. But indeed the matter is involved in so great obscurity, that no certain conjectures can be made from the writings of the two first ages: but all that we can argue, is from the seeming remains of the ancient customs in the following ages: for since we find that deacons in many Churches continued to read the Gospel, even after the order of readers was set up,—as I have had occasion to show^{kk} in another place from the author of the Constitutions^l, and St. Jerome^m, and the Council of Vaisonⁿ,—we may thence reasonably conclude that this was part of their office before: and since presbyters and bishops in other Churches did the same, as Sozomen informs us^o, it may as rationally be inferred, that this was their custom in former ages. But whether laymen performed this office at any time by the bishop's particular direction, as the Israelites did in the Jewish Church, cannot be so certainly determined: only we find that in after ages, in the most celebrated Church of Alexandria, even the catechumens as well as believers^p were admitted to do the office of readers: and that may incline a man to think, that this office was not wholly confined to the clergy in the two first ages. But this being peculiar to the Church of Alexandria, nothing can be argued from it concerning the practice of the universal Church: and therefore, till some better light is afforded, I leave this matter undetermined.

^{kk} Lib. ii. c. xx. § vi. p. 286.

^l Constitut. Apost. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 294, at bottom.) Μετὰ ταῦτα διάκονος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἀναγινωσκέτω τὰ εὐαγγέλια.

^m Hieron. Ep. xlviii. in Sabin. (tom. i. p. 150. a. edit. Francof.) Evangelium Christi, quasi diaconus, lectitabat.

ⁿ Concil. Valens. II. c. ii. (tom. iv. p. 1680. B 7.) Si digni sunt diacones quod Christus in evangelio loquutus est legere, quare indigni judicentur sanctorum patrum expositiones publice recitare?

^o Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. (Vales. 1700. p. 596. B 7.) Ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἱερὰν βίβλον ἀναγινώσκει ἐνθάδε μόνος ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος· παρὰ δὲ ἄλλοις, διάκονος· ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ ἐκκλησίαις, οἱ ἱερεῖς μόνον· ἐν δὲ ἐπισήμοις ἡμέραις, ἐπίσκοποι, ὡς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν τῆς ἀναστασίμου ἑορτῆς.

^p Socrat. lib. v. c. xxii. (p. 287, edit. Amstelod.) (Vales. 1700. p. 235. C 3.) Ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἀναγνῶσται καὶ ὑποβολεῖς ἀδιάφορον, εἴτε κατηχούμενοι εἰσὶν, εἴτε πιστοί.

SECT. III.—*The manner of ordaining readers.*

It is more certain that after the order of readers was set up, it was generally computed among the orders of the clergy; except perhaps at Alexandria, where that singular custom prevailed of putting catechumens into the office: for it can hardly be supposed that they reckoned persons that were unbaptized, and not yet allowed to partake of the holy mysteries, into the number of their clergy. But in all other places it was reputed a clerical order; and persons, deputed to the office, were ordained to it with the usual solemnities and ceremonies of the other inferior orders. In the Greek Church, Habertus^a thinks they were ordained with imposition of hands; but among the Latins, without it. The author of the Constitutions prescribes a form of prayer to be used with imposition of hands; but whether that was the practice of all the Greek Church, is very much questioned. In the Latin Church, it was certainly otherwise. The Council of Carthage^r speaks of no other ceremony but the bishop's putting the Bible into his hands in the presence of the people, with these words: "Take this book, and be thou a reader of the word of God: which office if thou fulfil faithfully and profitably, thou shalt have part with those that minister in the word of God." And in Cyprian's time, they seem not to have had so much as this ceremony of delivering the Bible to them, but they were made readers by the bishop's commission and deputation only to such a station in the Church.

SECT. IV.—*Their station and office in the Church.*

This was the 'Pulpitum,' or 'Tribunal Ecclesiæ,' as it is commonly called in Cyprian, the reading-desk in the body of the Church, which was distinguished from the Bema or tribunal

^a Habert. Archierat. part. iv. observat. i. p. 41. Ordinatur lector absque manus impositione apud Latinos, sed a Græcis cum ea tamquam communi ordinum materia.

^r Concil. Carthag. IV. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1200.) Lector cum ordinatur, faciat de illo verbum episcopus ad plebem, indicans ejus fidem, ac vitam, atque ingenium. Posthæc, spectante plebe, tradat ei codicem, de quo lecturus est, dicens, 'Accipe, et esto lector verbi Dei, habiturus, si fideliter et utiliter impleveris officium, partem cum eis qui verbum Dei ministraverint.'

of the sanctuary. For the reader's office was not to read the Scriptures at the altar, but in the reading-desk only. Whence, "super pulpitem imponi, et ad pulpitem venire," are phrases in Cyprian^s to denote the ordination of a reader. In this place, in Cyprian's time, they read the Gospels, as well as other parts of Scripture; which is clear from one of Cyprian's epistles^t, where, speaking of Celerinus the confessor, whom he had ordained a reader, he says it was fitting he should be advanced to the pulpit or the tribunal of the Church, that having the advantage of a higher station, he might thence read the precepts and Gospels of his Lord, which he himself as a courageous confessor had followed and observed. Albaspinæus says^u, they also read the Epistles and Gospels in the communion-service; but he should first have proved that those were anciently any part of the communion-service: for they do not appear to have been so from the most ancient liturgies, but were only read in the Missa Catechumenorum, or, as we now call it, the first service, at which the catechumens were present. And wheresoever they were taken into the communion-service, it was the office of deacons, and not the readers, to rehearse them. But of this more, when we come to the liturgy and service of the ancient Church.

SECT. V.—*The Age at which they might be ordained.*

There is but one thing more to be noted concerning this order, which is the age at which readers might be ordained. That is fixed by one of Justinian's novels^x, precisely forbidding

^s Cypr. Epist. xxxviii. et xxxix. (Oxon. p. 75.) (epist. xxxiii. edit. Paris. 1666. p. 47.) Nihil magis congruit voci, quæ Dominum gloriosa prædicatione confessa est, quam celebrandis divinis lectionibus personare: post verba sublimia quæ Christi martyrium proloquuta sunt, evangelium Christi legere, unde martyres fiunt: ad pulpitem, post catastam venire, etc.

^t Cyprian. Epist. xxxiv. al. xxxix. (Oxon. 1682. p. 77.) Quid aliud quam super pulpitem, id est, super tribunal ecclesiæ oportebat imponi, ut loci altioris celsitate subnixus, et plebi universæ pro honoris sui claritate conspicuus, legat præcepta et evangelium Domini, quæ fortiter et fideliter sequitur?

^u Albaspin. Not. in Conc. Carth. III. c. iv. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1185. C.) Vetus ille mos invaluerat, ut non diaconi, sed lectores, epistolas et evangelia in solemni missæ sacrificio pronuntiarent.

^x Justin. Novell. cxxiii. c. xiii. (p. 171.) Οὐκ ἐπιτρέπομεν . . ἀναγνώστην ἐλάττονα τῶν ὀκτῶ καὶ δέκα ἐνιαυτῶν.

any one to be ordained reader before he was completely eighteen years old. But before this law was made, it was customary to ordain them much younger: for Ennodius, bishop of Ticinum, says of Epiphanius, his predecessor^y, that he was ordained reader at eight years old; as Cæsarius Arelatensis^z is said to have been at seven. And this leads us to understand what Sidonius Apollinaris means, when speaking of John, bishop of Chalons, he says he was a reader from his infancy^a. Which is also said of St. Felix, by Paulinus^b, that he served in the office of a reader from his tender years. So Victor Uticensis describing the barbarity of the Vandalic persecution in Afric, he aggravates their cruelty with this circumstance, that they had murdered or famished all the clergy of Carthage, five hundred or more, among whom there were many infant readers^c. Now the reason why persons were ordained so young to this office, was what I have intimated before; that parents sometimes dedicated their children to the service of God from their infancy, and then they were trained up and disciplined in some inferior offices, that they might be qualified and rendered more expert for the greater services of the Church.

^y Ennod. Vit. Epiphan. (Bibl. Patr. tom. xv. p. 295.) Annorum ferme octo lectoris ecclesiastici suscipit officium.

^z Vit. Caesar. ap. Sur. xxvii. Aug. clero adscriptum inter ipsa infantiae rudimenta, post exactæ ætatis septennium.

^a Sidon. lib. iv. ep. xxv. (Paris. 1609. p. 310.) Lector hic primum, sic minister altaris, idque ab infantia.

^b Paulin. Natal. iv. Felic. Primis lector servivit in annis.

^c Victor. de Persecut. Vandal. lib. iii. Bibl. Patr. tom. vii. p. 613. (lib. v. c. ix. p. 78, edit. Ruinarti, Paris. 1699.) Tunc Eugenio pastore jam in exilio constituto, universus clerus ecclesiæ Carthaginis cæde inediaque maceratur, fere quingenti vel amplius, inter quos quamplurimi erant lectores infantuli, qui gaudentes in Domino procul exilio crudeli funduntur.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE OSTIARII OR DOOR-KEEPERS.

SECT. I.—*No mention of this Order till the third or fourth century.*

THIS is the last of those five orders which are pretended by the present Church of Rome to be of apostolical institution; but for three whole centuries we never so much as meet with the name of it in any ancient writer, except in the Epistle of Cornelius^d, bishop of Rome, where the *πυλωροὶ*, or door-keepers, are mentioned with the rest. In Cyprian and Tertullian there is no mention of them: the first and lowest order with them is that of readers, as it is now in the Greek Church, among whom the order of door-keepers has been laid aside from the time of the Council of Trullo, an. 692, as Schelstrate^e scruples not to confess, though he blames Morinus for being a little too frank and liberal in extending this concession to the apostolical ages; and in order to confute him, alleges the authority of Ignatius and Clemens Romanus^f for the antiquity of this order. But he refers us only to spurious treatises under their names, not known till the fourth century, about which time it is owned this order began to be spoken of by some few Greek writers. For Epiphanius^g and the Council of Laodicea^h put the *θυρωροὶ*, that is, door-keepers, among the other orders of

^d Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. vide supra c. i. § ii. not. (y) p. 350.

^e Schelstrat. Conc. Antiochen. Dissert. iv. c. xvii. p. 520, citat. supr. c. i. § i. (d) p. 346.

^f Ignat. Epist. ad Antioch. vide c. i. § ii. not. (q) pag. 349.—Clem. Constit. lib. iii. c. xi. 'Αλλ' οὐτε τοῖς λοιποῖς κληρικοῖς ἐπιτρέπομεν βαπτίζειν οἶον ἀναγνώσταις, ἢ ψάλταις, ἢ πυλωροῖς, ἢ ὑπηρέταις.

^g Epiphan. Exposit. Fid. n. xxi. vide c. i. § ii. not. (x) p. 350.

^h Conc. Laodic. c. xxiv. (tom. i. Conc. p. 150.) vide c. iv. § iv. not. (z) p. 368.

the clergy. And Justinian also, in one of his Novelsⁱ, speaks of them as settled in the great Church of Constantinople, where he limits their number to one hundred, for the use of that and three other Churches. This proves that they were settled in some parts of the Greek Church; though, as Habertus observes^k, they continued not many ages, nor ever universally obtained an establishment in all Churches.

SECT. II.—*The manner of their ordination in the Latin Church.*

What sort of ordination they had in the Greek Church, we do not find; for there is no author that speaks of it. In the Latin Church, it was no more but the bishop's commission, with the ceremony of delivering the keys of the church into their hands, and saying, "Behave thyself as one that must give an account to God of the things that are kept locked under these keys;" as the form is in the fourth Council of Carthage^l, and the Ordo Romanus^m, and Gratianⁿ, who have it from that council.

SECT. III.—*Their Office and Function.*

Their office is commonly said to consist in taking care of the doors of the church in time of divine service, and in making a distinction betwixt the faithful and the catechumens, and excommunicated persons, and such others as were to be excluded from the Church. But I confess this is more than can be made out from ancient history, at least in reference to the state and discipline of many Churches. For in the African Church particularly, as I shall have occasion to show in another place, a liberty was given not only to catechumens and penitents, but also to heretics, Jews, and heathens, to come to the first part of the Church's service, called the 'Missa Catechumenorum,' that is, to hear the Scripture read, and the

ⁱ Justin. Novell. iii. c. i. Καὶ ἑκατὸν πρὸς τοῦτοις τῶν καλουμένων πυλωρῶν.

^k Habert. Archierat. part. v. obs. i. p. 47. Series illa ejusmodi ordinum non omnino constans ac perpetua exstitit.

^l Conc. Carth. IV. c. ix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1200.) Sic age, quasi redditurus Deo rationem pro his rebus, quæ his clavibus recluduntur.

^m Ordo Rom. part. ii. p. 98. (Bibl. Patr. Max. tom. xiii. p. 704.)

ⁿ Gratian. Distinct. xxiii. c. xix.

homily or sermon that was made upon it; because these were instructive, and might be means of their conversion; so that there was no need of making any distinction here. Then for the other part of the service called, 'Missa Fidelium,' or the communion-service, the distinction that was made in that was done by the deacons or subdeacons, and deaconesses; as I have showed before in speaking of those orders. So all that the door-keepers could have to do in this matter was only to open and shut the doors as officers and servants under the other, and to be governed wholly by their direction. It belonged to them likewise to give notice of the times of prayer and church-assemblies; which in time of persecution required a private signal, for fear of discovery: and that, perhaps, was the first reason of instituting this order in the Church of Rome, whose example by degrees was followed by other Churches. However it be, their office and station seems to have been little more than that of clerks and sextons in our modern churches.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE PSALMISTÆ OR SINGERS.

SECT. I.—*The Singers a distinct order from Readers in the ancient Church.*

I HAVE hitherto given an account of those five inferior orders which the Church of Rome has singled out from the rest, and without any reason stamped them with the authority and character of apostolical institution; whilst yet she takes no notice of some others, which have as good pretence to antiquity, and to be styled distinct clerical orders, as most of the former. Among these I reckon the Psalmists, the Copiatæ, and the Parabolani of the primitive Church. Habertus^a and Bellarmine^b and others, who are concerned to maintain the credit of the Romish Church in making but five inferior

^a Habert. Archier. part. iv. obs. iv. p. 44. Diversum ab lectore non constituit ordinem psaltes.

^b Bellarmin. de Clericis, lib. i. c. xi. Etsi episcopus et presbyter distin-

orders, pretend that singers and readers are only one and the same order. But as the canonists of their own Church generally reckon them two, so nothing can be more evident than that they were always accounted so in the primitive Church from their first institution. For they are distinguished as much as any other orders by all the writers that mention them: as the reader that is curious in this matter may satisfy himself, by consulting the places of Ephrem Syrus^c, the Council of Laodicea^d, and those called the Apostolical Canons^e and Constitutions^f, the author of St. Mark's Liturgy^g, the epistle under the name of Ignatius^h, Justinianⁱ, and the Council of Trullo^k, referred to in the *notes*. Particularly Justinian's Novel does so distinguish them as to inform us that there were twenty-five singers, and one hundred and ten readers, in the Greek Church of Constantinople. Which is a convincing evidence that they were of different orders.

SECT. II.—*Their Institution and Office.*

The first rise and institution of these singers, as an order of the clergy, seems to have been about the beginning of the fourth century: for the Council of Laodicea is the first that mentions them, unless any one thinks perhaps the Apostolical Canons to be a little more ancient. The reason of instituting

guuntur, tamen quantum ad sacrificium, idem omnino ministerium exhibent, proinde unum ordinem non duo faciant, sicut etiam lector et cantor seu psalmista.

^c Ephrem. xciii. Serm. de secundo Advent.

^d Concil. Laodic. can. xxiv. vide c. iv. § iv. not. (z) p. 368.

^e Can. Apost. c. lxi. vide c. i. § ii. not. (t) p. 350.—Can. xlii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 36.) Ὑποδιάκονος, ἡ ψάλτης, ἡ ἀναγνώστης τὰ ὅμοια ποιῶν, ἡ παυσάσθω, ἡ ἀφοριζέσθω.

^f Constit. Apostol. lib. iii. c. xi. vide c. i. § ii. not. (r) p. 349.

^g Liturg. Marci Bibl. Patr. Gr. Latin. tom. ii. p. 35. (Jo. Fabric. Cod. Apocr. Nov. Test. part iii. p. 288.) Μνήσθητι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ὀρθοδόξων ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, ὑποδιακόνων, ἀναγνώστων, ψαλτῶν, μοναζόντων, αἰὶ παρθένων, χηρῶν, λαϊκῶν.

^h Ignat. Ep. ad Antioch. n. xii. vide c. i. § ii. not. (q) p. 349.

ⁱ Justin. Novell. iii. c. i. Ἀναγνώστας δὲ ἑκατὸν δέκα καὶ ψάλτας εἰκοσιπέντε.

^k Concil. Trullan. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1144.) Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἡ πρεσβύτερος, ἡ διάκονος, ἡ ὑποδιάκονος, ἡ ἀναγνώστης, ἡ ψάλτης, ἡ θυρωρὸς, γυναικὶ ἀφιερωμένη τῷ Θεῷ μιχθείη, καθαιρείσθω, κ. τ. λ.

them seems to have been to regulate and encourage the ancient psalmody of the Church. For from the first and apostolical age singing was always a part of divine service, in which the whole body of the Church joined together: which is a thing so evident, that though Cabassutius¹ denies it, and in his spite to the reformed Churches, where it is generally practised, calls it only a Protestant whim; yet Cardinal Bona had more than once^m not only confessed, but solidly proved, it to have been the primitive practice. Of which therefore I shall say no more at present, but only observe, that it was the decay of this that first brought the order of singers into the Church. For when it was found by experience, that the negligence and unskilfulness of the people rendered them unfit to perform this service without some more curious and skilful to guide and assist them, then a peculiar order of men were appointed, and set over this business, with a design to retrieve and improve the ancient psalmody, and not to abolish or destroy it. And from this time these were called *κανονικοὶ ψαλταὶ*, the canonical singers; that is, such as were entered into the canon or catalogue of the clergy, which distinguished them from the body of the Church. In some places it was thought fit for some time to prohibit all others from singing but only these; with design, no doubt, to restore the concert of the ancient ecclesiastical harmony, which otherwise could not well have been done, but by obliging the rest for some time to be silent, and learn of those who were more skilled in the art of music. Thus I understand that canon of the Council of Laodiceaⁿ,

¹ Cabassut. Notit. Concilior. c. xxviii. p. 201, edit. Lugd. 1670, 8vo. (Neque heic, ut supra p. 359, not. (a) in recentioribus editionibus inveni, quod multa cum industria diu quæsivi, adeoque nescio, an adhibitum a me vocabulum idem illud sit, quo usus est Loiolita. Non puto tamen, ab ejus mente longius abesse, quod auctor noster Binghamus reddidit ‘a Protestant whim:’ *Grischov.*) [This passage might be expected to occur in Dissertatio ix. de ordinum ecclesiasticorum numero, etc. See the folio edition, Lugdun. 1670. p. 36.]

^m Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xxv. n. xix. (Antverp. 1677. p. 486.) A primordiis ecclesiæ, psalmos et hymnos in conventu fidelium decantatos fuisse, apostolus adserit ad Ephes. c. v. etc.—It. de Divin. Psalm. c. xvii. § ii. n. 3. Ab ipso Domino et ab apostolis, ait Augustinus, psalmos et hymnos canendi habemus documenta, et exempla, et præcepta.

ⁿ Concil. Laodic. c. xv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1500.) Μὴ δεῖν πλέον τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλτῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἁμβωνα ἀναβαινόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ ἐκτὸς ψαλλόντων, ἑτέροισιν τινὰς ψάλλειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ.

which forbids all others to sing in the Church, except only the canonical singers, who went up into the ambo or singing-desk, and sung out of a book. This was a temporary provision, designed only to restore and revive the ancient psalmody, by reducing it to its primitive harmony and perfection. That which the rather inclines me to put this sense upon the canon, and look upon it only as a prohibition for a time, is, that in after ages we find the people enjoyed their ancient privilege of singing all together; which is frequently mentioned by St. Austin, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Basil, and many others, who give an account of the psalmody and service of the Church in their own ages: of which I shall speak more hereafter in its proper place.

SECT. III.—*Why called ὑποβολεῖς.*

Here I must note that these canonical singers were also called ὑποβολεῖς, monitors, or suggestors, from their office, which was to be a sort of præcentors to the people: for the custom in some places was for the singer or psalmist to begin a psalm or hymn, and sing half a verse by himself, and then the people answered in the latter clause; and from this they were said ὑπηχεῖν, or ‘succinere,’ to sing after him, by way of antiphona or responsal. In this sense, Epiphanius Scholasticus understands the name ὑποβολεῖς in Socrates^o; for he translates it ‘Psalmi Pronunciatores:’ and so both Valesius^p and Cotelierius^q explain it. But Habertus is of the contrary mind:

^o Socrat. lib. v. c. xxii. (Amstel. 1700. p. 235. C 3.) Ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἀναγνώσται καὶ ὑποβολεῖς ἀδιάφορον, εἴτε κατηχούμενοι εἰσὶν, εἴτε πιστοί.

^p Vales. in Socrat. ibid. (p. 56.) Pessime Musculus et Christophorsonus verterunt ‘interpretes.’ Optime vero Epiphanius exposuit ‘psalmi pronuntiatores.’ Horum munus videtur fuisse, prima psalmi verba præcinere. Populus deinde reliqua succinebat. Ὑποβολεῖς dicebantur olim monitores, qui in scena monebant histriones, ut docet Festus. Hi suggerebant actoribus, quoties memoria eos deficiebat. Erant et monitores in precationibus, quorum meminit Tertullianus in Apologetico, ubi dicit Christianos sine monitore orasse, quia de pectore orabant.

^q Cotelier. Not. in Constit. Ap. lib. ii. c. lvii. not. 34. (p. 260.) Præcinebant cantores, populus vero succinebat. Qui psaltæ ideo in Socratis Historia Ecclesiastica (lib. v. c. xxii.) appellantur ὑποβολεῖς, ‘monitores, suggestores, psalmi pronuntiatores ac prænuntiatores,’ quemadmodum docuit magnus interpres.

he thinks^r the name ὑποβολεῖς denotes not singers, but readers; and that they were so called, because they suggested to preachers a portion of Scripture to discourse upon: for then their homilies were frequently upon such parts of Scripture, as every reader had just before repeated. The controversy is nice betwixt these two learned men: and I shall no further inquire into the merits of it, but leave it to every judicious reader to determine.

SECT. IV.—*What sort of Ordination they had.*

There is but one thing more that needs be noted concerning this order, which is the manner of their designation to this office: which in this agreed with all the other inferior orders, that it required no imposition of hands, or solemn consecration: but in one thing it differed from them; that whereas the rest were usually conferred by the bishop or a chorepiscopus, this might be conferred by a presbyter, using this form of words, as it is in the canon of the fourth Council of Carthage^s: “See that thou believe in thy heart, what thou singest with thy mouth; and approve in thy works, what thou believest in thy heart.” And this is all the ceremony we find any where used about their designation.

^r Habert. Archierat. part. iv. obs. i. p. 39. Conjicio lectores ὑποβολεῖς dici, quasi ‘subjectores’ vel ‘suggestores,’ non vero cantores, quod docto theologo placuit.

^s Concil. Carth. IV. c. x. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 385.) Psalmista, id est, cantor, potest absque scientia episcopi, sola jussione presbyteri, officium suscipere cantandi, dicente sibi presbytero, ‘Vide, ut quod ore cantas, corde credas; et quod corde credis, operibus comprobes.’

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE COPIATÆ OR FOSSARII.

SECT. I.—*The Copiatæ or Fossarii reckoned among the Clerici of the primitive Church.*

ANOTHER order of the inferior clergy in the primitive Church were those, whose business was to take care of funerals, and provide for the decent interment of the dead. These, in ancient writers, are commonly termed Copiatæ, which is the name that Constantius gives them in two rescripts^a in the Theodosian Code. Epiphanius^b speaks of them under the same name, styling them κοπιάται: and the author under the name of Ignatius^c, κοπιῶντες. Gothofred^d deduces it from the Greek word κοπάζειν, which signifies resting; others from κοπετός, mourning; but generally the name is thought to be given them from κόπος and κοπιᾶσθαι, which signify labouring; whence they are by some called Laborantes. The author under the name of St. Jerome^e styles them Fossarii, from

^a Cod. Theod. lib. xiii. tit. i. de Lustrali Conlat. leg. i. (Lugdun. 1665. vol. v. p. 3.) Negotiatores omnes protinus convenit aurum argentumque præbere: clericos excipi tantum, qui copiatæ appellantur, nec alium quemquam esse immunem ab hujus conlationis obsequio.—It. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. xv. (vol. vi. p. 42.) Clerici, vel hi quos copiatas recens usus instituit nuncupari, ita a sordidis muneribus debent immunes, atque a conlatione præstari, si exiguis admodum mercimoniis tenuem sibi victum vestitumque conquirent.

^b Epiph. Exposit. Fid. n. xxii. vide cap. i. § ii. not. (x) p. 350.

^c Ignat. Epist. ad Antioch. n. xii. c. i. § ii. not. (q) p. 349.

^d Gothofr. Comm. in Cod. Theod. lib. xiii. tit. i. leg. i. (vol. v. p. 5.) Dicti copiatæ communi sententia hactenus, tanquam si diceres operarios, laboratores, ἀπὸ τοῦ κόπου καὶ κοπιᾶσθαι. Ego non minus quoque malim, ἀπὸ τῆς κοπίας seu κοπάζειν, quod significat ‘quietem’ et ‘quiescere.’

^e Hieron. de Septem Ordin. Eccles. tom. iv. p. 81. (p. 56. A. edit. Francof.) Primus in clericis fossariorum ordo est, qui, in similitudinem Tobiae sancti, sepelire mortuos admonentur.

digging of graves: and in Justinian's Novels^f, they are called *Lecticarii*, from carrying the corpse or bier at funerals. Gothofred thinks it improper to reckon these among the *Clerici*^g of the ancient Church: but when we are speaking of things and customs of the ancient Church, I know not how we shall speak more properly than in the language of the ancients, who themselves call them so. For not only the author under the name of St. Jerome^h calls them the first order of the *Clerici*, as they are in this account; but St. Jerome himself also gives them the same title: speaking of one that was to be interred, "the *Clerici*," says he, "whose office it wasⁱ, wound up the body, digged the earth, builded a vault, and so according to custom made ready the grave." This is the reason why Epiphanius^k and the counterfeit Ignatius reckon them among the inferior orders. And Gothofred had no need to make emendations upon those imperial laws^l in the Theodosian Code, which give the *Copiatæ* the name of *Clerici*, and entitle them to some immunities and privileges upon that account:

^f Justin. Novell. xliii. Præf. (Amstel. 1663. p. 78.) 'Επειδὴ τοῦτο μὲν Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ τῆς θείας μνήμης, ὁ τῆς μεγάλης ἡμῶν ταύτης πόλεως οἰκιστῆς, τοῦτο δὲ Ἀναστάσιος, ὁ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς λήξεως, τὸν τῶν καλουμένων λεκτικαρίων, ἥτοι δεκανῶν, ἀριθμὸν περιέστησαν εἰς ἓν μέτρον, χιλίους ἑκατὸν εἶναι δεκανοῦς (ἥτοι ἐργαστήρια τοσαῦτα διορίσαντες, ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἐν μηδενὶ χρόνῳ ταῦτα δέχεσθαι προσθήκην διὰ τὸ καὶ ὑποκεῖσθαι τῇ διατυπώσει τοῦ τῆς θείας μνήμης Ἀναστασίου τὸ μέτρον τῶν ἐξ ἑκάστου συστήματος εἶναι προσηγόντων λεκτικαρίων) ἡμεῖς μὲν ταῦτα βέβαια μένειν βουλόμεθα. — Item Novell. lix. vide inf. § iv. sub not. (r) p. 389.

^g Gothofred. Not. in Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. leg. xv. (vol. vi. p. 43.) De copiatibus observandum, eos separari hac lege a clericis, cum tamen alias clericorum numero censeantur.

^h Hieron. de Septem Ordin. Eccles. See preceding note (e).

ⁱ Hieron. Ep. ad Innocent. de Muliere Septies Icta, tom. i. p. 235. (epist. xlix. p. 153. A. edit. Francof.) Clerici, quibus id officii erat, cruentum linteo cadaver obvolvunt, et fossam humum lapidibus construentes ex more tumulum parant. (Vallars. i. p. 6. E.)

^k Epiphan. vide supra c. i. § ii. not. (x) p. 350. Ignat. ibid. not. (q).

^l Cod. Theod. lib. vii. tit. xx. de Veteranis, leg. xii. (Lugdun. 1665. vol. ii. p. 434.) Dum se quidam vocabulo clericorum et infaustis defunctorum obsequiis occupatos . . . defendunt, etc.—Ibid. lib. xiii. tit. i. de Lustrali Collat. leg. i. Clericos excipi tantum, qui copiatæ appellantur, etc.—Ibid. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episcop. leg. xv. Clerici vero, vel hi quos copiatas recens usus instituit nuncupari, etc. See preceding note (a).

for this, as appears, was only to speak in the language and style of other ecclesiastical writers.

SECT. II.—*First instituted in the time of Constantine.*

This order seems to have been first instituted in the time of Constantine: for Constantius his son, in one of those laws just now referred to, speaks of it as a late institution; and there is no writer of the three first ages that ever mentions it: but all that time, the care of interring the dead was only a charitable office, which every Christian thought himself obliged to perform as occasion required. And that is the reason why we meet with so many noble encomiums of this sort of charity in the writers of those ages, but never once mention of any order instituted for that purpose. But when Constantine came to the throne, and was quietly settled in his new seat at Constantinople, he incorporated a body of men to the number of eleven hundred in that city, under the name of Copiatæ, for that particular service: and so they continued to the time of Honorius and Theodosius Junior^m, who reduced them to nine hundred and fifty: but Anastasius augmented them again to the first number, which Justinian confirmed by two Novelsⁿ published for that purpose. And I suppose, from this example of the Constantinopolitan Church, they took their rise in other populous Churches.

SECT. III.—*Why called Decani and Collegiati.*

But probably there might be some little difference between those in the Church of Constantinople, and others in the lesser Churches. For at Constantinople they were incorporated into a sort of civil society, in the Roman language called Collegium, a college; whence the laws sometimes style them Collegiati, and Decani; Collegiates, and Deans: as in the forementioned laws of Honorius and Theodosius Junior, and Justinian, and

^m Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. ii. de SS. Eccles. leg. iv. (Amstel. 1663. p. 6.) Non plures, quam nongenti quinquaginta decani sacrosanctæ hujus amplissimæ urbis deputentur ecclesiæ.

ⁿ Justin. Novel. xliii. See preceding note (f).—Novel. lix. See following note (r).

another of Theodosius the Great^o in the Justinian Code; where he grants them an exemption from some other civil offices, provided they did not act upon a feigned and pretended title, but were really employed in the service of the Church. But why they were called Decani, is not very easy to conjecture. Probably it might be because they resembled the palatine deans, who were a sort of military officers belonging to the emperor's palace, and are styled also Corpus Decanorum in both the Codes^p mentioned by St. Chrysostom^q and other Greek writers under the name of δεκανοὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, deans of the palace, to distinguish them from those other deans of the Church, which some unwarily confound together. But I am not very confident that this was the reason of the name: and therefore I only propose it as a conjecture, till some one assigns a better reason for it.

SECT. IV.—*Their Office and Privileges.*

Their office was to take the whole care of funerals upon themselves, and to see that all persons had a decent and honourable interment. Especially they were obliged to perform this last office to the poorer sort, without exacting any thing of their relations on that account. That it was so at Constantinople, appears from one of Justinian's Novels^r, which

^o Cod. Just. lib. xi. tit. xvii. de Collegiatis. (p. 336.) Qui sub prætextu decanorum seu collegiatorum, cum id munus non impleant, aliis se muneribus conantur subtrahere, eorum fraudibus credimus esse obviandum.

^p Vide Cod. Theod. lib. vi. tit. xxxiii. de Decanis, leg. i. (vol. ii. p. 232.) Qui ex corpore decanorum ad primum militiæ gradum pervenerint, biennii spatio primiceriatus gerant officium, etc. It. Cod. Justin. lib. xii. tit. xxvii. leg. i. Qui ex corpore decanorum, etc. Leg. ii. Nostræ pietatis famulationibus adhærentes decanos non oportet pro desiderio pulsantium ad alia pertrahi judicia.

^q Chrysostom. Hom. xiii. in Hebr. (Benedict. vol. xii. p. 137. C 1.) (Paris. 1636. vol. vi. p. 1849.) (p. 817. tom. vi. edit. Francof.) Εἰ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὁ ὑπαρχος, καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ οἱ σφόδρα καταδεέστεροι, καὶ τὸν τῶν λεγομένων δεκανῶν τόπον ἐπέχοντες ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις εἰσὶ, καὶ τοι τοσούτου ὄντος τοῦ μέσου τοῦ ὑπάρχου καὶ τοῦ δεκανοῦ· πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς ἄνω βασιλείοις τοῦτο ἔσται.

^r Justin. Novel. lix. (Amstel. 1663. p. 91.) Ἀναστασίῳ τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς λήξεως, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐργαστηρίοις ἐκείνοις πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν προσθέντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσοδον ῥητὴν φιλοτιμησαμένου κατὰ δύο πραγματικούς τύπους . . . οὐδὲ ἀμίσθους γίνεσθαι τὰς τῶν τελευτώντων κηδείας, κ. τ. λ.

acquaints us how Anastasius the emperor settled certain revenues of land upon this society, and ordered a certain number of shops or workhouses in the city to be freed from all manner of tribute, and to be appropriated to this use; out of whose income and annual rents of the lands, the defensors and stewards of the Church, who had the chief care and oversight of the matter, were to pay these deans, and see the expenses of such funerals defrayed. Justinian not only confirmed that settlement, but a complaint being made of an abuse, that notwithstanding the laws of Anastasius, pay was exacted for funeral, he published that his Novel on purpose to correct it. But we do not find that such settlements were made in all other Churches: but it is more probable that the *Copiatæ* were maintained partly out of the common stock of the Church, and partly out of their own labour and traffic; which for their encouragement was generally exempted from paying custom or tribute, as we shall see hereafter.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE PARABOLANI.

SECT. I.—*The Parabolani ranked by some among the Clerici.*

ANOTHER order of men, which by some are reckoned among the Clerici of the ancient Church, were those whom they called Parabolani. Theodosius Junior, in one of his laws relating to them in the Theodosian Code^a, puts them among the Clerici, and evidently includes them under that common title, as Gothofred rightly observes in his exposition of the place. Baronius himself does not deny that they were of the clergy; but he would persuade his reader that they were not a distinct order, but chosen out of the inferior orders of the clergy^b; of which there is nothing said in that law, but rather the contrary, that they were to be chosen out of the poor of Alexandria.

SECT. II.—*Their Institution and Office.*

Their office is described in the next law, where they are said to be deputed to attend upon the sick, and to take care of their bodies in time of their weakness^c. At Alexandria

^a Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episcop. leg. xlii. (vol. vi. p. 83.) Quia inter cætera Alexandrinæ legationis inutilia, hoc etiam decretis scriptum est, 'ut reverendissimus episcopus de Alexandrina civitate aliquos non exire' (quod quidem terrore eorum, qui parabalani nuncupantur, legationi insertum est,) placet nostræ Clementiæ, ut nihil commune clerici cum publicis actibus vel ad curiam pertinentibus habeant.—Gothofred. Not. in loc. Sane clericorum eos numero fuisse, tum hujus legis principium, tum utraque hæc lex et sequens, sub hoc titulo collectæ, ostendunt.

^b Baron. an. ccccxvi. (vol. v. p. 400.) Fuisse hos (Parabolanos) minoris ordinis clericos allectos exordium dati hoc anno rescripti insinuare videtur.

^c Cod. Theod. ibid. leg. xliii. (p. 85.) Parabalani (qui ad curanda debilium ægra corpora deputantur) quingentos esse ante præcepimus: sed quia hoc minus sufficere in præsentī cognovimus, pro quingentis sexcentos constitui præcipimus.

they were incorporated into a society to the number of five or six hundred, to be chosen at the discretion of the bishop of the place, out of any sort of men except the Honorati and Curiales; who were tied to serve in the civil offices of their country, and therefore were not allowed to enter themselves into any ecclesiastical service. They were to be under the government and direction of the bishop, as appears from the same law, which is a correction of the former law: for by it they were put under the government of the Præfectus Augustalis (as the chief civil magistrate was called at Alexandria); but by this law, Theodosius revoked his former decree, and subjected them entirely to the care and disposition of the bishop; or, as the Greek collector of the ecclesiastical constitutions out of the civil law^d styles him, the pope; meaning not the pope of Rome, as some ignorantly mistake, but the pope or bishop of Alexandria. For then it was customary to give every bishop the name of Papa, as has been shown in another place^{dd}. What time this order began, we cannot certainly determine: the first notice we have of it, is in these laws of Theodosius Junior, an. 415, yet it is not there spoken of as newly instituted, but as settled in the Church before. And probably it might be instituted about the same time as the Copiatæ were under Constantine; when some charitable offices, which were only voluntarily practised by Christians before, as every one's piety inclined him, were now turned into standing offices, and settled upon a certain order of men particularly devoted to such services. That it was not any order peculiar to the Church of Alexandria, is evident, because there is mention made of the Parabolani being at Ephesus in the time of the second council that was held there, an. 449. For Basilius Seleuciensis, who subscribed there to the condemnation of Flavian and the absolution of Eutyches the heretic, being brought to a recantation in the Council of Chalcedon, makes this apology for himself, that he was terrified into that sub-

^d Collect. Constit. Eccles. lib. i. tit. iii. c. xviii. (apud Justell. p. 1255.)
 Παραβολάνοι γίνονται καὶ κατὰ δοκιμασίαν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας·
 μὴ ὄντες ἀξιωματικοὶ καὶ βουλευταὶ, ὀφείλοντες ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν λελωβη-
 μένων καὶ ταῖς κελεύσεσι τοῦ πάπα πειθαρχεῖν.

^{dd} Lib. ii. c. ii. § vii. p. 72.

scription by the soldiers that came armed into the Church, together with Barsumas and his monks, and the Parabalani^e, and a great multitude of others. The original word is παραβαλανεῖς, which the old translator rightly renders Parabalani, which is the same with Parabolani, for it is written both ways in ancient authors. But Binius, in his Greek edition of the councils, not understanding the word, explains it, ‘*Ii qui circa balnea versantur*,’ as if the Parabalani had been persons attending at the public baths; whereas now all men know their office was of a different nature, and their name given them for a reason very different from that of giving attendance at the baths.

SECT. III.—*The reason of the name Parabolani.*

As to the reason of their name, to omit the fanciful interpretations of Alciat and Accursius, which are sufficiently exposed by Gothofred, the opinion of Duarenus^f and Gothofred seems to be the truest; and they were called Parabolani from their undertaking παράβολον ἔργον, a most dangerous and hazardous office, in attending the sick, especially in infectious and pestilential diseases. The Greeks were used to call those παράβολοι, who hired themselves out to fight with wild beasts in the amphitheatre. And so Socrates the historian uses the word^g: speaking of Theodosius’ exhibiting one of the public games to the people of Constantinople, he says, “The people cried out to him, that he should suffer one of the bold παράβολοι to fight with the wild beasts.” These were those whom the Romans called Bestiarii, and sometimes Paraboli and Parabolarii, from the Greek word παραβάλλεσθαι, which signifies exposing a man’s life to danger, as they that fought with wild beasts did. In this sense, I have had occasion to show before^{gg},

^e Concil. Chalced. act. i. (Labbe, vol. iv. Concil. p. 251. B 6.) Εἰσέτρεχον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν στρατιῶται μετὰ ὅπλων, καὶ εἰστήκεισαν οἱ μονάζοντες μετὰ Βαρσουμᾶ, καὶ οἱ παραβαλανεῖς, καὶ πλῆθος ἄλλο πολὺ κ. τ. λ.

^f Duaren. de Minist. et Benefic. lib. i. c. xix. Parabolani ideo fortassis dicebantur, quia παράβολον ἔργον, rem periculi et discriminis plenam, tractabant.

^g Socrat. lib. vii. c. xxii. (p. 295. C 2.) Ὁ δῆμος κατεβόα, δεινῷ θηρίῳ ἕνα τῶν εὐφυῶν παραβόλων μάχεσθαι.

^{gg} Lib. i. c. ii. § ix. p. 22.

the Christians were generally called *Parabolarii* by the heathens, because they were so ready to expose their lives to martyrdom. And it is the opinion of Gothofred^h and some other learned criticsⁱ, that the ancient reading of the Greek copies of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, ii. 30, was *παραβουλευσάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ*, exposing his life to danger, as an old Latin interpreter of Puteanus renders it, "*Parabolatus de anima sua.*" In the same sense, these *Parabolani* of the primitive Church we are now speaking of, had their name from their bold exposing their lives to danger, in attendance upon the sick in all infectious and pestilential distempers.

SECT. IV.—*Some Laws and Rules concerning their behaviour.*

I shall only observe further of them, that being commonly, according to their name, men of a bold and daring spirit, they were ready upon all occasions to engage in any quarrel that should happen in Church or state. As they seem to have done in the dispute between Cyril the bishop and Orestes the

^h Gothofr. Not. in Cod. Th. lib. xvi. tit. ii. leg. xlii. (vol. vi. p. 83.) *Apostolus* (Philipp. ii. com. ult.) *διὰ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Χριστοῦ μέχρι θανάτου ἡγγισε παραβουλευσάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ*, ubi vetustissimus etiam interpres, qui apud clarissimos mihiq̃ue conjunctissimos fratres Puteanos optimæ notæ, '*parabolatus de anima sua,*' vertit: et male qui in *παραβουλευσάμενος* id vertunt. Et rursum: *παραβουλευσάμενος*, ad locum Pauli respiciens, εἰς θάνατον ἑαυτὸν ἐκδούς: sed ibi restituendum, *παραβολεύσασθαι*: in veteri glossario, '*desperatus*' *παράβολος*: item *παράβολον*, *παράδοξον*. Denique *παραβολεύσασθαι* idem est quod *ῥιψοκινδυνεύειν*: Glossæ Philoxeni, *παραβολεύσασθαι*, '*periculum facere.*' Valeant itaque jam Accursii nugæ, adserentis medicos contemptim '*parabolanos*' vocari solitos, eo quod multas haberent parabolas, quodque ut quisque loquacior est, ita et doctior medicus vulgi sententia et opinione existimetur: immo valeant etiam Alciati deducētis a voce *παρὰ* et *βῶλος*, quasi '*glebæ adscriptos,*' dicas.

ⁱ Grotius in Phil. ii. 30. (Groning. 1829. vol. vii. p. 93.) Omnino legendum est *παραβουλευσάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ*, id est, '*vitam objectans periculis,*' quomodo viri magni Scaliger et Salmasius monuere. Plinius in Epistolis, '*periculosa,* utque Græci melius exponunt *παράβολα.*' Latinus interpres recepto vetustior posuerat hic, '*parabolatus est animam suam.*' Nam et Latine '*parabolani*' dicuntur, qui cum vitæ periculo ægrotis adsunt.—Hammond, in Phil. ii. 30. The word *παραβουλευσάμενος* is not ordinarily to be met with, unless in Hesychius, and Phavorinus, and other glossaries. . . . It is probable that the reading here should be *παραβουλευσάμενος*: so *παράβολος*, in Aristophanes, is *ῥιψοκινδυνος*, '*he that casts himself into danger.*'

governor of Alexandria: which was the reason why Theodosius, by his first law, sunk their number to five hundred, and put them under the inspection of the *Præfectus Augustalis*, and strictly prohibited them from appearing at any public shows, or in the common council of the city, or in the judge's court, unless any of them had a cause of his own, or of the whole body, as their syndic, to prosecute there; and then he must appear single, without any of his order or associates to abet him. And though he not long after revoked this law as to the former part, allowing them to be six hundred, and the bishop to have the choice and cognizance of them; yet in all other respects he ordered it to stand in its full force, still prohibiting them to appear in a body upon any of the aforesaid occasions^k: and Justinian made this law perpetual by inserting it into his own code. Which shows that the civil government always looked upon these *Parabolani* as a formidable body of men; and accordingly kept a watchful eye and strict hand over them, that whilst they were serving the Church, they might not do any disservice to the state, but keep within the bounds of that office whereto they were appointed.

^k Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. de Episc. leg. xviii. (Amstel. 1663. p. 13.) *Hi sexcenti viri reverendissimi sacerdotis præceptis ac dispositionibus obsecundent: . . . reliquis, quæ dudum latæ legis forma complectitur, super his parabolanis, vel de spectaculis, vel de judiciis, cæterisque (sicut jam statutum est) custodiendis.*

CHAPTER X.

OF THE CATECHISTS.

SECT. I. — *Catechists no distinct order of the Clergy, but chosen out of any other order.*

I HAVE hitherto discoursed of such particular orders of the ecclesiastics in the primitive Church, as were destinated precisely to some particular office and function: but there were some offices which did not require a man to be of any one distinct order, but might be performed by persons of any order; and it will be necessary I should give some account of these also, whilst I am treating of the clergy of the Church. The first of these I shall speak of is the catechist: whose office was to instruct the catechumens in the first principles of religion, and thereby prepare them for the reception of baptism. This office was sometimes done by the bishop himself, as is evident from that passage in St. Ambrose, where he says^a, upon a certain Lord's-day, "After the reading the Scriptures and the sermon, when the catechumens were dismissed, he took the Competentes, or candidates for baptism, into the baptistery of the Church, and there rehearsed the creed to them." This was on Palm Sunday, when it was customary for the bishop himself to catechise such of the catechumens as were to be baptized on Easter-eve. Theodorus Lector^b takes notice of the same

^a Ambros. Ep. xxxiii. Post lectiones atque tractatum, dimissis catechumenis, symbolum aliquibus Competentibus in baptisteriis tradebant basilicæ.

^b Theodor. Lector, Collectan. lib. ii. p. 563. C 5. Τιμόθεος τὸ τῶν τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ πατέρων τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον, καθ' ἐκάστην σύναξιν λέγεσθαι παρεσκεύασεν, ἐπὶ διαβολῇ δῆθεν Μακεδονίου, ὡς αὐτοῦ μὴ δεχομένου τὸ σύμβολον, ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους λεγόμενον πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ παρασκευῇ τοῦ θείου πάθους, τῷ καιρῷ τῶν γινομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου κατηχήσεων.—Tom. xxvi. Bibl. Patr. p. 86. b. Hæc Latine ita habent: Timotheus, ab amicis rogatus, symbolum fidei trecentorum et octo decies patrum per singulas synaxes dici

custom in the Eastern Churches, when he tells us, that before the time of Timothy, bishop of Constantinople, the Nicene creed was never used to be repeated publicly in that Church, except only once a year, on the great day of preparation, the day of our Lord's passion, when the bishop was wont to catechize. At other times, presbyters and deacons were the catechists. St. Chrysostom performed this office, when he was presbyter of Antioch, as appears from one of his homilies^c, which is inscribed *κατήχησις πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας φωτίζεσθαι*, a catechism or instruction for the candidates of baptism. Deogratias was catechist, when he was deacon of Carthage; as we learn from St. Austin's book *de Catechizandis Rudibus*^d, which he wrote at his request, to give some assistance in performing his duty.

SECT. II.—*Readers sometimes made Catechists.*

Nor was it only the superior orders that performed this office, but sometimes persons were chosen out of the inferior orders to do it. Optatus was but a reader in the Church of Carthage, and yet Cyprian made him catechist, or, as it is in his phrase^e, the Doctor Audientium, the master of the hearers, or lowest rank of catechumens. Origen seems to have had no higher degree in the church, when he was first made catechist at Alexandria. For both Eusebius^f and St. Jerome^g say he was but eighteen years old when he was deputed to that office; which was at least seven years before he could be ordained deacon by the canons of the Church.

curavit, ad reprehensionem videlicet Macedonii, quasi ille symbolum hoc non receperit, cum antea semel tantum in anno, in parasceue scilicet Dominicæ passionis tempore, quo episcopus catechizabat, recitatum esset.

^c Chrysost. Hom. xxi. ad Popul. Antioch.

^d August. de Catechiz. Rudibus, c. i. (Bened. 1700. vol. vi. p. 191. A 3.) (tom. iv. p. 295, edit. Paris. 1637.) (tom. iv. p. 893, edit. Basil. 1569.) Dixisti, quod sæpe apud Carthaginem, ubi diaconus es, ad te adducuntur, qui fide Christiana primitus imbuendi sunt, etc.

^e Cypr. Ep. xxiv. al. xxix. (Oxon. 1682. p. 55.) Optatum inter Lectores doctorem Audientium constituimus.

^f Euseb. lib. vi. c. iii. Ἔτος ἦγεν ὀκτωκαιδέκατον, καθ' ὃ τοῦ τῆς κατηχήσεως προέστη διδασκαλείου. (Amstel. 1695. p. 165.)

^g Hieron. de Scriptor. in Origene: (Vallars. vol. ii. p. 891.) Decimo octavo ætatis suæ anno, κατηχήσεων opus adgressus, etc.

SECT. III.—*Why called ναυτολόγοι by some Greek writers.*

The author under the name of Clemens Romanus seems to have had regard to this, when, comparing the Church to a ship, and the clergy to the officers in it, he plainly distinguishes the catechists from the bishop, presbyters, and deacons; saying, the bishop^b is to resemble the πρωρεὺς, or pilot; the presbyters, the ναῦται, or mariners; the deacons, the τοίχαρχοι, or chief rowers; the catechists, the ναυτολόγοι, or those whose office it was to admit passengers into the ship, and contract with them for the fare of their passage. This was properly the catechist's duty, to show the catechumens the contract they were to make, and the conditions they were to perform, viz. repentance, faith, and new obedience, in order to their admittance into the Christian ship, the Church, in which they were to pass through this world to the kingdom of heaven. Upon this account the catechists were termed ναυτολόγοι, and, as such, distinguished from bishops, presbyters, and deacons. Coteleriusⁱ says he found a Greek manuscript in one of the French king's libraries, where the same comparison is made, and cited out of the Constitutions, in these words: "The Church is like a ship: Christ is the governor; the bishop the pilot; the presbyters the mariners; the deacons the chief rowers; the catechists, or Nautologi, the orders of subdeacons and readers." So that it is evident the catechists were sometimes chosen out of the inferior orders, when any of them were found duly qualified to discharge the duties of that function. And this will be the less wondered at by any one that considers

^b Clem. Ep. ad Jacob. n. xiv. (apud Coteler. tom. i. p. 609.) Παρεικάσθω ὁ πρωρεὺς ἐπισκόπῳ, οἱ ναῦται πρεσβυτέροις, οἱ τοίχαρχοι διακόνοις, οἱ ναυστολόγοι τοῖς κατηχοῦσιν.

ⁱ Cotel. Not. in Constit. Apostol. lib. ii. c. lvii. p. 263. n. 40. Erant ναυστολόγοι seu ναυτολόγοι, qui in prora constituti, tum navem intrantes recipiebant, tum vero cum navigaturis de futuro itinere colloquebantur, de naulo paciscebantur. . . . Quocirca naustologos referunt partim janitores, ratione videlicet primi nautologorum officii; partim catechistæ, ratione posterioris. Quam secundam comparisonem videre est inferius epistola dicta Clementis ad Jacobum, c. xiv. & xv. in MS. Regio 2392. Hæc nactus sum. Ἐκ τῶν διατάξεων. Ὅτι ἔοικεν ἡ ἐκκλησία νηὶ· ὁ μὲν κυβερνήτης ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός· ὁ δὲ πρωρεὺς, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος· οἱ ναῦται, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι· οἱ τοίχαρχοι, οἱ διάκονοι· οἱ ναυτολόγοι, τὸ τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τάγμα.

that the deaconesses, whilst their order was in being, were required to be a sort of private catechists to the more ignorant and rustic women-catechumens: which I need not stand to evince here, because I have done it heretofore in speaking of the offices which belonged to that orderⁱⁱ.

SECT. IV.—*Whether all Catechists taught publicly in the Church.*

But in all these cases, there is one thing to be diligently noted, that this sort of catechists were not allowed to instruct their catechumens publicly in the Church, but only in private auditories appointed particularly for that purpose. Valesius^k observes this in the case of Origen, and rightly concludes it from the invective of Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, against Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, bishop of Cæsarea, who had authorized Origen to preach publicly in the Church, when as yet he was no presbyter. This accusation had been ridiculous, had he himself given Origen the same power before, when he was catechist at eighteen years of age at Alexandria. Ruffin, indeed, in his translation of Eusebius, says positively that Demetrius gave him authority to catechize and teach publicly in the Church^l. But that is an interpolation and false paraphrase of Eusebius'^m words, who says no such thing, but only that Demetrius, bishop of the Church, had committed to his care the office of catechizing, or as we may

ⁱⁱ Lib. ii. c. xxii. § ix. p. 333.

^k Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. vi. c. xix. (1695. p. 109, at bottom.) ad verba ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας: Hinc colligitur Origenem, qui catechetes fuerat Alexandriæ, in privato auditorio, non autem in ecclesia catechumenos instituisse. Neque enim Alexandro et Theoctisto episcopis id objiceret, si Alexandriæ idem ab Origene factum fuisset. Item Hallier. de Hierarch. Eccles. lib. i. c. vii. p. 66.

^l Ruffin. lib. vi. c. iii. Videns Demetrius episcopus, quod ad ipsum præcipue doctrinæ gratia et prædicationis verbi Dei, multitudines plurimæ convolarent, catechizandi ei, id est docendi magisterium, in ecclesia tribuit.

^m Euseb. lib. vi. c. iii. (Vales. 1695. p. 166. C 10.) Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑώρα φοιτητὰς ἤδη πλείους προσιόντας, αὐτῷ μόνῳ τῆς τοῦ κατηχεῖν διατριβῆς ὑπὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστῶτος ἐπιτετραμμένῃς, ἀσύμφωνον ἡγησάμενος τὴν τῶν γραμματικῶν λόγων διδασκαλίαν τῇ πρὸς τὰ θεῖα παιδεύματα ἀσκήσει ἀπορρήγνυσιν ἄτε ἀνωφελῇ καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς μαθήμασιν ἐναντίαν τὴν τῶν γραμματικῶν λόγων διατριβήν.

render it, the catechetical school, where probably for some time he also taught grammar and other human learning. That there were such sort of catechetical schools adjoining to the church in many places, is evident from a Novelⁿ of the emperor Leo, who calls them *κατηχούμενα*, and says they were a sort of buildings belonging to the Church. It might be the baptistery, as St. Ambrose calls it; or any other places set apart for that purpose.

SECT. V.—*Of the Succession in the Catechetical School at Alexandria.*

Such a school as this we may suppose that to have been, wherein Origen and so many other famous men read catechetical lectures at Alexandria. Eusebius^o says Pantænus taught in this school, an. 181, and that it was a school of sacred learning from ancient custom long before, and that it continued so to be to his own time. St. Jerome deduces its original from St. Mark, the first founder of the Church of Alexandria, telling us that “Pantænus^p taught Christian philosophy at Alexandria, where it had been the custom of old always to have ecclesiastical doctors” from the time of St. Mark. Where by ‘ecclesiastical doctors’ he does not mean the bishop and presbyters of the Church (which were originally in all Churches as well as

ⁿ Leo, Novell. lxxiii. (p. 264.) Πρᾶγμα κακῶς μὲν καὶ πρὸ τῶν κωλυόντων αὐτὸ δικάων γινόμενον, χεῖρον δὲ μετὰ τὸ κωλυθῆναι τολμώμενον (φημὶ δὲ, τὸ ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὑπερφύοις, ἅπερ ὁ πολὺς ἄνθρωπος κατηχούμενα καλεῖν ἔγνω συνοικεῖν τινὰς γυναιξίν) οὐκ ἄξιον παριδεῖν.—Vide Concil. Trullan. c. xvii. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1183.) Τοὺς ἀδιακρίτως τοὺς ἱεροὺς τόπους κοινοποιοῦντας ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς σεβασμίοις ναοῖς κατηχουμένων προστάσσομεν ἐξωθεῖσθαι.—Balsam. in h. l. Ἱεροὶ τόποι λέγονται οἱ ἀφωρισμένοι τῷ Θεῷ, ἡγοῦν οἱ θεῖοι ναοὶ, οἱ πρόναοι, κατηχουμενεῖα, καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτά.—Zonar. h. l. Ἱεροὺς τόπους οὐ τοὺς θεῖους ναοὺς ἐνταῦθα καλεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὰς περὶ αὐτοὺς κατοικίας, οἷά εἰσι τὰ λεγόμενα κατηχούμενα.

^o Euseb. lib. v. c. x. (Vales. 1695. p. 142.) Ἠγεῖτο τηνικαῦτα τῆς τῶν πιστῶν αὐτόθι διατριβῆς, τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας ἀνὴρ ἐπιδοξότατος, ὄνομα αὐτῷ Πάνταινος· ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους διδασκαλείου τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων παρ’ αὐτοῖς συνειστώτος· ὃ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς παρατείνεται καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐν λόγῳ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ θεῖα σπουδῇ δυνατῶν συγκροτεῖσθαι παρειλήφαμεν.

^p Hieron. de Scriptor. c. xxxvi. (Vallars. vol. ii. p. 875.) Pantænus Stoicæ sectæ philosophus, juxta quamdam veterem in Alexandria consuetudinem, ubi a Marco evangelista semper ecclesiastici fuere doctores . . docuit sub Severo principe et Antonino cognomento Caracalla.

Alexandria) but the doctors of Christian philosophy in the catechetical school, whereof there had been a succession from the first foundation of the Church. And the succession was continued for some ages after: for Clemens Alexandrinus^q succeeded Pantænus; and Origen^r, Clemens; Heraclas^s, Origen; and Dionysius^t, Heraclas. After whom, some^u add Athenodorus, Malchion, Athanasius, and Didymus. And the author of the Greek Synodicon published by Pappus, says^v, Arius taught in the same school, before he broached his heresy. It were easy to recount many other such schools at Rome, Cæsarea, Antioch, etc., but I shall have another occasion to speak of these, when I come to consider the encouragement that Christian emperors gave to schools of learning and the professors of liberal arts and sciences: what has here been suggested upon this head may suffice, at present, to show what was the office of the catechist, and what the use of catechetical schools in the Church.

^q Euseb. lib. vi. c. vi. (p. 169.) Πανταῖνον Κλήμης διαδεξάμενος τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατηχήσεως εἰς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ καθηγεῖτο.

^r Hieronym. de Scriptor. in Origene: (vol. ii. p. 891.) Hic Alexandriae dispersa ecclesia, decimo octavo ætatis suæ anno, κατηχήσεων opus adgressus, postea a Demetrio, ejus urbis episcopo, in locum Clementis presbyteri confirmatus, per multos annos floruit.

^s Hieron. ibid. Constat eum . . Alexandriam reversum, Heraclam presbyterum . . adiutorem sibi fecisse κατηχήσεως.—Euseb. lib. vi. c. xxvi. (p. 185.) Ἔτος ἦν τοῦτο δέκατον τῆς δηλουμένης ἡγεμονίας, καθ' ὃ τὴν ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας μετανάστασιν ἐπὶ τὴν Καισάρειαν ὁ Ὀριγένης ποιησάμενος, Ἡρακλᾶ τὸ τῆς κατηχήσεως τῶν αὐτόθι διδασκαλεῖον καταλείπει.

^t Euseb. lib. vi. c. xxix. (p. 186. D 6.) Ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μετὰ Δημήτριον ἐπὶ τρισὶ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐκτελέσαντα, Ἡρακλᾶς τὴν λειτουργίαν παρείληφεν· τῆς δὲ τῶν αὐτόθι κατηχήσεως τὴν διατριβὴν διαδέχεται Διονύσιος, εἰς καὶ οὗτος τῶν Ὀριγένους γενόμενος φοιτητῶν.

^u Hospin. de Templis, lib. iii. c. v. p. 352. b. Quem (Origenem) postea in eodem docendi munere Heraclas, Dionysius, Athenodorus, Malchion, Didymus, Athanasius, alique insequuti sunt, viri non in sacris tantum sed et profanis scientiis doctissimi, quos catechistas vocabant a præcipua et maxime necessaria parte institutionis.

^v Synodic. (Labbe, vol. i. Conc. p. 1494. A 2.) (p. 14, edit. Argentorat. 1621. 4to.) Πέτρου ἐν Κυρίῳ τελειωθέντος, Ἀχιλλᾶς διαδέχεται, καὶ Ἀρειὸν τῇ αἵρέσει καὶ φιλαρχίᾳ κρατούμενον, καὶ τοῖς Μελετίου τολμήμασιν ἀντιθέως συμπράττοντα, δειλασθεῖς χειροτονεῖ πρεσβύτερον, καὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ διδασκαλείου προϊστήσιν.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE ECCLESIECDICI AND DEFENSORES, OR SYNDICS OF THE CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*Five sorts of Defensores noted, two whereof only belonged to the Church.*

ANOTHER office which will deserve to be spoken of in this place, because it was sometimes, though not always, managed by the hands of the clergy, is that of the Defensores. For the understanding of which it will be necessary, in the first place, to distinguish between the civil and ecclesiastical defensors. For Gothofred thinks there were in all four sorts of them, viz. the Defensores Senatus, Defensores Urbium, Defensores Ecclesiarum, and Defensores Pauperum. But he might have added one more, which Ulpian^a calls Defensores Rerum Publicarum, whose office was to be a sort of proctors or syndics in managing of the public causes of that corporation or company of tradesmen to which they belonged: which sort of defensors were first instituted by Alexander Severus, as Lampridius tells us in his life^b. The Defensores Civitatum, or as they are otherwise called, Defensores Plebis, were a sort of tribunes of the people; one of their chief offices being to defend the poor plebeians against the insults and oppressions of the great and wealthy citizens. Now in imitation of these, I presume, the ecclesiastical defensors were instituted, as both their name and office seem plainly to imply.

^a Digest. lib. xlix. tit. iv. leg. i. § xiii. (p. 750.) Tutores, item defensores rerum publicarum, et curatores adolescentium vel furiosi tertium diem habere debent, idcirco quia alieno nomine appellant.

^b Lamprid. Vit. Alexand. Corpora omnium constituit, vinariorum, lupinariorum, caligariorum, et omnino omnium artium: hisque ex sese defensores dedit.

SECT. II.—*Of the Defensores Pauperum.*

The defensors of the poor had much the same employment in the Church, as the Defensores Plebis had in the state: for if any of the poor, or virgins, or widows belonging to the Church, were injured or oppressed by the rich, it was the business of these defensors, as their proctors or advocates, to see them righted, and to solicit the magistrate that they might have justice done them. This is evident from the decree made in the fifth Council of Carthage, an. 401, which is also inserted in the African Code, and is to this purpose^c: that forasmuch as the Church was incessantly wearied with the complaints and afflictions of the poor, it was unanimously agreed upon by them in council, that the emperors should be petitioned to allow defensors to be chosen for them by the procurement and approbation of the bishops, that they might defend them from the power and tyranny of the rich.

SECT. III.—*Of the Defensores Ecclesiæ, their office and function.*

As to the other sort of defensors, called Defensores Ecclesiæ, (whom I speak of separately, because Gothofred makes a distinction between them, though others take them to be the same) their office did as plainly resemble that of the other sort of civil defensors, called Defensores Rerum Publicarum. For as those were the proctors and syndics of their respective companies, to manage the public concerns of their societies at law upon all emergent occasions; so these did the same for the Church, whose syndics they were, being employed to solicit the cause of the Church, or any single ecclesiastic, when they were injured or oppressed, and had occasion for redress in a civil court:—or if they were not remedied there, they were to address the emperors themselves in the name of the Church, to procure a particular precept in her favour. Thus Possidius^d

^c Conc. Carth. V. c. ix. (vol. ii. p. 1217.) vide Cod. Eccles. African. c. lxxv. (vol. ii. Cone. p. 1095, 1096.) Σύμπασιν ἔδοξεν αἰτῆσαι ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλέων διὰ τὴν πενήτων κάκωσιν, ὧν ταῖς ἐπαχθείαις ἀπαύστως ἡ ἐκκλησία παρενοχλεῖται, ὥστε ἐκδίκους τούτοις μετὰ τῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων προνοίας ἐπιλεγῆναι κατὰ τῆς τῶν πλουσίων τυραννίδος.

^d Possid. Vit. Aug. c. xii. (vol. x. append. p. 178. B 10.) De qua re, ne pacis

tells us in the life of St. Austin, that when the Circumcellions in their mad zeal had plundered and slain some of the catholic clergy, the defensor of the Church prosecuted them at law for the fact, that the peace of the Church might no more be disturbed or impeded. In like manner, we read in the first Council of Carthage^e, that it being a thing against the imperial laws for any layman to impose a secular office upon a clergyman, if any such injury was offered to the Church, it is said, the affront might be redressed if the defenders of the Church did not fail in their duty.—Which plainly implies, that it was the business of the defenders to see the rights of the Church, that were settled upon her by law, truly maintained; and if any encroachments were made upon them, they were to prosecute the aggressors and invaders before the magistrates, and execute the sentence which they gave in favour of the Church.

It is further observable from a law of Arcadius and Honorius, recited in the next paragraph, that in case of necessity they were likewise to make application to the emperors, and bring their mandate to the inferior judges, when they could not otherwise have justice done them. By a canon of the Council of Chalcedon, defenders are also empowered to admonish such idle monks and clerks as resorted to the royal city, Constantinople, without any license or commission from their bishop: and if, after admonition, they continued still to loiter there, the same defenders were to expel them thence by force^f, and cause them to return to their own habitation. It appears also from Justinian's laws^g, that the defenders, together with the *Œconomi*, were made a sort of superintendents over the *Copiatæ*,

ecclesiæ amplius impediretur profectus, defensor ecclesiæ inter leges non siluit, etc.

^e Conc. Carth. I. c. ix. (vol. ii. p. 716. D 5.) *Ipsius non liceat clericos nostros eligere apothecarios vel ratiocinatores . . . Quod si injuria constitutionis imperatoris clericos inquietandos putaverint, si defensio ecclesiastica nos non deridet, pudor publicus vindicabitur.*

^f Concil. Chalced. c. xxiii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 766. E.) *Ὡρισε ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, τοὺς τοιοῦτους ὑπομινῆσκεσθαι μὲν πρότερον διὰ τοῦ ἐκδίκου τῆς κατὰ Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας, ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξελθεῖν τῆς βασιλευούσης πόλεως· εἰ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιμένοιεν, ἀναισχυντοῦντες, καὶ ἄκοντας αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκβάλλεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους καταλαμβάνειν τόπους.*

^g Justin. Novell. lix. c. i. seqq.

or great body of deans, whose business was to attend at funerals, as has been showed before: the defensors were charged with the care of these, both in reference to their revenues and persons. They were likewise to make inquiry, whether every clerk belonging to the Church carefully attended the celebration of morning and evening service in the church; and to inform the bishop of such as neglected, that they might be proceeded against with ecclesiastical censures^h. These were the chief, if not the only offices of the defensors in the primitive Church: for as to any spiritual power or jurisdiction over the clergy, they had none; nor were they as yet admitted to hear criminal causes, great or little, in the bishop's name; but these things were devolved upon them in later ages, as Morinusⁱ shows at large in a long dissertation upon this subject:—to which I refer the inquisitive reader, contenting myself to give such an account of the defensors' office and power, as I find it to have been in the ages next after their institution.

SECT. IV.—*Of their quality, whether they were Clergymen or Laymen.*

The next inquiry must be into their quality, whether they were of the clergy or laity: for learned men are not agreed about this. Petavius^k says they were always laymen. But Morinus^l and Gothofred^m, with much better reason, assert the

^h Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. de Episc. leg. xlii. n. 10. (p. 18.) Διὸ παντὶ τρόπῳ τοὺς κληρικοὺς ψάλλειν κελεύομεν, καὶ καταζητεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς παρὰ τῶν κατὰ καιρὸν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων, καὶ δύο πρωτοπρεσβυτέρων ἐκάστης ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ καλουμένου ἄρχοντος ἦτοι ἐξάρχου, καὶ τοῦ ἐκδίκου ἐκάστου ἀγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας· καὶ τοὺς μὴ εὕρισκομένους ἀμέμπτως ταῖς λειτουργίαις προσκαρτεροῦντας ἔξω τοῦ κλήρου καθίστασθαι.

ⁱ Morin. de Ordin. Eccles. part. iii. exercit. xvi. c. vii. tot. pp. 236—239.

^k Petav. Not. in Epiph. Hæres. lxxii. n. x. (p. 305.) Fuit Defensor non ordinis, sed officii nomen, quod laici gerebant, qui ecclesiæ jura in civili foro propugnabant.

^l Morin. ibid. exercit. xvi. c. vi. n. xvi. Dico ex antiquis monumentis constare, illos ecclesiarum defensores potissimum fuisse clericos. Dicit enim synodus Chalced. 'Si œconomum aut defensorem aut paramonarium promoveat episcopus,' etc. Sed œconomus erat clericus, ergo et defensor. Deinde dignitatem illam conferebat episcopus: probabilissimum est igitur nulli alii quam clerico illam contulisse. Præterea ejusdem concilii c. xxiii. auctoritatem dat defensori Constantinopolitano urbe ejiciendi clericos et monachos, in ea sine episcopi mandato diversantes, eosque domum repetere cogendi. Sane non videntur patres laico homini potestatem istam in clericos et monachos concessuri.

contrary, that at first they were generally chosen out of the clergy; till for some particular reasons, it was thought most proper to have advocates at law to discharge this office in the African Churches. This change was made about the year 407, when the African Fathers in the Council of Carthageⁿ petitioned the emperor Honorius, that he would give them leave to choose their defensors out of the Scholastici, or advocates at law, who were actually concerned in pleading of causes; that so they who took upon them the defence of the Churches, might have the same liberty as the provincial priests were used to have, to go upon necessary occasion into the judge's consistory, or council-chamber, behind the veil,—and there suggest what they thought necessary to promote their own cause, or obviate the plots of their adversaries. In answer to this petition, Honorius shortly after published a law, wherein he granted them liberty to make use of such advocates for their defensors as they desired: for he decreed^o, that whatever privileges were specially obtained of the emperor, relating to

Hoc confirmat ejusdem concilii actio i., in qua sæpius refertur Joannes quidam presbyter et defensor; et infra videbimus quemdam Romanum defensorem sacerdotali dignitate insignitum. Solebat enim Gregorius defensores et rectores patrimoniorum ecclesiæ presbyteros, diaconos, et subdiaconos, constituere, ut legere est in ejus vita apud Joannem diaconum, lib. i. c. liii.; immo et episcopos, ut ipse testatur, lib. x. ep. xlvj.

^m Gothofred. Not. in Codic. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. xxxviii. (vol. vi. p. 77.) Clerici hactenus ipsi ad ecclesiarum defensionem judiciis sese stitisse videntur: id quod tandem ipsis ecclesiasticis indecens visum: visumque satius, per advocatos, et sic laicos, simul et forensium rerum peritos, ecclesiam et ecclesiastica privilegia in civili foro defendi.

ⁿ Concil. African. vulgo dictum can. lxiv. Placuit ut petant legati a gloriosissimis Imperatoribus, ut dent facultatem defensores constituendi scholasticos, qui in actu sunt vel in munere defensionis causarum, ut more sacerdotum provinciæ, iidem ipsi, qui defensionem ecclesiarum susceperunt, habeant facultatem pro negotiis ecclesiarum, quoties necessitas flagitaverit, vel ad obsistendum obrepentibus vel ad necessaria suggerenda, ingredi judicum secretaria. Conf. in eandem sententiam, Cod. Can. Afr. Gr. Lat. c. xcvii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1113.) et Concil. Milevitan. ii. c. xvi. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1541.)

^o Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episcop. leg. xxxviii. (vol. vi. p. 76.) Privilegia, quæ ecclesiis et clericis legum decrevit auctoritas, hac quoque præceptione, sancta et inviolata permanere decernimus. Atque hoc ipsis præcipuum ac singulare deferimus, ut quæcumque de nobis ad ecclesiam tantum pertinentia, specialiter fuerint impetrata, non per coronatos, sed ab advocatis, eorum arbitratu et iudiciis innotescant, et sortiantur effectum.

the Church, should be intimated to the judges, and executed “non per Coronatos,” not by clergymen, as Gothofred rightly explains it, but by advocates at law.—So that now it was no longer necessary that the defensors should be of the clergy, but the office was frequently entrusted in the hands of laymen. Which is further evident from an epistle of Pope Zosimus, who lived about the same time: for he says^p, the defensors of the Church were chosen out of the laity, and might afterward, if they were deserving, be ordained among the clergy. Yet after this, we find the defensors in some places continued still to be of the clergy. For Morinus shows that, in the first session of the Council of Chalcedon, there is frequent mention made of one John, a presbyter and defensor^q; as also in many epistles of Gregory the Great, the defensors of the Roman Church are said to be of the clergy: to which I shall add a fragment of Theodorus Lector, taken out of Damascen^r, which speaks of one John as both deacon and defensor of the Church of St. Stephen at Constantinople, in the time of Anastasius the emperor, which was in the beginning of the sixth century. From all which it is very evident against Petavius, that the defensors were sometimes chosen out of the clergy, and not always made of advocates or laymen.

SECT. V.—*The ἑκδικοὶ and ἐκκλησιέκδικοὶ among the Greeks the same with the Defensors of the Latin Church.*

I must not omit to acquaint the reader, that what the Latins call Defensors, the Greek Church commonly calls ἑκδικοὶ and ἐκκλησιέκδικοὶ, which signify the same as defensors; though Gothofred^s, without any just reason, makes a difference

^p Zosim. Ep. i. c. iii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1557. C 13.) Defensores ecclesiæ, qui ex laicis fiunt, supra dicta observatione teneantur, si meruerint esse in ordine clericatus.

^q Concil. Chalced. act. i. (vol. iv. p. 156. A 11.) Ἰωάννης ὁ εὐλαβέστατος πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἑκδικος. Item, p. 249. A 10. p. 252. A 4.

^r Damascen. Orat. iii. de Imagin. p. 799. vide quæ sequuntur ex Theodoro. —Fragm. Theodor. Lect. edit. a Vales. p. 583. Ἰωάννης δὲ τις διάκονος, καὶ ἑκδικος τοῦ προλεχθέντος εὐαγοῦς οἴκου Στεφάνου, τοῦ τῶν μαρτύρων πρώτου, κ. τ. λ.

^s Gothofr. Not. in Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. leg. xxxviii. (vol. vi. p. 78.) Ut ad istos de foro seu laicos defensores revertamur, cum his . . perperam misceri video προστάτας seu ἐκδίκους, de quibus Epiphanius ante hanc legem,

between them: for not only their offices and powers are described to be the same, but also whenever the Greeks have any occasion to speak of the Latin defensors, they give them the name of ἐκδικοί, as may be seen either in the Code of the African^t Church published by Justellus, or that which the Greeks commonly call the Council of Carthage, published by Ehinger^u, and Dr. Beveridge^x in the Pandects. But whether προστάτης be another Greek name for a defensor, is not so certain. The word is only found once used by Epiphanius^y, who, speaking of one Cyriacus, styles him Κυριακὸς προστάτης, which Petavius renders ‘Cyriacus defensor.’ He seems, indeed, to have had some office in the Church, because he is joined in the subscription of a letter with the clergy, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, and readers: but whether that be a sufficient reason to make him a defensor, I must leave the judicious reader to determine.

SECT. VI.—*Chancellors and Defensors not the same in the primitive Church.*

There is one thing more must be resolved before I dismiss this subject; that is, whether chancellors and defensors were the same in the primitive Church? In answer to which, I say, it is very plain they were not; because the first time we find any mention of the office of Chancellors in the Church, they are expressly distinguished from the ἐκδικοί or defensors;

hæresi lxxii. et can. i. Chalced. Hi enim inter clericos vel clericis proximi censentur.

^t Cod. Can. Eccles. Afric. c. lxxv. ap. Justellum, p. 368. "Ὡστε ἐκδίκους τούτοις μετὰ τῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων προνοίας ἐπιλεγῆναι κατὰ τῆς τῶν πλουσίων τυραννίδος.—Ibid. can. xcvi. p. 383. "Ὡστε δοθῆναι ἄδειαν τοῦ καταστῆσαι ἐκδίκους σχολαστικούς.

^u Concil. Carth. Gr. ap. Ehinger. c. lxxvi. (p. 265.) "Ὡστε ἐκδίκους τούτοις μετὰ τῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων προνοίας ἐπιλεγῆναι, κ. τ. λ. ut sub not. antec. (t).—Can. xcix. Αἰτήσωσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων βασιλέων, ὥστε δοθῆναι ἄδειαν τοῦ καταστῆσαι ἐκδίκους σχολαστικούς, κ. τ. λ.

^x Conc. Carth. ap. Bevereg. c. lxxviii. Περὶ ἐκδίκων τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν ὀφειλόντων παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αἰτηθῆναι . . ὥστε ἐκδίκους τούτοις μετὰ τῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων προνοίας ἐπιλέγεσθαι κατὰ τῆς τῶν πλουσίων τυραννίδος.—Can. c. Αἰτήσωσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων βασιλέων, ὥστε δοθῆναι ἄδειαν τοῦ καταστῆσαι ἐκδίκους σχολαστικούς, κ. τ. λ.

^y Epiph. Hæres. lxxii. Marcel. n. x.

and that is in the Novel of Heraclius, made in the beginning of the seventh century, where determining the number of ecclesiastical officers that were to be allowed in the great Church of Constantinople, he says there should be two syncelli, twelve chancellors^z, ten defensors, twelve referendaries, forty notaries, and twelve sceuophylaces, whereof four to be presbyters, six deacons, and two readers. It is not very easy to determine what the office of these chancellors was at that time; but it is very evident, however, from this that they were not the same with the defensors. They who are acquainted with the civil law, know that the Cancellarii in the civil courts were not judges, but officers attending the judge in an inferior station: which appears evidently from a title in both the Theodosian and Justinian code^a, 'De Adessoribus, et Domesticis, et Cancellariis Judicum.' Hottoman and Accursius take them for Actuaries or Notaries; but Gothofred, in his learned notes^b upon the Theodosian Code, proves at large out of Cassiodore and Agathias, that they were the Custodes Secretarii, the guards of the judge's consistory; and called Cancellarii because they stood ad Cancellas, at the rails or barriers which separated the Secretum from the rest of the court. So that their office then was not to sit as judges or assessors, but only to attend the judges, and keep peace and good order under him. And if this was the condition of the Cancellarii in the state, it is probable they had some such office in the Church in the time of Heraclius, who first mentions them; but what that office was, I am not able to determine any further, save only that it was not the same with that of the defensors of the Church.

^z Heracl. Novell. ii. ap. Leunclav. Jur. Gr. Rom. tom. i. p. 789. Τοὺς μὲν θεοφιλεῖς συγκέλλους εἰς δύο τὸν ἀριθμὸν περιστάνας, καγκελαρίους δὲ εἰς ιβ', ἐκδίκους δὲ εἰς ι', ῥεφερενδαρίους δὲ εἰς ιβ', νοταρίους δὲ εἰς μ', σκευοφύλακας δὲ, πρεσβυτέρους μὲν δ', διακόνους δὲ ε', ἀναγνώστας δὲ δύο.

^a Cod. Theod. lib. i. tit. xii. De adessoribus, domesticis, et cancellariis.—
Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. li. De adessoribus, et domesticis, et cancellariis judicum.

^b Gothofred. Comment. in Cod. Th. lib. i. tit. xii. de Adessor. leg. iii. pp. 70, 71, 72, 73.

SECT. VII.—*Whether the Defensors' office was the same with that of our modern Chancellors.*

It may be asked, then, whether the office of our modern chancellors has any relation or resemblance to that of defensors in the ancient Church? There are some learned men who make them altogether the same. Bishop Beveridge derives the authority of them both from the same fountain: for he says^c the defensors heard and determined causes in the bishop's name; and those not only that related to the poor, who sought the patronage of the Church, but also when presbyters and deacons had any controversy with any other, whether of the clergy or laity, they might bring their action before the *πρωτέκδικος* or defensor. Whence he concludes, that chancellors of later ages are the very same ecclesiastical officials as the defensors of the primitive Church. It were to be wished that that learned person had given us ancient records for that power which he ascribes to the old defensors: for then they would have looked more like chancellors under another name: but indeed the authorities he alleges are all modern, such as Papias's Glossary and Balsamon's *Meditata*, and the catalogues of officials in the Church of Constantinople, which were written several ages after the first institution of defensors, and in times when the *Protecdicus* among the Greeks was become an officer of great authority and power. So that though the power of chancellors might be much the same as that of the *ἐκδικοί* among the modern Greeks; yet that it was altogether the same with the ancient defensors, seems not hitherto to be solidly proved; since the business of the ancient defensors was not to do the office of judges, but of advocates at law, to defend the rights of the poor, and the liberties of the Church, against all aggressors and invaders. But if any can show from ancient records, that the defensors had a large power, he will very much oblige the world with such a discovery: in the mean time, the reader will pardon me for not ascribing to them greater powers than I had authority to do. The matter is curious, and may exercise the pens of learned men, and be the subject of further disquisition and inquiry.

^c Bevereg. Not. in can. xxiii. Concil. Chalced. pp. 122, 123.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE ŒCONOMI.

SECT. I.—*The Œconomi instituted in the fourth century. The reasons of their institution.*

IN the writings of the fourth and fifth centuries, we frequently meet with an officer in the Church, styled by the Greeks οἰκονόμος^a, and by the Latins Œconomus^b, or Præpositus Domus, as it is in St. Austin^c. His office was to manage the revenues of the whole diocese under the inspection of the bishop. For anciently, as I have showed elsewhere^{cc}, the whole revenue of the Church was entrusted in the hands of the bishop, to be divided among the clergy and poor of the Church by his direction and appointment: and in managing this affair, he commonly made use of his archdeacon, as a proper assistant to ease himself of the great burden and incumbrance of it. But upon the general conversion of heathens, and the consequent augmentation of every diocese and Church revenues, both the bishop and his archdeacon had business enough of another nature to take up the greatest part of their time: and then it was found necessary to institute officers on purpose, and set them over this affair, under the

^a Concil. Chalced. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. iv. Conc. p. 755.) Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος . . . προβάλλοιτο ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ἢ οἰκονόμον, ἢ ἔκδικον, κ. τ. λ. — Can. xxv. (p. 768.) Τὴν μὲν τοι πρόσοδον τῆς χηρευούσης ἐκκλησίας σώαν φυλάττεσθαι παρὰ τῷ οἰκονόμῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.—Can. xxvi. (p. 768.) Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τισιν ἐκκλησίαις, ὡς περιηγήθημεν, δίχα οἰκονόμων οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ χειρίζουσι πράγματα, κ. τ. λ.

^b Liberat. Breviar. xvi. (Labbe, vol. v. Conc. p. 765. C.) Cum quibus erat Joannes ex œconomo presbyter factus Tabennesiotis, etc. . . Factusque est iterum œconomus, habens causas omnium ecclesiarum.

^c Possid. Vit. Augustin. c. xxiv. See note (i) p. 413.

^{cc} Lib. ii. c. iv. § vi.

name of *Œconomi*, or stewards of the Church. Morinus^d thinks they were instituted to avoid suspicion; and in some Churches, there is no question but it was so: for in the remaining fragments of the Council of Tyre, an. 448, which are inserted into the acts of the Council of Chalcedon^e, we find that Ibas, bishop of Edessa, being accused by some of his clergy for embezzling the revenues of the Church, is obliged to promise, that for the future the revenues should be managed by *Œconomi*, or stewards, chosen out of the clergy, after the manner of the great Church of Antioch. And it is not improbable but the like accusation's being brought against Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, in the Council of Chalcedon, was the reason that moved that council to make a general decree in this matter; 'that forasmuch as they were informed that in some Churches the bishops alone administered the ecclesiastical revenues without any stewards, they now ordained that every Church having a bishop should also have a steward of her own clergy^f, to manage the revenues of the Church by the direction of the bishop: that so there might be witnesses of the right administration of them; and by that means neither the Church's goods be embezzled, nor any scandal or reproach brought upon the priesthood.' But then I cannot think this was the case of all Churches. For these canons were made plainly against such bishops as managed the revenues of the Church, ἀμάρ-

^d Morin. de Ordin. Eccles. part. iii. exercit. xvi. c. v. n. iii. Cum bona tam immobilia quam quotidianæ fidelium oblationes ad omnem clerum pertinerent, nec esset designata aliqua pars, quæ hujus vel illius esset clerici, his bonis curandis, administrandis, et distribuendis deputatus erat e clero aliquis, quem œconomum canones appellant, ne si episcopus ea solus administrasset, excepisset, distribuisset, suspectus aliquando fieret rei communis male administratæ, surreptæ, sibi vindicatæ, atque eo nomine apud clerum et laicos male audiret.

^e Conc. Chalced. act. ix. (vol. iv. p. 631. A 3.) Ἐδοξε τῷ αὐτῷ θεοφιλεστάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰβᾶ, ἐξ οἰκείας γνώμης ἐπαγγείλασθαι, ὅτι δὴ τοῦ λοιποῦ κατὰ τύπον τὸν ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίᾳ διοικεῖται τὰ πράγματα διὰ οἰκονόμων ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου προβαλλομένων ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ θεοσεβείας.

^f Concil. Chalced. c. xxvi. (p. 768.) Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τισιν ἐκκλησίαις, ὡς περιηγήθημεν, δίχα οἰκονόμων οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ χειρίζουσι πράγματα· ἔδοξε πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπίσκοπον ἔχουσαν, καὶ οἰκονόμον ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου κλήρου, οἰκονομοῦντα τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου· ὥστε μὴ ἀμάρτυρον εἶναι τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σκορπίζεσθαι πράγματα, καὶ λαιδορίαν τῇ ἱερῶσύνῃ προστρίβασθαι.

τυποί, as the canon words it, without either archdeacon or Œconomus to attest the fidelity of their management: but in such Churches where bishops took the assistance of their archdeacon, this could not be the reason for setting up the office of the Œconomus, because suspicion of mismanagement was provided against as well by the testimony of an archdeacon as any other officer that could be appointed. And therefore I have assigned a more general, and, as I take it, a truer reason, for the institution of this office in the Church.

SECT. II.—*Always to be chosen out of the Clergy.*

And that which further confirms my opinion is, that the Œconomi, as well as the archdeacons, were always to be chosen out of the clergy. For so those canons of the Councils of Tyre and Chalcedon already cited, plainly direct. And for any thing that appears to the contrary, this was the constant practice of the Church. We find in the acts of the Council of Ephesus^g, which are inserted also into the Council of Chalcedon, one Charisius styled both Presbyter and Œconomus of the Church of Philadelphia. And Liberatus^h speaks of one John, who was Œconomus of Alexandria, and Presbyter of Tabennesus, a region belonging to Alexandria. Possidius tells us, in the life of St. Austinⁱ, that he always made one of his clergy the Præpositus Domus, as he calls him, whose office was to take care of the Church revenues, and give an account of what he received and expended, when it was demanded of him. And to the same purpose Socrates^k says of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, that having advanced two monks to the honour of the clergy, he made them the Œconomi of the

^g Concil. Ephesin. act. i. in Conc. Chalced. (vol. iv. p. 292. B.) Sanctissimo et universali concilio, Deo amabili, congregato in Ephesina civitate metropoli, a Charisio presbytero et œconomo Philadelphiae.

^h Liberat. Breviar. c. xvi. vide not. antec. (b) p. 411.

ⁱ Possid. Vit. Aug. c. xxiv. (Bened. 1700. vol. x. append. p. 183. E 11.) Domus ecclesiae curam, omnemque substantiam ad vices valentioribus clericis delegabat et credebat. Numquam clavem, numquam annulum in manu habens; sed ab eisdem domus præpositis cuncta et accepta et erogata notabantur.

^k Socrat. lib. vi. c. vii. (Vales. 1700. p. 254. A 8.) Δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν παρεκάλεσε συνεῖναι αὐτῷ, καὶ μόλις μὲν ἔπεισεν ὥς ἐπίσκοπος δὲ ὁμῶς καὶ προσηνάγκασεν, καὶ τῇ τῶν κληρικῶν ἀξία τιμήσας, τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῖς ἐνεχείρισεν.

Church. So that it was both the rule and practice of the Church to take the Œconomi out of some of the clergy, and we never meet with any instance or order to the contrary. Which argues plainly, that the true reason for devolving this office upon them, which formerly belonged to the archdeacons, was no other than that, because of a multiplicity of business, the archdeacons now could not so well attend it.

SECT. III.—*Their office to take care of the Revenues of the Church, especially in the vacancy of the bishopric.*

What the office itself was, appears from what has already been said: to which I shall only add one thing; that by the authority of the Council of Chalcedon¹, the Œconomus was to continue in his office during the vacancy of the bishopric, and to look after the income of the Church, that it might be preserved safe for the succeeding bishop: which canon some not improbably think was designed to prevent delays in filling up vacant sees; that no metropolitan, or interventor, under whose care the vacant Church was, might lie under any temptation to defer the election of a new bishop, in hopes of enriching himself from the revenues of the Church; but whether this was the reason or not, it certainly argues that these men were generally persons of extraordinary credit and worth, since the Church could securely repose so great a confidence in them.

SECT. IV.—*The consent of the Clergy required in the choice of them.*

And indeed all imaginable care was taken in their election, that they should be persons of such a character. To which purpose some canons required, that they should be chosen by all the clergy; as particularly Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria^m, in his canonical epistle, gives a direction in that case. Which provision was but reasonable: for since all the clergy had a common concern in the revenues of the Church, which were their livelihood and subsistence, it was fit the Œconomus,

¹ Concil. Chalced. c. xxv. See note (a) p. 411.

^m Theophil. can. ix. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. tom. ii. p. 173. "Ὡστε γνώμη παντός ιερατείου οἰκονόμον ἀποδειχθῆναι ἕτερον, ἐφ' ᾧ συντίθεται καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀπόλλων, πρὸς τὸ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς δέον ἀναλίσκεσθαι.

to whose care the revenues were committed, should be chosen by common consent, that he might be a person without exception, and no one have reason to complain that he was injured or defrauded of his dividend or portion.

CHAPTER XIII.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF SOME OTHER INFERIOR OFFICERS IN THE CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*Of the παραμονάριοι, or Mansionarii.*

BESIDE the officers already mentioned, there were, in the fourth and fifth century, some few others, whose names are not very commonly met with; and therefore I shall but just hint the signification of them, and not spend my time in any curious inquiries about their offices and employments. The same canon^a of the Council of Chalcedon, which speaks of the *Œconomus* and *Defensor*, mentions also another officer belonging to the Church, who is styled *παραμονάριος* in the language of that council. But the translators and critics are not agreed upon the meaning of the word. The ancient translation of Dionysius Exiguus renders it *Mansionarius*, and explains that, in a marginal reading, by *Ostiarius*, or door-keeper of the church. And indeed this was the office of the *Mansionarius* in the Roman Church about the time when Dionysius Exiguus lived: for Gregory the Great not long after, in one of his dialogues^b, speaking of Abundius *Mansionarius*, gives him also the title of *Custos Ecclesiæ*; and in another dialogue he makes it the office of the *Mansionarius*^c to light the lamps or candles

^a Concil. Chalced. c. ii. Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος . . προβάλλοιτο ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἢ οἰκονόμον, ἢ ἐκδικον, ἢ προσμονάριον (so Labbe reads, vol. iv. p. 755. C 2.), κ. τ. λ.

^b Gregor. M. Dial. lib. iii. c. xxv. (Paris. 1705. vol. ii. p. 333.) Inscriptio capitis sic habet: De Acontio [Abundio] mansionario ecclesiæ beati Petri. Ipsum caput ita incipit: Alius illic non ante longa tempora, sicut nostri seniores referunt, custos ecclesiæ Acontius [Abundius] dictus est, magnæ humilitatis atque gravitatis vir, etc.

^c Ibid. Dial. lib. i. c. v. Constantius mansionarius quadam die, dum in eadem

of the church. Yet notwithstanding this, the best learned of the modern critics give another sense of the Greek name *παραμονάριος*. Justellus^d explains it by 'villicus,' a bailiff or steward of the lands. Bishop Beveridge^e styles him *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Administrator*, which is the same. And their opinion is confirmed by Gothofred, Cujacius, Suicerus, Vossius, and many others, whose judgment in the case may be sufficient to decide the controversy, till the reader sees better reason otherwise to determine him.

SECT. II.—*Of the Custodes Ecclesiarum and Custodes Locorum Sanctorum. And how those differed from each other.*

The civil law takes notice of another sort of officers, who are called *Custodes Ecclesiarum*, and *Custodes Locorum Sanctorum*: which though some writers confound together, yet Gothofred makes a distinction between them. The *Custodes Ecclesiarum* were either the same with the *Ostiarii*, or order of door-keepers; or else with those called *Seniores Ecclesiæ*, which, as I have showed in another place^{ee}, were much of the same nature with our churchwardens and vestrymen. But the *Custodes Locorum Sanctorum* were the keepers of those particular places in Palestine, which, if Gothofred judge right, had more peculiarly the title of *Loca Sancta*, holy places, because they were a sort of memorials of our Saviour; such as Bethlehem, the place of his nativity, and Mount Golgotha, the place of his crucifixion; and his grave or monument, which was the place of his resurrection; and Mount Olivet, the place of his ascension. These places were frequently visited by Christians in those ages, as appears from Eusebius, Gregory Nyssen, St. Jerome, and several others, whom the reader that is curious in this matter, may find quoted by Gothofred^f, who

ecclesia oleum deesset, et unde lampades accenderet omnino non haberet, omnes lampades ecclesiæ implevit aqua, etc.

^d Justel. Bibliothec. Jur. Can. tom. i. p. 91. *Paramonarii sunt villici sive actores possessionum.*

^e Bevereg. Not. in Conc. Chalced. c. ii. p. 109. *Παραμονάριος* omni procul dubio aliquem rerum ecclesiasticarum administratorem significat.

^{ee} Lib. ii. c. xix. § xix.

^f Gothofr. Not. in Codic. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. leg. xvi. (Lugdun. 1665. vol. vi.) *Loca sancta hic sunt, quæ in Palæstina inter alia sub comite*

maintains, that upon that very account those places had a sort of guardians or keepers assigned them, under the title of Custodes Locorum Sanctorum. But however this matter be, it is certain they had such an employment in the Church, as in the eye of the law was reputed a religious service; and accordingly they were entitled to the same privilege^s as the ecclesiastics had, to be exempt from personal tribute in regard to this their employment: as appears from a law of Theodosius the Great, by whom this immunity was granted them.

SECT. III.—*Of the Sceuophylaces, or Ceimeliarchæ.*

Next to these, for the similitude of the name and office, I mention the Sceuophylaces, or, as they were otherwise called, *κειμηλίων φύλακες*, keepers of the *κειμήλια*, that is, the sacred vessels, utensils, and such precious things as were laid up in the sacred repository of the Church. This was commonly some presbyter: for Theodorus Lector^h says Macedonius was both presbyter and sceuophylax of the Church of Constantinople:—and Sozomenⁱ before him, speaking of the famous Theodore, presbyter of Antioch, who suffered martyrdom in the days of Julian, styles him *φύλακα τῶν κειμηλίων*, keeper of the sacred utensils; and says he was put to death because he would not deliver up what he had under his custody, to the persecutors. It will not be improper to give this officer also the name of Chartophylax and Custos Archivorum, because the rolls and archives are reckoned part of the sacred repository of the

orientis, cui hæc lex ideo inscribitur, atque Hierosolymis nominatim sita erant. Nempe loca sancta, quæ Hierosolymis erant, et in vicinis Palæstinæ partibus, hoc sæculo adiri jam certatim solita, quibus hæc ad pietatem irritamenta visa, *μελέται πρὸς ἀρετὴν* seu *γυμνασίαι πρὸς θεοσέβειαν*, et abducendam mentem ab humanis rebus, et cogitationes suas ad Deum transferendas, etc.

^s Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episc. leg. xxvi. (vol. vi. p. 59.) Universos quos constiterit custodes ecclesiarum esse, vel sanctorum locorum, ac religiosi obsequiis deservire, nullius adtentationis molestiam sustinere decernimus. Quis enim eos capite censos patiatur esse devinctos, quos necessario intelligit supra memorato obsequio mancipatos?

^h Theod. Lect. lib. ii. (p. 559. C 10. Amstel. 1695.) Προχειρίζεται ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς ἐπίσκοπον Μακεδόνιον τινα, τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρεσβύτερον καὶ σκευοφύλακα.

ⁱ Sozom. lib. v. c. viii. (Vales. 1700. p. 491. D 4.) Μόνον Θεώδορον τὸν πρεσβύτερον, μὴ ὑποχωρῆσαι τῆς πόλεως· ὃν ὡς φύλακα τῶν κειμηλίων, τὴν τούτων γνῶσιν καταμηνύσαι δυνάμενον, συλλαβὼν, δεινῶς ἤκισατο.

Church. Whence Suicerus^k observes, that in Photius the names Sceuphylax and Chartophylax are given to the same person. But I must note that the modern Greeks have a little changed this office, and added powers to it which did not belong to it in the primitive Church. For now, as Balsamon^l informs us, the Chartophylax acts as the patriarch's substitute, excommunicating, censuring, and licensing the ordinations of presbyters and deacons; and sits as supreme ecclesiastical judge under the patriarch in many other cases relating to the Church; which are things we do not find belonging to the office of a Sceuphylax, in the primitive ages.

SECT. IV.—*Of the Hermeneutæ, or Interpreters.*

Epiphanius takes notice of another sort of officers in the Church, to whom he gives the name of ἐρμηνευταὶ^m, interpreters, and says their office was to render one language into another, as there was occasion, both in reading the Scriptures and in the homilies that were made to the people. That there was such an office in the Church, appears further from the Passion of Procopius the martyr, published by Valesiusⁿ, where it is said that Procopius had three offices in the Church of Scythopolis; he was reader, exorcist, and interpreter of the Syriac tongue. I conceive the office was chiefly in such Churches where the people spake different languages; as in the Churches of Palestine, where probably some spake Syriac, and others Greek; and in the Churches of Afric, where some

^k Suicer. Thes. tom. ii. p. 972. Σκευοφύλαξ dictus, qui sacra ecclesiæ vasa custodiebat. . . Dicebatur interdum et χαρτοφύλαξ. Unde iste Eulampius, ad quem Photius scripsit, alibi vocatur χαρτοφύλαξ.

^l Balsam. not. ad c. ix. Concil. Nicæn. II. p. 299. Ἰδικῶς ἀφωρίσθησαν τῷ σεκρέτῳ τοῦ χαρτοφυλακείου τὰ ἐπισκοπικὰ δίκαια· καὶ ὁ κατὰ καιροῦς χαρτοφύλαξ ἐνεργεῖ δικαίῳ τοῦ κατὰ καιροῦς ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου πάντα τὰ τούτῳ ἀνήκοντα ὡς ἐπισκόπῳ . . ἀφορίζει γάρ, διορθοῦται ψυχικὰ σφάλματα, διακόνους καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐπιτρέπει χειροτονεῖσθαι, τὰ τῶν ἱεροτελεστιῶν πιττάκια ἐκτίθεται, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτά τινα.

^m Epiphan. Exposit. Fid. n. xxi. (Colon. 1682. p. 1104. C.) Ἐρμηνευταὶ γλώσσης εἰς γλῶσσαν, ἥ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγνώσεσιν, ἥ ἐν ταῖς προσομιλίαις.

ⁿ Acta Procop. ap. Vales. not. in Euseb. de Martyr. Palæstin. c. i. (p. 154. B 5.) Ibi ecclesiæ tria ministeria præbebat: unum in legendi officio, alterum in Syri interpretatione sermonis, et tertium adversus daemones manus impositione consummans.

spake Latin, and others Punic. In such Churches there was occasion for an interpreter, that those who understood not the language in which the Scriptures were read or the homilies preached, might receive edification by having them immediately rendered into a tongue which they did understand. So far was the primitive Church from encouraging ignorance, by locking up the Scriptures in an unknown tongue, that she not only translated them into all languages, but also appointed a standing office of interpreters, who were *vivâ voce* to make men understand what was read, and not suffer them to be barbarians in the service of God; which is a tyranny that was unknown to former ages.

SECT. V.—*Of the Notarii.*

Another office, that must not wholly be passed over whilst we are upon this head, is that of the Notarii, or Exceptores, as the Latins called them; who are the same that the Greeks call *ὀξυγράφοι* and *ταχυγράφοι*, from their writing short-hand by characters; which was necessary in the service they were chiefly employed in. For the first use of them was to take in writing the whole process of the heathen judges against the Christian martyrs, and minutely to describe the several circumstances of their examination and passion; what questions were put to them; what answers they made; and whatever passed during the time of their trial and suffering. Whence such descriptions were called ‘*Gesta Martyrum*,’ the acts and monuments of the martyrs: which were the original accounts which every Church preserved of her own martyrs. The first institution of these Notarii into a standing office at Rome, Bishop Pearson^o and some other learned persons think, was under Fabian in the time of the Decian persecution. For in one of the most ancient catalogues^p of the bishops of Rome, Fabian

^o Pearson. de Success. Episc. Rom. Dissert. i. c. iv. n. iii.—Fell. Not. in Cyprian. Ep. xii. (Oxon. 1682. p. 27.) Hoc fere tempore, sub initiis Decii, Fabianus Romæ septem instituisse dicitur subdiaconos, qui septem notariis imminerent, et gesta martyrum in integro colligerent.

^p Catalog. Rom. Pontif. in Fabian. Hic fecit sex vel septem subdiaconos, qui septem notariis imminerent, et gesta martyrum fideliter colligerent.

is said to have appointed seven sub-deacons to inspect the seven notaries, and see that they faithfully collected the Acts of the martyrs. But though it was no standing office before, yet the thing itself was always done by some persons fitly qualified for the work; as appears from the ancient Acts of Ignatius and Polycarp, and several others, which were written before Fabian is said to have instituted public and standing notaries at Rome. In after-ages, these notaries were also employed in writing the Acts of the councils, and taking speeches and disputations, and whatever else passed in synod. Thus Eusebius^q notes that Malchion's dispute with Paulus Samosatensis in the Council of Antioch was recorded as it was spoken, by the notaries who took it from their mouths: and Socrates says the same^r of the disputation between Basilus Ancyranus and Photinus in the Council of Sirmium. We read also of a sort of notaries in councils, whose office was to recite all instruments, allegations, petitions, or whatever else of the like nature was to be offered or read in council. And these were commonly deacons, and sometimes a presbyter was the chief of them, and thereupon styled Primicerius Notariorum; as in the Acts of the general Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon^s there is frequent mention of Aëtius, deacon and notary, and Peter, presbyter of Alexandria and chief of the notaries, Primicerius Notariorum. There were also notaries that were employed to take the discourses of famous and eloquent preachers from their mouths: by which means, Socrates observes^t, many of

^q Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxix. Οὗτος ἐπισημειουμένων ταχυγράφων, ζήτησιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνστησάμενος ἦν καὶ εἰς δεῦρο φερομένην ἴσμεν, μόνος ἴσχυσε τῶν ἄλλων κρυψίνουσι ὄντα καὶ ἀπατηλὸν φωράσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. (227. D 9.)

^r Socrat. lib. ii. c. xxx. (Vales. 1700. p. 104. C 3.) 'Εφ' ὧν ἀντικατέστη τῷ Φωτεινῷ Βασίλειος ὁ τῆς ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ τότε προεστὼς ἐκκλησίας, ὀξυγράφων τε τὰς φωνὰς αὐτῶν γραφόντων.

^s Cone. Ephes. act. i. in actione i. Cone. Chalced. vol. iv. p. 206. D. 'Αέτιος διάκονος καὶ νοτάριος εἶπεν.—Ibid. p. 291. D. Petrus presbyter Alexandriæ et primicerius notariorum dixit.

^t Socrat. lib. vi. c. iv. (p. 248. D 10.) 'Οποῖοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ, τε ἐκδοθέντες παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι, καὶ οἱ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀξυγράφων ἐκληφθέντες, ὅπως τε λαμπροὶ, καὶ τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν ἔχοντες, τί δεῖ νῦν λέγειν, ἐξὸν τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτοὺς ἀναλέγεσθαι, κ. τ. λ.—It. lib. vii. c. ii. Οὐ μὴν τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι, ὥς καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀκροατῶν σπουδάζεσθαι, ἢ γραφῇ παραδίδοσθαι. (Socrat. vii. c. ii. p. 277.)

St. Chrysostom's sermons were preserved, and some of Atticus his successor. Bishops also had their private *ὑπογραφεῖς*, which some call notaries: but Valesius^u reckons them in the quality of readers. Whatever they were, Athanasius served in this office, as *ὑπογραφεὺς*, under Alexander, and Proclus under Atticus, as Socrates informs us^v.

SECT. VI.—*Of the Apocrisarii, or Responsales.*

The curious reader, perhaps, will find several other of these lesser offices, which he will think might come into this catalogue: but that I may not seem too minute in small matters, I will only add one office more, which is that of the Apocrisarii or Responsales. These were a sort of residents in the imperial city, in the name of foreign Churches and bishops, whose office was to negotiate as proctors at the emperor's court, in all ecclesiastical causes wherein their principals might be concerned. The institution of their office seems to have been in the time of Constantine, or not long after, when the emperors being become Christians, foreign Churches had more occasion to promote their suits at the imperial court than formerly. However, we find it established by law in the time of Justinian: for in one of his Novels^x it is ordered, that forasmuch as no bishop was to be long absent from his Church without special command from the emperor; if therefore any one had occasion to negotiate any ecclesiastical cause at court, he should prefer his petition either by the Apocrisarius of his Church, whose business was to act in behalf of the Church, and prosecute her affairs; or else by the *Œconomus*, or some other of

^u Vales. Not. in Socrat. lib. v. c. xxii. (p. 56. A 13.) In actione prima synodi Ephesinae, Epaphroditus dicitur Lector et Notarius Hellanici, episcopi Rhodiorum. Ex quibus patet, idem fere officium fuisse Notarii, quod Lectoris, ut scilicet psalmos, aut alios sacræ scripturæ libros, vel in ecclesia vel coram episcopo legeret.

^v Sozom. lib. ii. c. xvii. (1700. Vales. p. 381. A 5.) Μετὸν πολὺν, ὁμοδιαίτον καὶ ὑπογραφέα τὸν Ἀθανάσιον εἶχεν.—Socrat. lib. vii. c. xli. (p. 313. B 5.) Τὰ πολλὰ παρῆν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀττικῷ, ὑπογραφεὺς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων γενομενος.

^x Justin. Novell. vi. c. ii. (Amstel. 1663. p. 10.) Διὰ ταῦτα θεσπίζομεν, εἴ ποτέ τις ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἔνεκεν προφάσεως ἐμπέσοι χρεία, ταύτην ἢ διὰ τῶν τὰ πράγματα πραττόντων τῶν ἀγιωτάτων ἐκκλησιῶν, οὕς ἀποκρισιάρχους καλοῦσιν, κ. τ. λ.

his clergy sent on purpose to signify his request. It does not indeed appear from that law, that these Apocrisarii were of the clergy, but from other writers we may easily collect it: for Liberatus says^y, Anatolius, a deacon of Alexandria, was Apocrisarius or resident for Dioscorus his bishop, at Constantinople; by which means he gained a favourable opportunity of being chosen bishop of Constantinople upon the death of Flavian. And Evagrius^z observes the same of Eutychius, that from being Apocrisarius to the bishop of Amasia, he was immediately advanced to be bishop of the royal city after Mennas. Which seems plainly to imply that he was one of the clergy before, since it does not appear that he was promoted *per saltum*. I must further observe, that, in imitation of these Apocrisarii in the Church, almost every monastery had their Apocrisarii likewise, whose business was not to reside in the royal city, as the former did, but to act as proctors for their monastery, or any member of it, when they had occasion to give any appearance at law before the bishop, under whose jurisdiction they were. This is clear from another of Justinian's Novels^a, which requires the Ascetics in such cases to answer by their Apocrisarii or Responsales. And these were sometimes also of the clergy, as appears from the Acts of the fifth general council, where one Theodosius^b styles himself presbyter and apocrisarius of the monastery of Mount Sinai. The Latin translator calls him Ambasiator, which is not so very proper, yet it in some measure expresses the thing: for, as Suicerus ob-

^y Liberat. Breviar. c. xii. (vol. v. Conc. p. 759. A 2.) Ordinatus est pro eo (Flaviano) Anatolius diaconus, qui fuit Constantinopoli apocrisarius Dioscori.

^z Evagr. lib. iv. c. xxxviii. (Vales. 1695. p. 413. A.) Εὐτύχιος παρὼν τὴν θείαν ἐς ἄκρον ἐξησκημένος γραφήν, ἐσέτι ζῶντος Μηνᾶ, οὐδὲ τῶν διαφανῶν ὦν ταῖς γὰρ ἀποκρίσει τοῦ Ἀμασείας ἐπισκόπου διηκονεῖτο . . ὅπερ καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐγνωκῶς, ἐς τὸν τῆς βασιλευούσης αὐτὸν ἀνεβίβασε θρόνον παρὰ τὰ Μηνᾶ τελευτήσαντος.

^a Justin. Novell. lxxix. c. i. (p. 1.) Θεσπίζομεν, εἴ τις οἴαντοῦν ἔχει δίκην πρὸς τινὰς τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων ἀσκητῶν, ἢ τῶν ἱερωμένων παρθένων, ἢ γυναικῶν ἐν μοναστηρίοις ὄλῳ οὐσῶν, τῷ θεοφιλεστάτῳ πόλεως ἐκάστης ἐπισκόπῳ προσιέναι τὸν δὲ πέμπειν, καὶ μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητός τε καὶ εὐσχημοσύνης τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν προσώπων παρουσίας διατάττειν, εἴτε δέοι διὰ τῶν ἡγουμένων, εἴτε διὰ τῶν ἀποκρισιarίων, εἴτε δι' ἐτέρων τινῶν παραγίνεσθαι.

^b Concil. V. General. act. i. in Libello Monachor. Syriæ Secundæ. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 116. A 7.) Θεωνᾶς ἐλέφ Θεοῦ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀποκρισιάριος τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους Σινᾶ.

serves^c, in process of time the emperors also gave the name of Apocrisarii to their own ambassadors, and it became the common title of every legate whatsoever. Which I the rather note, that the reader may distinguish these things, and not confound the civil and ecclesiastical sense of the name Apocrisarius together. And thus much of the inferior orders and offices of the clergy, in the primitive Church.

^c Suicer. Thes. tom. i. p. 456. Successu temporis quemvis legatum ἀποκρισιάριον vocabant.—Nicetas in Manuele Comneno, lib. vi. Πέμψας ἀποκρισιάρχους πρὸς βασιλέα πάλιν περὶ εἰρήνης διαλέγεται.—Isidorus Pelusiota, epist. cxliii. (Paris. 1638. p. 453.) lib. iv. Τὴν τιμίαν κέλευσιν τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς καὶ θεοπροβλήτου ἡμῶν μεγάλου βασιλέως, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἀποκρισιάρχου μαθόντες.

BOOK IV.

OF THE ELECTIONS AND ORDINATIONS OF THE CLERGY,
AND THE PARTICULAR QUALIFICATIONS OF SUCH AS
WERE TO BE ORDAINED.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE SEVERAL WAYS OF DESIGNING PERSONS TO THE
MINISTRY IN THE APOSTOLICAL AND PRIMITIVE AGES
OF THE CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*Four several ways of designing persons for the
Ministry. Of the first way, by casting lots.*

HAVING thus far given an account of all the orders of the clergy in the primitive Church, both superior and inferior, together with the several offices and functions that were annexed to them, I now proceed to consider the rules and methods that were observed in setting apart fit persons for the ministry, especially for the three superior orders, which were always of principal concern. And here, in the first place, it will be proper to observe, that in the apostolical and following ages there were four several ways of designing persons for the ministry, or discovering who were most fit to be ordained; the first of which was by casting lots; the second, by making choice of the first-fruits of the Gentile converts; the third, by particular direction and inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and the last, in the common and ordinary way of examination and election. The first method was observed in the designation of Matthias to be an apostle, as we read Acts i. 23. 26, where it

is said that the disciples themselves first appointed two, Joseph called Barsabas, and Matthias ; and then praying to God, that he would show whether of those two He had chosen, they gave forth their lots, and the lot fell upon Matthias. St. Chrysostom says ^a, they used this method, because as yet the Holy Ghost was not descended on them, and they had not at this time the power of choosing by inspiration ; and therefore they committed the business to prayer, and left the determination to God. The author of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, under the name of Dionysius^b, fancies that God answered their prayer by some visible token : but if so, this had not been choosing by lot, as the Scripture says it was, but a quite different method of election. However, interpreters generally agree, that there was something extraordinary in it : Dr. Lightfoot^c thinks Matthias had no other ordination to his apostleship ; for the apostles did not give him any ordination by imposition of hands after this, as they did to presbyters afterwards : and that, if true, was extraordinary indeed. Others reckon the extraordinariness of it to consist in the singular way of electing and designing him to that office by lot : for they say ^d, all ecclesiastical history scarce affords such another instance : and I confess there are not very many ; but some few there are, which show that that method of electing was not altogether so singular as is commonly imagined : for in Spain it was once the common practice, as may be concluded from a canon of

^a Chrysostom. Homil. v. in 1 Tim. (Benedict. vol. xi. p. 574. B 9.) Ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ οἱ ἀπόστολοι Πνεύματος μετεῖχον, ὅτε τὸν Ματθαίαν ἐξελέξαντο· ἀλλ' εὐχῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἐγκατέλεξαν αὐτὸν τῷ ἀποστόλων ἀριθμῷ.

^b Dionys. Eccles. Hier. c. v. p. 367. Δοκεῖ μοι τὰ Λόγια κληρὸν ὀνομάσαι θεαρχικόν τι δῶρον, ὑποδηλοῦν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἱεραρχικῷ χορῷ τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς θείας ἐκλογῆς ἀναδειγμένον. (line 4 from top.)

^c Lightfoot in Act. i. 21. (p. 758. n. iii. edit. Franeq. 1699.) Apostolis non licuit se invicem ordinare per impositionem manuum, pro more initiandi presbyteros ; quin id eis sorte obtinere necesse fuit, utpote qui gradus apostolicos immediata quasi Christi manuductione adierint.

^d Dodw. Dissert. i. in Cyprian. § xvii. p. 4. Hujus sortium, in sacrorum ministrorum electione, usus post tempora apostolorum vel nulla exstant omnino, vel quam paucissima, vestigia. . . . Meminerunt et alii episcoporum manifestissimis Dei suffragiis constitutorum, Gregorii Thaumaturgi et Alexandri carbonarii Gregorius Nyssenus, Alexandri Hierosolymitani, Eusebius, et Fabiani Romani. De sortitione tamen altissimum ubique silentium, etc.

the Council of Barcelona^e, an. 599, which orders, that when a vacant bishopric is to be filled, two or three shall be elected by the consent of the clergy and people, who shall present them to the metropolitan and his fellow bishops; and they, having first fasted, shall cast lots, leaving the determination to Christ the Lord: then he on whom the lot shall fall, shall be consummated by the blessing of consecration. There is nothing different in this from the first example, save only that in this there is express mention of a consecration afterward, which is not in the history of Matthias: and yet perhaps there might be a consecration in his case too, though not expressly mentioned: but I leave this to further inquiry.

SECT. II.—*The second way, by making Choice of the first-fruits of the Gentile Converts.*

The second way of designation was by making choice of the first-fruits of the Gentile converts to be ordained to the ministry. For these expressing a greater zeal than others, by their readiness and forwardness to embrace the Gospel, were generally pitched upon by the apostles, as best qualified for propagating the Christian religion in the world. Clemens Romanus, in his Epistle to the Corinthians^f, says, the apostles in all countries and cities where they preached, ordained their first converts bishops and deacons, for the conversion of others; and that they had the direction of the Spirit for doing this.

^e Conc. Barcinon. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1605.) Hoc innovandum custodiendumque in omnibus sancta statuit synodus, ut secundum priscorum canonum constituta vel synodalia epistolas præsulum præmonentes, nulli deinceps laicorum liceat ad ecclesiasticos ordines, prætermisso canonum præfixo tempore, aut per sacra regalia, aut per consensionem cleri, vel plebis, vel per electionem assensionemque pontificum, ad summum sacerdotium adspirare ac provehi: sed cum per canonum conscripta tempora ecclesiasticos per ordinem, speciali opere desudando, probatæ vitæ adminiculo comitante, conscenderit gradus, ad summum sacerdotium, si dignitati vita responderit, auctore domino provehatur. Ita tamen, ut duobus aut tribus, quos ante consensus cleri et plebis elegerit, metropolitani iudicio ejusque coepiscopis præsentatis, quem sors, præeunte episcoporum jejunio, Christo Domino terminante, monstraverit, benedictio consecrationis adcumulet.

^f Clem. Rom. Ep. i. ad Cor. n. xlii. (Coteler. Antwerp. 1698. p. 170.) Κατὰ χώρας καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες, καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ Πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν.

And hence the author that personates the same Clemens, in his pretended epistle to James, bishop of Jerusalem, giving him an account of the reasons that moved St. Peter to ordain him, says^g, it was because he was chief of the first-fruits of his converts among the Gentiles. Some compare this to the right of primogeniture among the ancient patriarchs, which entitled the first-born to the priesthood: and I will not deny but there might be something of allusion in it: but then the parallel will not hold throughout; for in the latter case it was not any natural right, but personal merit attending their primogeniture, that entitled the first converts to the Christian priesthood.

SECT. III.—*The third way, by particular direction of the Holy Ghost.*

Which will appear further by considering that many of them were ordained by the particular direction of the Holy Ghost. For so the words δοκιμάζοντες τῷ Πνεύματι, in Clemens Romanus, may be understood, to signify the Spirit's pointing out the particular persons whom he would have to be ordained; which I observed to be the third way of designation of persons to the ministry, very usual in those primitive times of the Church. Thus Timothy was chosen and ordained, according to the prophecies that went before of him, 1 Tim. i. 18. Whence his ordination is also called the gift that was given him by prophecy, 1 Tim. iv. 14. In regard to which the ancient interpreters, Chrysostom^h and Theodoret, say he had not any human vocation, but was chosen by divine revelation, and ordained by the direction of the Spirit. Clemens Alexan-

^g Pseudo-Clem. Ep. ad Jacob. ap. Coteler. tom. i. p. 606. n. iii. Σὺ γὰρ δι' ἐμοῦ τῶν σωζομένων ἐθνῶν εἰ κρείττων ἀπαρχή.

^h Chrysostom. in 1 Tim. i. 18. (Bened. vol. xi. p. 574 D.) Τί ἐστίν, ἀπὸ προφητείας; ἀπὸ Πνεύματος ἁγίου· προφητεία γάρ ἐστιν, οὐ τὸ τὰ μέλλοντα λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τὰ παρόντα· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Σαούλ κατὰ προφητείαν ἐδείχθη ἐν τοῖς σκεύεσι κρυπτόμενος· ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς τοῖς δικαίοις ἀποκαλύπτει· προφητεία ἦν καὶ τὸ λέγειν· ἀφορίσατέ μοι τὸν Παῦλον καὶ τὸν Βαρνάβαν· οὕτως καὶ ὁ Τιμόθεος ὑρέθη.—Theodoret. (Schulze, Hæke, vol. iii. p. 645.) Οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης, φησὶ, τετύχηκας κλήσεως· ἀλλὰ κατὰ θείαν ἀποκάλυψιν τὴν χειροτονίαν ἐδέξω· εἰκὸς δὲ οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀποκαλύψεως προβληθῆναι διδάσκαλον· ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τοιοῦτόν τινα τρόπον καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς κλήσεως ἀπολαῦσαι.

drinus, in his famous homily entitled ‘*Quis Dives Salvetur*,’ observes the same of the clergy of the Asiatic Churches, whom St. John ordained after his return from the isle of Patmos: he says, they were such as were signified or pointed outⁱ to him by the Spirit. I know, indeed, Combefis^k puts a different sense upon these words, and says, the designation here spoken of, means not any new or distinct revelation, but I know not what divine predestination of the persons; or else their ordination itself, which was the seal or consignation of the Spirit; and that there is no authority for the common sense which interpreters put upon this passage. But as he owns his notion to be singular, and contrary to the sense of all other learned men; so it is evidently against matter of fact and ancient history, which affords several other instances of the like designations in the following ages. I will give an instance or two out of many. Eusebius^l says, Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, was chosen *κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν*, by revelation, and an oracular voice, which signified to some ascetics of the Church, that they should go forth out of the gates of the city, and there meet him whom God had appointed to be their bishop; which was this Alexander, a stranger from Cappadocia, coming upon other business to Jerusalem. He was, indeed, bishop of another place before; but his translation to the see of Jerusalem was wholly by divine direction, which is the thing I allege it for. We have another such instance

ⁱ Clem. Alex. ap. Euseb. lib. iii. c. xxiii. (p. 73. D 10.) *Κλήρω ἕνα γέ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος σημαινομένων.*

^k Combefis. not. in loc. p. 192. (p. 120, edit. Ittigian.) *Quos Spiritus designasset divina potius prædestinatione, quam nova aliqua et distincta revelatione, quam nec Clemens significavit, nec ulla probat auctoritas, quicquid interpretes, a quibus non discedit Valesius, levius certe suppleant et detorqueant, etc.*

^l Euseb. lib. vi. c. xi. (1695. Vales. p. 172.) *Μηκέθ' οἷοιτε ὄντος λειτουργεῖν διὰ λιπαρὸν γῆρας, τὸν εἰρημένον Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπίσκοπον ἐτέρας ὑπάρχοντα παροικίας, οἰκονομία Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἅμα τῷ Ναρκίσσῳ λειτουργίαν ἐκάλει, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν νύκτωρ αὐτῷ δι' ὁράματος φανεῖσαν· ταύτη δ' οὖν ὥσπερ κατὰ τι θεοπρόπιον ἐκ τῆς τῶν Καππαδοκῶν γῆς, ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον ἐπισκοπῆς ἠξίωτο, τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα εὐχῆς καὶ τῶν τόπων ἱστορίας ἔνεκεν πεποιημένον, φιλοφρονέστατα οἱ τῇδε ὑπολαβόντες ἀδελφοί· οὐκέτ' οἴκαδε αὐτῷ παλινοστεῖν ἐπιτρέπουσι, καθ' ἐτέραν ἀποκάλυψιν καὶ αὐτοῖς νύκτωρ ὀφθεῖσαν, μίαντε φωνὴν σαφειστάτην τοῖς μάλιστα αὐτῶν σπουδαίοις χρήσασαν· ἐδήλου γὰρ προελθόντας ἔξω πυλῶν, τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ προωρισμένον αὐτοῖς ἐπίσκοπον ὑποδέξασθαι.*

in the election of Alexander, named Carbonarius, bishop of Comana, mentioned by Gregory Nyssen in the Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus. This Alexander was a Gentile philosopher and very learned man, who, upon his conversion to Christianity, that he might avoid observation, and follow his philosophical studies with the greater privacy, in his great humility betook himself to the trade of a collier, whence he had the name of Carbonarius. Now it happened upon the vacancy of the bishopric of Comana, that the citizens sent to Gregory Thaumaturgus, to desire him to come and ordain them a bishop; but they not agreeing in their choice, one by way of jest and ridicule proposed Alexander the collier: who being discovered, by special revelation^m, to Gregory Thaumaturgus, to be a man of extraordinary virtues and worth, who had submitted to that contemptible calling only to avoid being taken notice of; and being found, upon a due inquiry, to be the man he was represented to be,—he was thereupon unanimously chosen by all the Church to be their bishop, and immediately ordained by St. Gregory. Cyprian often speaks of this divine designation in the case of Celerinusⁿ, and Aurelius^o, when they were but to be ordained readers: and he says also, he had a divine direction^p to translate Numidicus from another Church to the Church of Carthage. And Sozomen tells us^q, from Apolli-

^m Nyssen. tom. iii. p. 561, 562.

ⁿ Cyprian. Ep. xxxiv. al. xxxix. ad Cler. Carthagin. (Oxon. 1682. p. 76.) Referimus ad vos Celerinum, fratrem nostrum, virtutibus pariter et moribus gloriosum, clero nostro non humana suffragatione, sed divina dignatione conjunctum. Qui quum consentire dubitaret, ecclesiæ ipsius admonitu et hortatu in visione per noctem compulsus est, ne negaret nobis suadentibus, cui plus licuit, quæ et coëgit; quia nec fas fuerat nec decebat sine honore ecclesiastico esse, quem sic Dominus honoravit coelestis gloriæ dignitate.

^o Id. Ep. xxxiii. al. xxxviii. (p. 74.) In ordinationibus clericis, fratres carissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, et mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare: sed expectanda non sunt testimonia humana, cum præcedunt divina suffragia; Aurelius frater noster, illustris adolescens, a Domino jam probatus et in Deo suo carus, etc.

^p Id. Ep. xxxv. al. xl. (p. 78.) Admonitos nos et instructos sciatis dignatione divina, ut Numidicus presbyter adscribatur presbyterorum Carthaginiensium numero, et nobiscum sedeat in clero, luce clarissima confessionis illustris, et virtutis ac fidei honore sublimis; etc.

^q Sozom. lib. ii. c. xvii. (Vales. 1700. p. 379. C 4.) 'Αλέξανδρος Ἀλεξανδρείας

narius, that Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, appointed Athanasius his successor by divine command. For some time before his death it was signified to him by divine revelation, that no one should succeed him but Athanasius; and therefore when he lay upon his death-bed, he called Athanasius by name, who was then absent and fled, for fear of being made bishop; and another of the same name, who was present, answering to the call, he said nothing to him, but called Athanasius again: which he did several times, whereby it was at last understood that he meant the Athanasius that was fled; to whom, though absent, he then prophetically said, "Thinkest thou that thou art escaped, Athanasius? No: thou art not escaped." It were easy to add many other instances of the like nature; but these are sufficient to show against Combefis, that in those early ages, men were sometimes designed to the ministry by particular divine revelation and prophecy, or else the ancients themselves were wonderfully deceived. Whilst I am upon this head, I must suggest two things further: first, that a dove's alighting upon the head of any man at an election was usually taken for a divine omen; and commonly the person who had that sign, was looked upon as pointed out by the Spirit, and accordingly chosen before all others, as having a sort of emblem of the Holy Ghost. Eusebius observes^r, it was this that turned the election upon Fabian, bishop of Rome, and gave him the preference before all others, though he was a stranger. No one, at first, thought of choosing him: but a dove being observed by the people to settle upon his head, they took it for an emblem of the Holy Ghost, which heretofore descended upon our Saviour in the form of a dove; and thereupon, with one consent, as if they had been moved themselves by the Holy Ghost, they cried out *ἄξιον*, he was worthy; which was the word then used to signify their consent; and

ἐπίσκοπος, διάδοχον αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν Ἀθανάσιον, θείαις προσταξέσιν, ὡς ἡγοῦμαι, ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἀγαγὼν τὴν ψῆφον.

^r Euseb. lib. vi. c. xxix. (Vales. 1695. p. 186. C 10.) Ὁ Φαβιανὸς παρὼν, οὐδενὸς μὲν ἀνθρώπων εἰς διάνοιαν ἦεν ὁμῶς δ' οὖν ἀθρώως ἐκ μετεώρου περιστερὰν καταπτᾶσαν ἐπικαθεσθῆναι τῇ αὐτοῦ κεφαλῇ μνημονεύουσι, μίμηκα ἐνδεικνύμενην τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Σωτῆρα τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν εἶδει περιστερᾶς καθόδου· ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν πάντα λαὸν ὥσπερ ὑφ' ἐνὸς Πνεύματος θείου κινήθεντα ὁμόσε, προ-

so without more ado they took him and set him upon the bishop's throne. The election of Severus, bishop of Ravenna, and that of Evortius, bishop of Orleans, was determined the same way, as Blondel^s has observed out of their lives in

θυμία πάσῃ καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ ἄξιον ἐπιβοῆσαι καὶ ἀμελλήτως ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λαβόντας αὐτὸν ἐπιθεῖναι.

^s Blondel. Apol. 426.—Surius, Vit. Sanctor. Febr. i. (Colon. 1581. vol. i. p. 809.) (p. 25, edit. Colon. 1618.) Accidit, ut Ravennæ episcopus ex hac vita migraret, et ecclesia illa pastore orbaretur. Conveniunt igitur frequentes episcopi et ex propinquis et remotis locis, ut tantæ civitati pontificem solito more præficerent atque consecrarent. Illis vero congregatis, Severus domi laborans, uxori dicit, 'Vadam ocyus, et videbo quis sit futurus antistes noster.' Cui uxor, 'Sede heic,' inquit, 'et tuum negotium age. Nam si velis vacare otio, non erit in rem nostram. Sive vero tu illic adsis, sive domo resideas, te pontificem non creabunt.' Ille porro, 'Liceat mihi,' ait, 'cum bona pace tua illuc ire.' Respondit conjunx, 'Fac ut lubet; nam sine dubio, simulatque fueris ingressus, episcopus ordinaberis.' Dixit hoc illa salse et irridicule: sed vir Dei illico abiit; et veniens in ecclesiam, ubi erat populus cum sacerdotibus congregatus, quod esset vili et deformi opertus habitu, post templi ostium latitabat. Precibus vero pro more absolutis, ecce columba nive candidior e cœlo descendens, ejus capiti insidet. Id ille conspicatus, columbam a se abigit: at illa per aëra circumvolitans, tertio rediit super caput ejus, tamquam in columba diceret Spiritus Sanctus, 'Ad quem respiciam, nisi ad pauperculum et contritum spiritu, et tremementem sermones meos?' Ea autem res stuporem attulit omnibus, qui ibi tum aderant e clero et populo, et in commune laudes gratesque egerunt Deo, bonorum omnium largitori. Mox igitur productus est e suo latibulo vir sanctus, et vel invitus raptus ad sedem pontificiam, unctusque oleo exsultationis et unguento sacri chrismatis, ut fieri solet ad eam dignitatem vocatis.—Sur. ibid. Sept. vii. vol. v. p. 123. Ubi eo (ad ecclesiam S. Stephani Aureliæ) ventum est, Evortius tamquam ignotus stat juxta ostiarium. Paullo post jubent episcopi obserari fores; et ipsi, humi prostrati, cum multo gemitu et lacrimis rogant Deum, ut indicet quem velit ordinari episcopum. Conjungebat vero etiam suos gemitus populus universus, jurgiorum finem petens a Domino, et exspectans quid dicturi essent episcopi. Illis ergo sic orantibus et plangentibus, columba, divinitus missa, per fenestram mirabili splendore radiat: atque in ecclesiam involans, cum claro strepitu totam fere sedem pervagatur, tamquam investigans quippiam. Cernens autem beatum Evortium januæ inhærentem, in ejus capite residet. Ille vero manibus eam abigit. Eo signo valde permotus populus, tanto instantius orabat Dominum, ut illum Spiritum mitteret, qui in columba in Christum baptizatum descendit. Columba autem, ut se suo functam ministerio ostenderet, per ostium, quo ingressa erat, rursus avolavit. Tum vero perstrepens populus, lætitiæ effertur: episcopi vero et ordines omnes accurate perquirunt, quisnam ille sit, in cujus capite columba sederit. Ibi rursus quædam exstitit et sermonum et hominum discrepantia, aliis dicentibus, ostiarium esse: aliis vere non ostiarium, sed ejus similem quemdam. Iterum ergo ad preces redeunt sacerdotes, rogantque Dominum, ut jubeat redire denuo columbam. Non sprevit

Surius ; and the inquisitive reader may furnish himself with other instances from his own observation. The other thing I would suggest is, that sometimes an accidental circumstance was so providentially disposed, as to be taken for an indication of the divine will, and approbation of an election. Sulpicius Severus makes this observation particularly upon a circumstance that happened in the election of St. Martin, bishop of Tours. Some of the provincial bishops, who were met at the place, for very unjust reasons, opposed his election ; and more especially one, whose name was Defensor, was a violent stickler against him. Now it happened, that the reader who was to have read that day, not being able to get in due time to his place by reason of the press and crowding of the people, and the rest being in a little confusion upon that account, one of those that stood by, taking up a book, read the first verse that he lighted upon, which happened to be those words of the eighth Psalm, “ Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise, because of thine enemies, that thou mightest destroy the enemy and defensor.” For so it seems the vulgar Gallican translation then read it, “ Ut destruas inimicum et defensorem.” These words were no sooner read, but the people gave a shout, and the adverse party were confounded :

Deus illorum preces : columba redit, per omnem fere ecclesiam circumvolitat, et tandem in caput beati Evortii advolat. Ille rei novitate perterritus rursus eam repellit, eaque repulsa exit e templo. Exoritur populi strepitus ; jubent episcopi hominem, in quo tantum miraculum visum esset, ad se accedere ; rogant ab eo, quibus ex locis eo venerit, aut quo proficisci velit. Respondet ille, quemadmodum jam ante responderat ostiario. Illi igitur se exauditos a Domino sentientes, gratias ei agunt, quod ex ea urbe ad ipsos pastorem miserit, ex qua priscis temporibus religionis propagandæ causa piissimos prædicatores misisset. Deinde præcipiunt beatissimo Evortio, ut cum ipsis ad orationem se submittat, et in altare caput immittat : orantque Dominum, ut tertio miraculo ostendere velit, num ille sit, quem elegit ad ecclesiam illam tuendam ac fovendam. Non dum finierant preces, et ecce columba, plausu ingenti alas concutiens, ad locum in quo prius vir Dei steterat, se confert ; et eum non inveniens, tamquam inquirens ubi sit, coram omnibus circumvolitat. Erant tum ibi non pauci episcopi, qui dicerent acciri debere etiam eos, quorum electio ecclesiam illam vulnerasset, ut viderent, num illis præsentibus ad Evortium columba se reciperet. Acciti sunt igitur, et cum starent cum Evortio inter episcopos, columba circumvolitans sensim ferebatur in sublime, tandemque se submittens, in unius Evortii capite requievit. Tum omnes acclamarunt, dignum illum esse sacerdotio, quippe quem ipse Dominus eligeret, etc. (Venet. 1581. vol. v. p. 35.)

and so, says our author^t, ‘It was generally believed that this psalm was read by divine appointment, that Defensor the bishop might hear his own work condemned, whilst the praises of God were perfected in St. Martin, “out of the mouth of babes and sucklings,” and the enemy was at once both discovered and destroyed.’ By what has been said, the reader now will be able to judge of the meaning of the ancients, when they speak of particular divine designations of persons to the ministry of the Church.

SECT. IV.—*The fourth way, by common Suffrage and Election.*

The fourth and last way of designation was by the ordinary course of suffrage and election of the Church: the method of which, in general, was so accurate and highly approved, that one of the Roman emperors, though an heathen, thought fit to give a great character and encomium of it, and propose it to himself as an example proper to be imitated in the designation and choice of civil officers for the service of the empire. For so Lampridius^u represents the practice of Alexander Severus: whenever he was about to constitute any governors of provinces, or receivers of the public revenues, he first proposed their names, desiring the people to make evidence against them, if any one could prove them guilty of any crime; but if they accused them falsely, it should be at the peril of their own lives; saying it was unreasonable, that when the Christians and Jews did this in propounding those whom they ordained their priests and ministers, the same should not be done in the appointment of governors of provinces, in whose hands the lives and fortunes of men were entrusted. This argues, that

^t Sulpic. Sever. Vit. Martin. c. vii. p. 225. (c. ix. p. 314, edit. Lips. 1703.) Habitum est, divino nutu hunc psalmum lectum fuisse, ut testimonium operis sui Defensor audiret, quia ex ore infantium atque lactentium in Martino Domini laude perfecta, et ostensus pariter et destructus est inimicus.

^u Lamprid. Vit. Alex. Sever. c. xlv. (edit. Paris. 1620. p. 130.) Ubi aliquos voluisset vel rectores provinciis dare, vel præpositos facere, vel procuratores, id est, rationales, ordinare, nomina eorum proponebat, hortans populum, ut si quis quid haberet criminis, probaret manifestis rebus; si non probasset, subiret poenam capitis: dicebatque grave esse, quum id Christiani et Judæi facerent in prædicandis sacerdotibus, qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectoribus, quibus et fortunæ hominum committerentur et capita.

all imaginable care was taken in the election of Christian ministers, since their practice in this respect has such ample testimony from the heathens. And, indeed, all modern writers agree upon the matter in general, that anciently elections were made with a great deal of caution and exactness: but as to the particular methods that were used, men are strangely divided in their accounts of them; by which means there is no one subject has been rendered more intricate and perplexed than this of elections, which has even frightened some from attempting to give an account of it. But I must not wholly disappoint my readers through such fears: and therefore I shall briefly acquaint them with the different sentiments of modern authors who have handled this subject; and then clear what I take to be the true state of the case, from evident proofs of ancient history, which shall be the business of the next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

A MORE PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT METHOD AND MANNER OF ELECTIONS OF THE CLERGY.

SECT. I.—*The different opinions of learned men concerning the People's power anciently in Elections.*

THE grand question in this affair, upon which learned men are so much divided, is concerning the persons who had a right to vote in the elections of the clergy. Some think the people were never allowed any other power, save only to give their testimonials to the party elected, or to make objections, if they had any just and reasonable exceptions against him. So Habertus^a, and Sixtus Senensis^b, and Bellarmin^c. Others say,

^a Habert. Archierat. p. 436. Plena illa et absoluta per populum electio, numquam ecclesiæ præsertim Græcæ placuit, bene quidem consensus plebis et approbatio, vel etiam postulatio, sed electio neutiquam.

^b Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. lib. v. adnot. cxviii. Si recte utriusque doctoris (Origenis et Cypriani) verba expendantur, neuter eorum jus eligendi episcopum populo attribuit; sed hoc tantum fuisse indicant a rectoribus ecclesiæ plebi concessum, ut ipsi, populo præsentē, sub oculis omnium deligerentur, ut digni atque

the people were absolute and proper electors; and that from apostolical right, which they always enjoyed for a succession of many ages. This opinion is advanced, and with great show of learning asserted, by Blondel^d against Sancta Clara and the rest of the other opinion. De Marca^e takes a middle way between those two extremes: he says, the people had as much power anciently as any of the clergy below bishops; that is, their consent was required, in the promotion of a bishop, as well as their testimony: yet he will not allow this to be called electing; for the designation, election, or judgment, he says, still belonged only to the metropolitan, together with the synod of provincial bishops. And though we read sometimes of their giving their vote or suffrage, yet that, he says, is only to be understood of suffrage of consent, not the suffrage of election. But Mr. Mason, in answer to Pamelius, who had advanced something of this notion before De Marca, rejects this as a deluding distinction, and asserts that the people had properly a voice or suffrage of election, and he^f quotes Bishop Andrewes^g for the same opinion: yet he does not carry the point so high,

idonei publico judicio comprobarentur, ne ulla post ordinationem retractandi occasio remaneret: unde et Lampridius, scriptor a nostra religione alienus, in Vita Alexandri Aug. refert consuevisse prius nomina eorum, qui ecclesiæ præficiendi erant, proponi palam, ut si quid contra eum populus haberet, id in medium proferret, etc.

^c Bellarm. de Clericis, lib. i. c. vii. Jus eligendi sacrum pontificem cæterosque ecclesiæ pastores et ministros, non convenit populo jure divino. Sed si quid aliquando in hac re populus potuit, id totum habuit ex conniventia vel concessione pontificum, etc.

^d Blondel. Apol. p. 379, etc.

^e Marca, de Concord. lib. viii. c. ii. n. ii. (Bamberg. 1788. vol. iii. p. 421.) Si negotium istud referatur ad primam originem, morumque vetustæ ecclesiæ et antiquorum canonum ratio habeatur, constans est illa sententia, quæ solum testimonium et consensum designandi episcopi clero et populo tribuit; ipsam vero designationem sive electionem et judicium metropolitano una cum synodo provincialium episcoporum. In quo testimonio dando non reperio discrimen aliquod constitutum a veteribus inter clerum civitatis et populum. Æquo enim jure hac in parte utebantur, et utriusque consensus ad suscipiendum episcopum expectandus erat. Tota quippe, ut jam dixi, auctoritas erat penes episcopos, et præcipue penes metropolitanum, qui rebus gestis τὸ κῆρος adhibebat, ut loquitur synodus Nicaena. (Venet. 1770. p. 358.)

^f Mason's Consecrat. of Bishops, lib. iv. c. iv. pp. 159, 160.

^g Andrewes Resp. ad Apol. Bell. c. xiii. p. 313. Præsentia plebis apud Cyprianum includit testimonium de vita, nec excludit suffragium de persona.

as to maintain with Blondel that it was of unalterable right, but left by God as a thing indifferent, to be ordered by the discretion of the Church, so all things be done honestly and in order. And this seems to have been the opinion of Spalatensis^h, Richeriusⁱ, Justellus^k, Suicerus, and some other learned men of both Churches. Others there are who distinguish between the times preceding the Council of Nice, and those that followed after: for they think whatever power was allowed the people in the three first ages, was taken away by that

^h Spalat. de Rep. Eccles. lib. iii. c. iii. n. xlii. Quoniam qui excludunt plebem nostri ab electionibus episcoporum, plebis partes non alias ponunt antiquitus, nisi ut testimonium reddat de vita et moribus promovendi: ut errare se cognoscant, si non sint satis tot testimonia jam adlata, in quibus multo plus tribuitur plebi quam tale testimonium; legant Acta concilii Chalcedonensis . . . legant etiam Alcuinum, (de Divin. Offic. c. xxxvi.) ubi sic scribit; 'Quum episcopus civitatis fuerit defunctus, eligitur alius a clero seu populo,' etc.

ⁱ Richer. Histor. Concil. lib. i. c. xii. n. xviii. p. 389, edit. 1683. (pp. 383, 384, edit. 1680.) Canon. xxii. (Concil. IV. Constantinop.) sic habet: 'Promotiones atque consecrationes,' etc. . . Huic canoni concordat xii.; ad cujus intelligentiam cardinalis Cusanus, (lib. ii. de Concordantia, c. xxxii.) demonstrans invitis dari non posse episcopum: quam in rem laudat can. de Neptis xxxi. quæst. ii. quo docetur, sicut in matrimonio carnali, sic in ecclesia, unum corpus spirituale constitui debere ex episcopo et plebe, ac proinde consensum necessarium videri: quoniam non dubium, inquit, inter episcopum et ecclesiam matrimonium esse, iii. quæst. i. can. 'Audivimus.' Et propterea i. quæst. i. can. 'Ordinationes,' dici ordinationes, quæ non fiunt communi consensu cleri et populi secundum canonicas sanctiones, et ab iis, ad quos consecratio pertinet, non comprobari et falsas judicari; quoniam qui taliter ordinantur, non per ostium, id est, per Christum intrant, sed, ut ipsa veritas testatur, fures sunt et latrones. Et ratio hujus est, quoniam consensus de essentia matrimonii est. Diversitas enim ordinum præpositorum et subjectorum pro conservatione reipublicæ ordinata est; ut dum réverentiam exhibent minores potioribus, et potiores minoribus dilectionem, vera concordia ex diversitate contexeretur, ut recte officiorum gereretur administratio; ut lxxxix. Dist. can. 'Ad hoc,' et Distinct. xlv. can. 'Licet.' Igitur ex concordantia subsistit ecclesia. Quare invitis præses non recte præponitur, de quo pulcre Distinct. xcv. can. 'Esto.' Sed oportet, quod ille qui præest, ab omnibus quibus præest, constituatur, tacite vel expresse: sin autem aliter præsumtum fuerit, viribus carere dubium non est, quia irritum est: Distinct. lxvi. can. 'Archiepiscopus:' qui dicit alibi, oportet ut ille, qui omnibus præesse debet, ab omnibus eligatur, etc.

^k Justel. not. in can. vi. Concil. Chalced. (tom. i. p. 92. B.) Is fuit vetus mos ecclesiæ in episcopis ordinandis, ut rogarentur suffragia non modo cleri, sed etiam populi, atque ut omnium, de eo qui ordinandus erat, judicia sciscitarentur, illius nomen ecclesiæ publice proponebatur, facta omnibus potestate quidquid vellent eis objiciendi, etc.

council, and the Councils of Antioch and Laodicea that followed not long after. So Schelstrate¹, in his dissertations upon the Council of Antioch, where he quotes Christianus Lupus and Sirmond for the same opinion. But this is exploded as a groundless fiction, not only by Spalatensis^m and Bishop Pearsonⁿ, but also by Richerius^o, Cabassutius^p, Valesius^q, Petavius^r, De Marca^s, and other learned persons of the Roman

¹ Schelstrat. not. in can. xix. Concil. Antioch. (p. 599.) Canon innovat quartum Nicænum, et eadem statuit cum duodecimo Laodiceno: id quod statuit, ubique observatum fuit a tempore Nicæni concilii, a quo omnes fatentur plebis suffragia non amplius fuisse in usu.

^m Spalat. de Rep. Eccles. lib. iii. c. iii. n. xii. Post concilium Nicænum, in electionibus eundem prorsus veterem morem perpetuo ecclesiam ad nostra pene tempora servasse, ut a clero et populo fieret, ex patribus et rebus gestis; ex conciliis et juribus; ex Rom. pont. attestationibus et decretis jam sumo probandum, etc.

ⁿ Pearson. Vindic. Ignat. part i. c. xi. p. 324, tot.

^o Richer. Histor. Concil. tom. i. c. ii. n. vii. (p. 20, lin. ult. edit. Colon. 1680.) Notandum contra Valesium (tertia parte libri de Suprema Potestate Papæ, quæst. sexta circa medium, ubi canonem quartum Nicænum explicat,) patres Nicænos non abstulisse populo jus eligendorum episcoporum, sed tantum præcepisse electionem populi et cleri a metropolitano confirmari, et ab episcopis provinciæ fieri oportere. Nam dehinc semper populus in sua possessione eligendi pastores continuavit, idque hac synodali epistola clare ostenditur, ubi nominatim habetur episcopum Alexandriæ debere populi electionem confirmare.

^p Cabassut. Notit. Concil. c. xvii. ad can. iv. Nicæn. (p. 83, Lugdun. 1670. 8vo. p. 50, edit. Venet. 1703. 8vo.) Nullatenus heic audiendus Theodorus Balsamon scribens in hunc can. iv. episcopos olim quidem fuisse ab universa plebe electos. Quia tamen in hisce popularibus comitiis multa jactabantur indecora in eos, quorum proponebatur electio, fuisse isto Nicæno canone consuetudinem illam abrogatam, statutumque ut soli episcopi eligerent. Sed errat Balsamon, cum nullum hic appareat abrogationis vestigium; et constet peræque post Nicænum concilium ut prius admissa in episcopis eligendis populorum suffragia: sic tamen ut moderationi et regimini subessent episcoporum. Quemadmodum in Atheniensium olim republica, πρόεδροι popularibus suffragiis præerant, ut docet Julius Pollux, lib. viii. (Venet. 1772. p. 74.)

^q Vales. not. in Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. (Vales. 1695. p. 121. A 6.) Presbyteri olim ab episcopo ordinari non poterant sine consensu cleri et populi. Ac de populi quidem suffragio in electione presbyterorum, testantur patres concilii Nicæni in epistola synodica ad episcopos Ægypti. (D 1.) Denique adeo necessarium fuit plebis suffragium in electione presbyterorum, ut sæpenumero in ecclesia plebs tumultuosis vociferationibus presbyterum aliquem fieri postularet et cogeret, etc.

^r Petav. not. in Synes. p. 56. Quo in canone (Nicæno IV.) de episcopi creatione ipsa, sive electione, agitur; quæ ita populi suffragiis permitti solebat, ut iis moderandis ac gubernandis adessent, immo præessent episcopi. Nec audiendus Balsamo, qui ad hunc canonem observat, 'Olim quidem episcopos a populo

communion, who think the Fathers of the Nicene Council made no alteration in this matter, but left all things as they found them. Some, again, distinguish between the election of bishops and the other clergy, and say, the people's consent was only required in the election of bishops, but not in the promotion of the inferior clergy. So Cabassutius^t, and Bishop Beveridge^u, who reckons this so clear a point that there is no

consuevisse deligi; sed quod in suffragiis ferendis, de eorum vita quædam interdum minus decora et honesta jactarentur, morem illum hoc canone abrogatum fuisse; ac deinceps statutum, ut ab episcopis ea fieret electio.' Quo nihil dici potest absurdius. Non enim popularia suffragia Nicænus iste canon sustulit, sed his, uti dixi, moderandis; vel cum illis etiam episcoporum auctoritatem jussit adhiberi. Quemadmodum Athenis popularibus concionibus aderant πρόεδροι, ut docet Julius Pollux lib. viii. et Harpocratio. Quin etiam multo post Nicænum concilium tempore perseveravit in ecclesia, ut a populo crearentur episcopi; idque et pontificum Romanorum et conciliorum decreta sanxerunt.

^s Marca, de Concord. lib. viii. c. iii. n. iv. (Bamberg. iii. 425.) (Venet. p. 360.) Ex quibus canonibus (can. Nic. IV. Antioch. XIX. Laodicen. XIII.) aperte conficitur, episcoporum promotionem judicio synodi plenissime permissam. Et ne consultatio, quæ cum clero et plebe habenda est, auctoritate canonis fulta, contumaces redderet civium animos episcoporum judicio, ejus mentio omissa est in canonibus; relicta interim consuetudine jam recepta de tractatu electionis habendo cum clero et plebe civitatis. Jus itaque episcoporum canone firmatum est. Quod pertinet ad populum, consuetudini relictum est.

^t Cabassut. Notit. Concil. c. xxxv. p. 196. (p. 136, 137, edit. Venet. 1703.) Probatum invictis testimoniis fuit superius ad Nicænum canonem quartum, ad episcoporum electionem admissa olim fuisse plebis suffragia. Secus tamen fieri solitum fuit circa minorum sacerdotum et inferiorum ecclesiæ ministrorum electionem, ut ex isto canone decimo tertio perspicuum sit. Populi quidem testimonium de vita et moribus ordinandi requirebatur. Juxta illud 1 Tim. iii. oportet illum et testimonium habere bonum ab iis, qui foris sunt. Quin immo nonnumquam populus ipse aliquem proponebat, et postulabat ordinari: testatur enim Paulinus (ep. xlv.) se Barciline in Hispania fuisse ab episcopo Lampio initiatum clero, et sacratum ad illius populi postulationem. Item refert Aug. (Ep. ccxxv.) fuisse Pimanum ab Hipponensi populo instanter postulatum, ut ad clerum promoveretur. Insuper (ne quid huc pertinens omittatur) Actuum Apost. i. non soli apostoli, sed tota ecclesia Matthiam elegit, et Joseph Barsabam, ut ex eis unus adsumeretur. Et Act. vi. credentium convocata multitudo septem diaconos elegit. Verum ad illud primum caput testatur Chrysostomus, Petrum potuisse quidem per se ipsum merito eligere, sed maluisse per modestiam et prudentiam universæ ecclesiæ gratificari. Postulationis autem, quæ fiebant episcopis a populo, nihil habuisse præter supplicationes: neque jus ullum, aut obligationem induxisse, certum est. (†)

^u Bevereg. not. in can. vi. Concil. Chalced. ad vocab. ἐπικηρύττοιο: non quidem inficias eam, quin ἐπικηρύττω sæpius, palam et per præconem aliquid denuntiare et prædicare significet, neque etiam me latet, suffragia olim cleri

dispute to be made of it. Yet Valesius disputes it, and asserts the contrary^v, that anciently presbyters were not to be ordained by the bishop without the consent of the clergy and people. Bishop Stillingfleet, who is one of the last that has considered this matter, gives us his sense in these following observations: first, that the main ground of the people's interest^x was founded upon the Apostle's Canon, that 'a bishop must be blameless and of good report:' and therefore he says^y, the people's share and concern in elections, even in Cyprian's time, was not to give their votes, but only their testimony concerning the good or ill behaviour of the person. Secondly, that yet upon this the people assumed the power of elections, and thereby caused great disturbances and disorders in the Church. Thirdly, that to prevent these, many bishops were appointed without their choice, and canons made for the better regulating of them. Fourthly, that when there were Christian magistrates, they did interpose as they thought fit, notwithstanding the popular claim, in a matter of so great consequence to the peace of Church and state. Fifthly, that upon the alteration of the government of Christendom, the interest of the people was secured by their consent in parliaments; and that by such consent, the nomination of bishops was reserved to princes,—and the patronage of livings, to particular persons. In this great variety of judgments and opinions of learned men, it will be no crime to dissent from any of them: and therefore I shall take the liberty to review their opinions, and express impartially what I take to be agreeable or disagreeable, in any of them, to ancient history, and the rules and practice of the Church.

populique publice rogata esse, priusquam episcopus ordinaretur: sed qua tamen ratione Christophorus Justellus hanc vocem eo sensu heic usurpari adserverit, non video. Etiam si enim episcoporum nomina publice proposita fuerint, priusquam antiquitus ordinarentur; idem tamen in presbyterorum, aliorumque inferiorum clericorum ordinationibus numquam obtinuisse, notius est, quam ut probatione indigeat, etc.

^v Vales. in Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. vide not. (q) supra p. 437.

^x Stillingfl. Unreason. of Separat. part iii. n. xxv. p. 312, 313. § 25. n. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

^y Ibid. p. 316, 317.

SECT. II.—*The Power of the People equal to that of the inferior Clergy in the Election of a Bishop.*

And here, first of all, it will be proper to observe, that there was no one universal unalterable rule observed in all times and places about this matter, but the practice varied according to the different exigencies and circumstances of the Church; as will evidently appear in the sequel of this history. In the mean time I conceive the observation made by De Marca thus far to be very true, that whatever power the inferior clergy enjoyed in the election of their bishop, the same was generally allowed to the people, or whole body of the Church, under the regulation and conduct of the metropolitan and synod of provincial bishops: for their power, whatever it was, is spoken of in the very same terms, and expressed in the same words. Some call it consent, others suffrage or vote, others election or choice; but all agree in this, that it was equally the consent, suffrage, vote, election, and choice, both of clergy and people. Thus Cyprian observes^z of Cornelius, that he was made bishop by the testimony of the clergy and suffrage of the people. Where it is evident the words ‘testimony’ and ‘suffrage’ are equally ascribed both to clergy and people. Socrates^a, speaking of the election of Chrysostom, says he was chosen by the common vote of all, both clergy and people. And Theodoret describes the election of Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, after the same manner, when he tells us^b he was compelled to take the bishopric by the common vote of the bishops and clergy and all the people. Siricius^c styles this the election of the

^z Cypr. Epist. lii. al. lv. (Oxon. 1682. p. 104.) (p. 68, edit. Paris. 1666.) Factus est Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio, de clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis quæ tunc adfuit suffragio, et de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum collegio.

^a Socrat. lib. vi. c. ii. (Vales. 1700. p. 246. B.) Ὀλίγου διαδράσαντος χρόνου, ψηφίσματι κοινῷ ὁμοῦ πάντων, κλήρου τε φημι καὶ λαοῦ, ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν Ἀρκάδιος μεταπέμπεται.

^b Theod. lib. i. c. vii. (Vales. 1695. p. 25. B 4.) Ὁ μέγας Εὐστάθιος, ὁ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας τὴν προεδρίαν λαχών . . τοῦτον δὲ ἄκοντα, ποιμαίνειν ἀντ’ ἐκείνου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκείνην ψήφῳ κοινῇ κατηνάγκασαν, ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ ἅπας ὁ λεῶς ὁ φιλόχριστος.

^c Siric. Ep. i. ad Himerium Tarracon. c. x. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1021.)

clergy and people ; and Cælestinus^d, the consent and desire of the clergy and people ; and Leo^e, both the consent, and election, and suffrage or votes of the people ; who adds also, that in case the parties were divided in their votes, then the decision should be referred to the judgment of the metropolitan, who should choose him who had most votes and greatest merit to recommend him. From all which, and many other passages that might be alleged to the same purpose, it is very evident that the power of the clergy and people was equal in this matter ; and that nothing was challenged by the one that was not allowed to the other also.

SECT. III.—*This Power not barely Testimonial, but Judicial and Elective.*

And hence it appears further, that this conjunctive power of clergy and people was not barely testimonial, but, as Bishop Andrewes and Mr. Mason assert, a judicial and effective power, by way of proper suffrage and election : and that as well in the time of Cyprian as afterwards ; for Cyprian speaks both of testimony and suffrage belonging to both clergy and people ; and says further^f, that “ that is a just and legitimate ordination which is examined by the suffrage and judgment of all, both clergy and people : ” so that they were then present at the choice of their bishop, not merely to give testimony concerning his life, but, as Bishop Andrewes words it, ‘ to give their vote and suffrage in reference to his person.’ Which observation will

Presbyteri-um(o) vel episcopat-um(ui), si eum cleri ac plebis evocaverit electio, non immerito sortietur [societur].

^d Cælestin. Ep. ii. c. v. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 1621.) Nullus invitis detur episcopus : Cleri, plebis, et ordinis consensus ad desiderium requiratur.

^e Leo M., Ep. lxxxiv. ad Anastas. c. v. (Labbe, vol. iii. Conc. p. 1385.) Cum de summi sacerdotis electione tractabitur, ille omnibus præponatur, quem cleri plebisque consensus concorditer postularit : ita ut si in aliam forte personam partium se vota diviserint, metropolitani judicio is alteri præferatur, qui majoribus et studiis juvatur et meritis : etc.

^f Cyprian, Ep. lxxviii. al. lxxvii. ad Fratr. Hispan. (Oxon. 1682. p. 172.) (p. 113, ed. Paris. 1666.) Coram omni synagoga jubet Deus constitui sacerdotem, id est, instruit et ostendit ordinationes sacerdotales non nisi sub populi adsistentis conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe præsentem vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur, et sit ordinatio justa et legitima, quæ omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata.

be further evidenced and confirmed by proceeding with the account of several rules and customs generally observed in these elections.

SECT. IV.—*Evidences of this Power from some ancient rules and customs of the Church: as first, that no bishop was to be obtruded on an orthodox people without their consent.*

One of these was, that no bishop was to be obtruded on any orthodox people against their consent. I say, an orthodox people; for, in case the majority of them were heretics or schismatics, the practice was different, as will be showed hereafter: but where they were all Catholics, and could agree upon a Catholic and deserving bishop, they were usually gratified in their choice, and no person was to be put upon them against their inclination. Sometimes the bishops in synod proposed a person, and the people accepted him: sometimes, again, the people proposed and the bishops consented; and where they were unanimous in a worthy choice, we scarce ever find they were rejected. If they were divided, it was the metropolitan's care to unite and fix them in their choice, but not to obtrude upon them an unchosen person. This we learn from one of Leo's epistles^g, where he gives us at once both the Church's rule and practice, and the reasons of it. "In the choice of a bishop," says he, "let him be preferred whom the clergy and people do unanimously agree upon and require: if they be divided in their choice, then let the metropolitan give preference to him who has most votes and most merit: always provided that no one be ordained against the will and desire of the people, lest they contemn or hate their bishop, and become irreligious or disrespectful, when they cannot have him whom they desired." The transgression of this rule was objected as a great crime to Hilarius Arelatensis by the Emperor Valentinian the Third^h, that he ordained bishops in several places against the will and consent of the people; whom when

^g Leo, Ep. lxxxiv. c. v. conf. not. antec. (e).

^h Novell. xxiv. ad calc. Cod. Theod. (Lugdun. 1665. vol. vi. p. 12.) *Indecenter alios, invitis et repugnantibus civibus, ordinavit. Qui quidem quoniam non facile ab his qui non elegerant, recipiebantur, manum sibi contrahebat armatam . . et ad sedem quietis, pacem prædicaturus per bella ducebat.*

they would not admit of, because they had not chosen them, he used armed force to settle them in their sees, introducing the preachers of peace by the violence of war. Leo objectsⁱ the same thing to him, saying, that he ought to have proceeded by another rule, and ‘first to have required the votes of the citizens, the testimonies of the people, the will of the gentry, and the election of the clergy: for he that was to preside over all, was to be chosen by all.’ This evidently shows that the suffrage of the people was then something more than barely testimonial.

SECT. V.—*Secondly, this further confirmed from examples of the Bishop complying with the voice of the People against their own inclination.*

Secondly, another argument is, that in many cases the voices of the people prevailed against the bishops themselves, when they happened to be divided in their first proposals. Thus it happened in the famous election of St. Martin, bishop of Tours, which has been mentioned in the last chapter, Sect. 3. The people were unanimously for him; Defensor, with a great party of bishops, at first were against him: but the voice of the people prevailed, and the bishops complied and ordained him. Philostorgius gives us such another instance. Demophilus, bishop of Constantinople, with some other bishops suspected of Arianism, meeting at Cyzicum to ordain a bishop there, the people first made a protestation against them, that unless they would anathematize publicly Aëtius and Eunomius both in word and writing, they should ordain no bishop there: and when they had complied to this, they still insisted on their privilege that no one should be ordained but one^k of their own choosing. Which was one who, as soon as he was ordained, preached the Catholic doctrine of the *ὁμοούσιον*, that the Son was of the same substance with the Father. Ancient

ⁱ Leo, Ep. lxxxix. ad Episc. Vien. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1398. C 10.) Expectarentur certe vota civium, testimonia populorum; quaereretur honoratorum arbitrium, electio clericorum .. Qui præfutura est omnibus, ab omnibus eligatur.

^k Philostorg. lib. ix. c. xiii. (Vales. 1700. p. 520. A 2.) Οὐχ ἑτερόν τινα ταύτην ἐλθεῖν ἀνασχόμενοι, ἀλλ’ ὃν αὐτῶν αἱ ψῆφοι προσέταττον.

history will furnish the reader with many other instances of the like nature.

SECT. VI.—*Thirdly, from the Manner of the People's Voting at Elections.*

Thirdly, another evidence of the people's power in elections is the manner of their voting, or the way of giving their assent or dissent to the ordination of any person: which was three-fold: for either, first, they were unanimous in their vote for or against a man, and then their way was to express their mind by a general acclamation, crying out with one voice, "Αξιος, or 'Ανάξιος, Dignus, or Indignus, as the word then was, he is worthy, or unworthy. Instances of which form the reader may find in St. Ambrose¹, St. Austin^m, Eusebiusⁿ, Philostorgius^o, Photius^p, the author^q of the Constitutions, and several others. Or else, secondly, they were divided in their choice; and then they expressed their dissent in particular accusations of the parties proposed, and sidings, and sometimes outrageous tumults. St. Chrysostom^r reflects upon this way in his Books of the Priesthood, when he tells us, that in those popular

¹ Ambros. de Dignit. Sacerd. c. v. In ordinationibus eorum clamant et dicunt, Dignus es, et justus es.

^m Aug. Ep. cx. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 601. A.) 'Dignus et justus est,' dictum est vicies.

ⁿ Euseb. lib. vi. c. xxix. (Vales. 1695. p. 186. D.) 'Εφ' ᾧ τὸν πάντα λαὸν ὥσπερ ὑφ' ἑνὸς πνεύματος θείου κινηθέντα ὁμόσε, προθυμία πάσῃ καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ "Αξιὸν ἐπιβοῶσαι.

^o Philostorg. lib. ix. c. x. (Vales. 1700. p. 519.) Πολλοὶ τοῦ παρόντος ὄχλου, ἐν τῇ Δημοφίλου καθιδρύσει, ἀντὶ τοῦ "Αξίως ἀνεβόων τὸ 'Ανάξιος.

^p Phot. Cod. cclvi. p. 1414. 'Ο λαὸς μιᾷ φωνῇ σὺν αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ πλείους ὥρας ἐβόα τὸ "Αξιος.

^q Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 459. A.) .. ἐκ τρίτου πάλιν πυθέσθωσαν, εἰ ἄξιός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς τῆς λειτουργίας .. καὶ συνθεμένων αὐτῶν ἐκ τρίτου ἄξιον εἶναι, ἀπαιτείσθωσαν οἱ πάντες σύνθημα, κ. τ. λ.

^r Chrysostom. de Sacerdot. lib. iii. c. xv. (Benedict. 1718. vol. i. p. 392. E 3.) (Paris, 1614, p. 47. A 6.) Βούλει σοι καὶ ἕτερον ἐπιδείξω ταύτης τῆς μάχης εἶδος, μυρίων ἐμπεπλησμένον κινδύνων; ἴθι δὴ καὶ διάκυσσον εἰς τὰς δημοτελεῖς ἑορτάς, ἐν αἷς μάλιστα τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀρχῶν τὰς αἵρέσεις ποιῆσθαι νόμος· καὶ τοσαύταις ὄψει κατηγορίαις τὸν ἱερέα βαλλόμενον, ὅσον τῶν ἀρχομένων τὸ πλῆθος ἐστι. πάντες γὰρ οἱ δοῦναι κύριοι τὴν τιμὴν, εἰς πολλὰ τότε σχίζονται μέρη· καὶ οὔτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὔτε πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν λαχόντα τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν, τὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων συνέδριον ὁμογνωμονοῦν ἴδοι τις ἂν· ἀλλ' ἕκαστος καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐστήκασιν, ὁ μὲν τοῦτον, ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖνον αἰρούμενος.

solemnities, which were then customarily held for the choice of ecclesiastical rulers, one might see a bishop exposed to as many accusations as there were heads among the people. And the account that is given not only by Ammianus Marcellinus^s, but by Socrates^t, and the other historians, of the tumult raised at Rome in the election of Damasus, shows that the people were indulged in something more than barely giving testimony, else they had hardly run into so great a heat and ungovernable tumult. There was also a third way of expressing their consent, which was by subscribing the decree of election for greater security, that no party might pretend afterward that they had not given assent to it: thus it was in the election of Meletius, bishop of Antioch, who was chosen by common consent both of Catholics and Arians, each party presuming him to be of their own opinion. The election-paper was subscribed by all, Theodoret^u says, and put into the hands of Eusebius Samosatensis, which Constantius, when Meletius proved a Catholic, demanded, to have had it destroyed, but with all his menaces he could not extort it from him. St. Austin gives the like account^v of the election of Eradius, his successor at Hippo, which for some reasons he got done in his own lifetime. He first ordered the notaries of the Church to take the acclamations of the people in writing, and then required all that could write, to subscribe the instrument themselves. And this was the common way whenever the metropolitan could not be present at the election: then the decree of the whole Church was drawn up in writing, and carried to him for his consent and approbation. The remains of which custom may

^s Ammian. lib. xxvii. c. iii. (Bipont. p. 392.) Damasus et Ursinus supra humanum modum ad rapiendam episcopatus sedem ardentes, scissis studiis asperrime conflictabantur, ad usque mortis vulnerumque discrimina adiumentis utriusque progressis: quæ nec corrigere sufficiens Juventius nec molire, coactus vi magna secessit in suburbanum. Et in concertatione superaverat Damasus, parte quæ ei favebat instante. etc.

^t Socrat. lib. iv. c. xxix. tot.

^u Theodor. lib. ii. c. xxxi. et xxxii.

^v August. Ep. cx. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 600. F 10.) A notariis ecclesiæ, sicut cernitis, excipiuntur quæ dicimus, excipiuntur quæ dicitis, et meus sermo et vestræ acclamationes in terram non cadunt. Hoc ad ultimum rogo, ut Gestis istis dignemini subscribere, qui potestis. (601. E 6.)

still be seen in the ancient *Ordo Romanus*^x, where there is a form of a decree which the clergy and people were to sign upon their choice of a bishop, and present it to the metropolitan and synod, in order to his consecration. In which case, if the metropolitan found him, upon examination, to be a person every way qualified, as they represented him, he then confirmed and ratified their choice, and so proceeded immediately to his ordination. All which argues that the people had something of a decisive power in elections, and that their suffrage was not merely testimonial.

SECT. VII.—*Fourthly, from the Use and Office of Interventors.*

Fourthly, this is further evident from the use and office of interventors in the Latin Church, whose business was to promote and procure a speedy election of a new bishop in any vacant see, as I have had occasion to show^{xx} in another place. For in the Roman and African Churches, upon the vacancy of a bishopric, it was usual for the metropolitan to grant a commission to some of his provincial bishops to go to the vacant Church, and dispose the clergy and people to be unanimous in the choice of a new bishop; and when they were agreed, they petitioned the metropolitan by the interventor to confirm their choice, and with a synod of provincial bishops to come and ordain him whom they had elected; or else they drew up an instrument in writing, subscribed both by the interventor and themselves, and presented the new elect bishop to the metropolitan, who ordained him in his own Church. This was the practice of the Roman province in the time of Symmachus and Gregory the Great, as appears from their epistles, which give directions to the interventors, or visitors, as they call them, concerning their behaviour in the present case. “Let no one,” says Symmachus^y, “draw up an instrument of election without

^x *Ordo Rom.* (Bibliothec. Patr. tom. x. p. 104.) *Decretum, quod clerus et populus firmare (al. formare) debet de electo episcopo . . ut omnium nostrorum vota in hanc electionem convenire noscatis, huic decreto canonico promptissima voluntate singuli manibus propriis roborantes subscripsimus.*

^{xx} *Lib. ii. c. xv. vol. i. p. 192, 193.*

^y *Symmach. Ep. v. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1296.) Decretum sine visitoris*

the presence of the visitor, by whose testimony the agreement of the clergy and people may be declared." And Gregory, writing to Barbarus, bishop of Beneventum, and visitor of the Church of Palermo, bids him endeavour to make the clergy and people unanimous in their presentation of a worthy person to be their bishop, who could not be rejected by the canons^z; and then drawing up their petition in form of a decree signed with all their hands, and the letters testimonial of the visitor, they should send him to Rome for consecration. Nothing can be plainer than that here the clergy and people made the choice of their bishop with the assistance of a visitor or interventor, and then presented him to the metropolitan; who, if he had no canonical exception against him, confirmed their choice, and proceeded to his ordination.

SECT. VIII.—*Fifthly, from the Custom of the People's taking persons, and having them ordained by force.*

Fifthly, as a further evidence of this power and privilege indulged to the people, it may be observed likewise, that it was customary in those days for the people in many places to lay violent hands upon persons, and bring them by force to the bishop to be ordained. Thus Possidius^a tells us, it was in the ordination of St. Austin, the people seized him and brought him to the bishop, requiring with one voice that he would ordain him presbyter, whilst he, in the mean time, wept abundantly for the force that was put upon him. Paulinus^b says the

præsentia nemo conficiat, cujus testimonio clericorum ac civium possit unanimitas declarari.

^z Gregor. lib. xi. ep. xvi. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1521. A 6.) Dilectio tua ad prædictam ecclesiam (Panormitanam) ire properabit, et adsiduis adhortationibus clerum plebemque ejusmodi ecclesiæ admonere festinet; ut remoto studio, uno eodemque consensu talem sibi præficiendum expetant sacerdotem, et qui tanto ministerio dignus valeat reperiri, et a venerandis canonibus nullatenus respuatur. Qui dum fuerit postulatus, cum solemnitate decreti omnium subscriptionibus roborati, et dilectionis tuæ testimonio litterarum ad nos sacrandus occurrat.

^a Possid. Vit. Augustin. c. iv. (Bened. 1700. vol. x. append. p. 175. A 4.) Eum tenuerunt, et, ut in talibus consuetum est, episcopo ordinandum intulerunt, omnibus id uno consensu et desiderio fieri perficique petentibus, magnoque studio et clamore flagitantibus, ubertim eo flente.

^b Paulin. Ep. xxxv. inter Epistol. August. (vol. ii. p. 27. A.) A Lampio apud

same of himself, that he was ordained presbyter by force and the irresistible violence of an inflamed and zealous people. And there are many other instances of the like nature.

SECT. IX.—*Sixthly, from the title of Fathers, which some bishops, upon this account, by way of compliment, gave to their people.*

Sixthly, I observe but one thing more relating to this matter, which was the compliment that some bishops passed upon their people upon this account, styling them Fathers, in regard to the share and influence they had in their designation and election. St. Ambrose himself, speaking to his people, addresses himself to them in this style: “Ye are^c my fathers who chose me to be bishop: ye, I say, are both my children and fathers; children in particular, fathers all together.” In which words he plainly refers to that providential consent of the people of Milan, who when they were divided before into several factions, as soon as Ambrose was named, all unanimously conspired together in his election. These are some of those collateral evidences that may be brought to prove, that anciently the clergy and people joined in a common vote in the election of their bishop; and that their suffrage was something more than testimonial, especially in the fourth and fifth ages, in the Latin Church, where, as De Marca owns, the people’s request was chiefly considered.

SECT. X.—*What Power the People had in the designation of Presbyters.*

Nor was this privilege only indulged them in the election of their bishop, but sometimes in the designation of presbyters also. For St. Austin and Paulinus were but to be ordained presbyters, when that forcible constraint, just now spoken of, was laid upon them by the people. Besides, St. Jerome^d says

Barcionem in Hispania, per vim inflammatae subito plebis, sacratus sim. Vide Paulin. Ep. vi. ad Sever. p. 101.

^c Ambros. Comment. in Luc. lib. viii. c. xvii. Vos mihi estis parentes, qui sacerdotium detulistis: vos, inquam, filii vel parentes, filii singuli, universi parentes.

^d Hieron. Ep. iv. ad Rustic. (Vallars. Venet. vol. i. p. 944. D 8.) Cum te vel

expressly, that presbyters and the other clergy were as much chosen by the people, as the bishops were. And Possidius^e notes this to have been both the custom of the Church, and St. Austin's practice in the ordinations of priests and clerks, to have regard to the majority or general consent of Christian people. And Siricius^f who speaks the sense and practice of the Roman Church, says, that when a deacon was to be ordained either presbyter or bishop, he was first to be chosen both by the clergy and people. And therefore I cannot so readily subscribe to the assertion of those learned men, who say that bishops before their ordination were propounded to the people, but not presbyters or any other of the inferior clergy.

SECT. XI.—*Whether the Council of Nice made any alteration in these matters.*

As to those who assert that the people were anciently indulged in these matters before the Council of Nice, but that their power was abridged by a new decree of that council, they are evidently under a mistake: for it is certain, the Nicene fathers made no alteration in this affair, but left the whole matter as they found it. For though in one of their canons^g it is said, that the presence, or at least the consent, of all the provincial bishops, and the confirmation or ratification of the metropolitan, shall be necessary to the election and ordination of a bishop; yet that is not said to exclude any ancient privilege that the people enjoyed, but only to establish the rights of metropolitans and provincial bishops; which Meletius, the

populus vel pontifex civitatis in clerum elegerit, agito quæ clerici sunt.—Id. in Ezech. lib. x. c. xxiii. Speculator ecclesiæ vel episcopus vel presbyter, qui a populo electus est.

^e Possid. Vit. Aug. c. xxi.

^f Siric. Ep. i. ad Himar. Tarracon. c. x. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1021. D.) Exinde jam accessu temporum, presbyterium vel episcopatum, si eum cleri ac plebis evocarit electio, non immerito sortietur.

^g Concil. Nicæn. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 29.) Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι· εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτο, ἢ διὰ κατεπείγουσαν ἀνάγκην, ἢ διὰ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, ἐξ ἅπαντος τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένους, συμψήφων γινομένων καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ συντιθεμένων διὰ γραμμάτων, τότε τὴν χειροτονίαν ποιῆσθαι· τὸ δὲ κῦρος τῶν γινομένων δίδοσθαι καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ.

schismatical Egyptian bishop, had particularly invaded, by presuming to ordain bishops without the authority of his metropolitan, or consent of his fellow-bishops, in the provinces of Egypt. That nothing else was designed by that canon, is evident from this; that the same council, in the synodical epistle written to the Church of Alexandria, expressly mentions the choice of the people, and requires it as a condition of a canonical election: for, speaking of such Meletian bishops as would return to the unity of the Catholic Church, it says, that when any Catholic bishop died, Meletian bishops might succeed in their room, provided they were worthy, and that the people chose them^h, and the bishop of Alexandria ratified and confirmed their choice. Our learned bishop Pearson has rightly observedⁱ, that Athanasius himself was thus chosen after the Nicene council was ended; which is a certain argument that the people's right was not abrogated in that council. The Eusebian party made it an objection against him, that he had not the choice of the people: but the bishops of Egypt assembled in synod, in their synodical epistle, do with great earnestness maintain the contrary; asserting, that the whole multitude of the people of the Catholic Church^k, as if they had been all united in one soul and body, cried out, requiring Athanasius to be ordained bishop. Whence Gregory Nazianzen^l also says of him, that he was brought to the throne of St. Mark, ψήφῳ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς, by the suffrage of all the people. It were easy to add many other instances and proofs of the

^h Conc. Nic. Ep. Synod. apud Theodor. lib. i. c. ix. (p. 31. C.) et Socrat. lib. i. c. ix. (p. 24. C 11.) Εἰ δέ τινα ποτὲ συμβαίη ἀναπαύσασθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τηνικαῦτα συναναβαίνειν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, τοὺς ἄρτι προσληφθέντας, μόνον εἰ ἄξιοι φαίνονται, καὶ ὁ λαὸς αἰροῖτο, συνεπιψηφίζοντος αὐτῶ καὶ ἐπισφραγίζοντος τοῦ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπου.

ⁱ Pearson. Vindic. Ignat. part. i. n. xi. (Colon. tom. ii. p. 324.)

^k Epist. Synod. Concil. Alex. ap. Athan. Apol. ii. (Colon. 1686. B 11.) tom. ii. p. 726, edit. Paris. 1627. (tom. i. p. 129, edit. Paris. 1698.) "Ὅτι πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὥσπερ ἐκ μιᾶς ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος συνεληλυθότες, ἀνεβόων, ἔκραζον, αἰτοῦντες Ἀθανάσιον ἐπίσκοπον τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

^l Nazianz. Orat. xxi. (Paris. Colon. 1690. tom. i. p. 377. B 11.) Οὕτω μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα, ψήφῳ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς, οὐ κατὰ τὸν ὕστερον νικῆσαντα πονηρὸν τύπον, οὐδὲ φονικῶς τε καὶ τυραννικῶς, ἀλλ' ἀποστολικῶς τε καὶ πνευματικῶς, ἐπὶ τὸν Μάρκου θρόνον ἀνάγεται, οὐχ ἥττον τῆς εὐσεβείας ἢ τῆς προεδρίας διάδοχος.

like nature to the time of the Council of Chalcedon, when the people of Alexandria still enjoyed their ancient privilege; as appears from several passages in Liberatus, who says of Proterius and some other of their bishops, that they were chosen by the nobles, and the decree^m and voice of all the people. But I shall say no more upon this head, but only allege two canons of the fourth Council of Carthage, which comprise the whole practice of the Church in relation to this matter; the one decreeingⁿ, that the ordination of a bishop should always be by the consent of four parties, the clergy, the laity, the provincial bishops, and the metropolitan, whose presence or authority was principally necessary in all such cases. The other canon^o orders that no bishop shall ordain any clergymen without consulting with his clergy, and asking the consent, approbation, and testimony of his people. This seems to have been the most common and ordinary practice of the Church.

SECT. XII.—*Some Exceptions to the general Rule. First, in case the greatest part of the Church were Heretics or Schismatics.*

But then, as all general rules have their exceptions, so it cannot be denied but that this rule varied sometimes, or at least had its limitations and restrictions: and I shall not do justice to the reader, nor the subject neither, unless I mention those also. Here, therefore, we are to observe in the first place, that this rule did not hold when the greatest part of any Church were turned heretics or schismatics: for in that case, had elections been made by the general suffrage of the people, none but heretical or schismatical bishops must have

^m Liberat. Breviar. c. xiv. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 763.) Collecti sunt nobiles civitatis, ut eum, qui esset vita et sermone pontificatu dignus, eligerent.. novissime in Proterium universorum sententia declinavit.—Id. c. xv. Scripsit imperator Leo duci Alexandriæ Stilæ, ut pelleret quidem ab episcopatu modis omnibus Timotheum, inthronizaret autem alium decreto populi, qui synodum vindicaret.

ⁿ Concil. Carthag. IV. c. i. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1199.) Cum consensu clericorum et laicorum, et conventu totius provinciæ episcoporum, maximeque metropolitani vel auctoritate vel præsentia ordinetur episcopus.

^o Ibid. c. xxii. p. 1201. Ut episcopus, sine consilio clericorum suorum, clericos non ordinet; ita ut civium [adsensum et] conniventiam et testimonium quærat.

been ordained. And therefore, in the time of the great prevalency of Arianism, and the long schism of the Donatists, the Church did not tie herself always to act precisely by this rule. We find it objected by the Donatists in the Collation of Carthage^p, that the Catholics made bishops in many places where they had no people; that is, no Catholic people, for they were all Donatists; consequently those bishops were ordained not only without, but against the consent of the people. And this I take to be the case of those bishops mentioned in the seventeenth and eighteenth canons of the Council of Antioch^{pp}; one of which says, that ‘if any bishop is ordained to preside over a people, and does not take upon him his office, and go to the Church to which he is ordained, he shall be excommunicated till he complies, or a provincial synod determines otherwise about him:’ and the other^q says, ‘if such a bishop absents from his diocese, not by his own default, but *διὰ τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ παραίτησιν*, because the people refuse to receive him, in that case he shall be honoured as a bishop, though not admitted to his own Church.’ These canons were made at a time, when the Arian faction had raised great commotions in the Church, which probably made some bishops unwilling to go to their Churches, and others could not be admitted, because the faction strongly prevailed against them: and in both of them it is supposed the ordinations were made without asking the people’s consent; of which practice we have frequent instances in ecclesiastical history, in cases of the same nature.

^p Collat. Carth. c. clxxxii. (Labbe, vol. ii. Concil. p. 1399.) Petilianus episcopus dixit (Alypio episcopo ecclesiae catholicae): Sic etiam tu multos habes per omnes agros dispersos: immo crebros ubi habes, sane et sine populis habes.

^{pp} Conc. Antioch. c. xvii. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 569.) Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος χειροθεσίαν ἐπισκόπου λαβὼν, καὶ ὀρισθεὶς προεστάναι λαοῦ, μὴ καταδέξοιτο τὴν λειτουργίαν, μηδὲ πείθοιτο ἀπιέναι εἰς τὴν ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ἐκκλησίαν, τοῦτον εἶναι ἀκοινώνητον, ἔστ’ ἂν ἀναγκασθεὶς καταδέξοιτο, ἢ ὀρίσοι τι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἡ τελεία σύνοδος τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπων.

^q Ibid. c. xviii. (p. 569.) Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονηθεὶς εἰς παροικίαν, μὴ ἀπέλθῃ εἰς ἣν ἐχειροτονήθη, οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αἰτίαν, ἀλλ’ ἥτοι διὰ τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ παραίτησιν, ἢ δι’ ἐτέραν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενομένην, τοῦτον μετέχειν τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς λειτουργίας, κ. τ. λ.

SECT. XIII.—*Secondly, in Case of ordaining Bishops to far-distant Places, or barbarous Nations.*

Secondly, another exception to the rule was, when bishops were to be ordained for very distant countries or barbarous nations. When Athanasius ordained Frumentius bishop of the Indies at Alexandria, as the historians^{qq} report, no one can imagine that he had the formal consent, though he might have the presumptive approbation, of all his people. As neither can we suppose the bishop of Tomi, in Scythia, to be chosen by his people, when he was the only bishop^r in all that region, and commonly ordained at Constantinople, as by the twenty-eighth canon of the Council of Chalcedon^{rr} the bishops of barbarous nations were appointed to be.

^{qq} Ruffin. lib. i. c. ix. Frumentius Alexandriam pergit, dicens, æquum non esse opus occultare dominicum. Igitur rem omnem, ut gesta est, exponit episcopo, et monet, ut provideat virum aliquem dignum, quem congregatis jam plurimis Christianis et ecclesiis constructis in barbarico solo episcopum mittat. Tum vero Athanasius (nam is nuper sacerdotium susceperat) attentius et propensius Frumentii dicta gestaque considerans, in concilio sacerdotum ait, ‘Et quem alium inveniemus virum talem, in quo sit Spiritus Dei in ipso, sicut in te, qui hæc ita possit implere?’ Et tradito ei sacerdotio, redire eum cum Domini gratia, unde venerat, jubet.—Socrat. lib. i. c. xix. (Vales. 1700. p. 43. B 3.) Ἀθανάσιος . . αὐτὸν Φρουμέντιον τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἀναδέξασθαι παρεσκεύασεν, εἰπὼν μὴ ἔχειν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτηδειότερον γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Φρουμέντιος ἀξιωθείς τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰνδῶν παραγίνεται χώραν, κ. τ. λ.—Theodoret. lib. i. c. xxiii. (Vales. 1695. p. 54. C 10.) Φρουμέντιος τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλαβὼν πόλιν, τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐδίδαξε πρόεδρον, ὥς Ἰνδοὶ λίαν ποθοῦσι τὸ νοερόν εἰσδέξασθαι φῶς. Ἀθανάσιος δὲ τηνικαῦτα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκείνης κατεῖχε τοὺς οἵακας· ὃς τῶν διηγημάτων ἐκείνων ἀκούσας, καὶ τίς σου, ἔφη, ἄμεινον καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀγνοίας ἀχλὴν ἀποσκεδάσει τοῦ ἔθνους, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ κηρύγματος αὐτοῖς ἀποίσει τὴν αἴγλην ταῦτα εἰπὼν, καὶ τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς αὐτῷ χάριτος μεταδούς, εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους ἐξέπεμψε γεωργίαν.

^r Sozom. lib. viii. c. xix. (Vales. 1700. p. 595, at bottom.) Σκύθαι πολλὰ πόλεις ὄντες, ἕνα πάντες ἐπίσκοπον ἔχουσιν.

^{rr} Concil. Chalced. c. xxviii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 770. B 7.) Ὡστε τοὺς τῆς Ποντικῆς, καὶ τῆς Ἀσιανῆς, καὶ τῆς Θρακικῆς διοικήσεως μητροπολίτας μόνους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς ἐπισκόπους τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων χειροτονεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου ἀγιωτάτου θρόνου τῆς κατὰ Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἀγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας.

SECT. XIV.—*Thirdly, in case an Interventor or any other Bishop intruded himself into any see without the Consent of a Provincial Synod.*

Thirdly, in case an interventor, or visitor, who was sent to procure a speedy election in any vacant see, got himself settled in the see, by the interest which he had gained in the people during his administration ; yet he was not allowed to continue in the possession of that see, though he had made never so strong a party among the people, or had the consent of them all. As appears from a canon of the fifth Council of Carthage^s which is also inserted in the code of the African Church. The case was the same with any vacant bishops, ἐπίσκοποι σχολάζοντες, as the canons call them, who were ordained to such places as would not receive them : if any of them intruded themselves into any vacant Church without the consent of the metropolitan and a provincial synod, they were to be rejected, though all the people were unanimous in choosing them, as the Council of Antioch had decreed in express terms^t against such invaders : ‘ If,’ say they, ‘ a vacant bishop transfers himself into a vacant Church, and seizes the throne by stealth, without the authority of a full synod of the province, he shall be discarded, though all the people upon whom he thrust himself, should agree in the choice of him.’ The same council has another canon^u which prohibits any bishop to remove from one diocese to another, either of his own accord, or by the compulsion of the people. Which plainly implies, that in all such cases no regard was had to the choice of the people, when they pretended to act without the concurrence of a provincial synod.

^s Concil. Carth. V. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1216.) Constitutum est, ut nulli intercessori licitum sit cathedram, cui intercessor datus est, quibuslibet populorum studiis vel seditionibus retinere, sed dare operam, ut intra annum eisdem episcopum provideat. Quod si neglexerit, anno exempto, interventor alius tribuatur.—Vide Cod. Can. Eccles. Afric. c. lxxiv. ibid. p. 1093.

^t Conc. Antioch. c. xvi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 568.) Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος σχολάζων ἐπὶ σχολάζουσιν ἐκκλησίαν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβρίψας, ὑφαρπάσῃ τὸν θρόνον δίχα συνόδου τελείας, τοῦτον ἀπόβλητον εἶναι, καὶ εἰ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς, ὃν ὑφάρπασεν, ἔλοιτο αὐτόν.

^u Ibid. c. xxi. (p. 571.) Ἐπίσκοπον ἀπὸ παροικίας ἑτέρας εἰς ἑτέραν μὴ μεθίστασθαι, μήτε ἀνθαιρέτως ἐπιβρίπτουσα ἑαυτὸν, μήτε ἀπὸ λαῶν ἐκβιαζόμενον, μήτε ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων ἀναγκαζόμενον.

SECT. XV.—*Fourthly, in case of Factions and Divisions among the People.*

Fourthly, when the people were divided in their choice, and could not unanimously agree upon any one; then, to prevent further disputes, and the mischievous consequences of faction and division, it was usual for the metropolitan and the synod to choose an indifferent person, whom no party had named, and prefer him before all the competitors of the people. And this was usually done with good success: for the people commonly were ashamed of their own choice, and universally acquiesced in this. Sidonius Apollinaris gives us a famous instance in the ordination of John, bishop of Chalons: a triumvirate of competitors, whose characters were not extraordinary, had by different interests drawn the people into three very great factions; to remedy which, the metropolitan, privately consulting with his fellow-bishops, but taking none of the people into council, ordained this John, to the surprise of them all: but, as our author^v observes, it was managed with that prudence, that though the advice of the people was not taken, yet the holy man was ordained, to the astonishment of the factious, and confusion of the wicked; with the general acclamations of the good, and the contradictions and oppositions of none. And this was a common method in case of incurable divisions among the people.

^v Sidon. Apoll. lib. iv. ep. xxv. (Bibl. V. P. 1774. vol. x. p. 503 B.) Postquam junior episcopus Paulus discesserat decesseratque, exceperunt pontificale concilium variæ voluntates oppidanorum, nec non et illa, quæ bonum publicum semper evertunt, studia privata, quæ quidam triumviratus accenderat competitorum: quorum hic antiquam natalium prærogativam reliqua destitutus morum dote ructabat: hic per fragores parasiticos, culinarum suffragio comparatos, Apicianis plausibus ingerebatur; hic apice votivo si potiretur, tacita pactione promiserat, ecclesiastica plausoribus suis prædæ prædia fore. Quod ubi viderunt sanctus Patiens et sanctus Euphronius, qui rigorem firmitatemque sententiæ sanioris, præter odium gratiamque, primi tenebant, consilio cum coëpiscopis prius clam communicato, quam palam prodito, strepituque despecto turbæ furentis, jactis repente manibus arreptum, nihilque tum minus, quam quæ agebantur, optantem suspicantemque, sanctum Joannem, virum honestate, humanitate, mansuetudine insignem . . . stupentibus factiosis, erubescens malis, acclamantibus bonis, reclamantibus nullis, collegam sibi consecraverunt.

SECT. XVI.—*Fifthly, the Emperors sometimes interposed their Authority to prevent tumults in the like cases.*

Fifthly, sometimes the emperors interposed their authority, and themselves nominated the person whom they would have to be ordained bishop, when they found by experience what dangerous tumults these popular elections raised among the people. Thus it was in the case of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, who was nominated by Theodosius only. For the people were not so much as consulted in the matter; but the emperor ordered the bishops to give him in a catalogue of fit persons, reserving the power of election entirely to himself. Nay, when some of the bishops objected against Nectarius, that he was but a catechumen and unbaptized, the emperor notwithstanding persisted in his choice, and the bishops complied, and immediately baptized and ordained him, as Sozomen^x informs us. Socrates takes notice of the same prerogative made use of by Theodosius Junior upon the like occasion, who nominated Nestorius to the see of Constantinople, διὰ τοὺς κενοσπουδαστὰς, by reason of factious and vain-glorious persons in the Church^y. And for the like reason, the same author^z tells us, upon another vacancy, to prevent tumults in the election, he gave his mandate to the bishop to enthrone Proclus in the Church. De Marca^a will furnish the reader with other

^x Sozom. lib. vii. c. viii. tot.

^y Socrat. lib. vii. c. xxix. (Vales. 1700. p. 302.) Μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν Σισιννίου ἐδόκει τοῖς κρατοῦσι, μηδένα μὲν διὰ τοὺς κενοσπουδαστὰς ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν προχειρίζεσθαι· καίτοι πολλῶν μὲν τὸν Φίλιππον, πολλῶν δὲ τὸν Πρόκλον χειροτονηθῆναι σπευδόντων· ἐπήλυδα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας καλεῖν ἐβούλοντο. . . . τριμήνου οὖν διαδραμόντος, ἄγεται ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ὁ Νεστόριος.

^z Id. lib. vii. c. xl. (p. 312.) Ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος σοφῶς τοῦ πράγματος προενόησεν· ἵνα γὰρ μὴ πάλιν περὶ ἐπιλογῆς ἐπισκόπου ζήτησις ᾗ, καὶ ταραχὴν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κινήσῃ, μὴ μελλήσας, ἀλλ' ἔτι κειμένου τοῦ σώματος Μαξιμιανοῦ, τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐπισκόποις ἐνθρονίσαι τὸν Πρόκλον ἐπέτρεψεν.

^a Marca, de Concord. lib. viii. c. ix. n. xviii. (Bamberg. 1788, vol. iii. p. 459.) (Venet. 1700. p. 369.) Quandoque contentionum subortarum occasione reges, necessario veluti remedio, ad ecclesiæ quietem electione sua palatina utebantur. Quod probatur diserte ex auctore antiquo vitæ sancti Leodegarii. ‘Incubuit,’ inquit, ‘causa necessitatis, ut in Augustodunensi urbe Leodegarium ordinare deberent episcopum. Siquidem nuper inter duos contentio de eodem episcopatu exorta fuerat, et usque ad sanguinis effusionem certatum. Cumque unus ibidem

instances, and ecclesiastical history with more to the same purpose.

SECT. XVII.—*Sixthly, the People sometimes restrained to the Choice of One out of Three, which were nominated by the Bishops.*

Sometimes, again, we find the people and clergy were confined in their choice to take one out of three, that were first nominated by the bishops in council. Thus it was in France in the time of the second Council of Arles, an. 452, when that council made an order about elections to this purpose: that in the ordination of a bishop^b this rule should be observed; the bishops shall nominate three, out of which the clergy and people shall have power to choose one.—Other laws^c appointed the clergy and people to nominate three, and the metropolitan and provincial bishops to cast lots which of the three should be ordained; which was the rule of the Spanish Church in the time of the Council of Barcelona, an. 599.

SECT. XVIII.—*Lastly, by Justinian's Laws the Elections were confirmed to the Optimates, and the inferior people wholly excluded.*

Lastly, we find also in Justinian's laws, that a considerable alteration was made in this affair, wherever those laws took place. For thereby the inferior sort of the common people were wholly cut off from having any concern in these elections,

occubisset in morte, et alter pro perpetrato scelere datus fuisset in exilii tuitionem, tunc Bathildis regina, quæ cum Clothario filio Francorum regebat palatium, divino, ut credimus, inspirato consilio; ad memoratam urbem hunc direxit virum, ut ibidem esset episcopus.' Circa idem tempus, id est, anno 664, optimates et rectores palatii consilium dederunt Childerico regi, ut Landebertum præficeret ecclesiæ Trajectensi: 'cui regis imperio plebs omnis consensit,' inquit auctor vitæ, etc.

^b Concil. Arelat. II. c. liv. (Labbe, vol. iv. Conc. p. 1017.) Placuit in ordinatione episcopi hunc ordinem custodiri, ut primo loco venalitate, vel ambitione submota, tres ab episcopis nominentur, de quibus clerici vel cives erga unum habeant eligendi potestatem.

^c Concil. Barcinon. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1605.)....ad summum sacerdotium..provehatur: ita tamen, ut duobus aut tribus, quos ante consensus cleri et plebis elegerit, metropolitani iudicio ejusque coëpiscopis præsentatis, quem sors, præeunte episcoporum jejuniò, Christo Domino terminante, monstraverit, benedictio consecrationis accumulet.

which were now confined to the clergy, and the Optimates, or persons of better rank and quality in every Church. For so by two of his Novels^d it is expressly provided, that when a bishop is to be ordained for any city, the clergy and chief men of the city shall meet, and nominate three persons, drawing up an instrument, and inserting therein upon their oath, that they chose them neither for any gift, nor promise, nor friendship, nor any other cause, but because they know them to be of the true Catholic faith, and of honest life, and good learning, &c. That out of these three, one that is best qualified may be chosen by the discretion and judgment of the ordainer. De Marca thinks the Council of Laodicea long before made a canon to the same purpose, forbidding the elections of the clergy to be committed τοῖς ὄχλοις, Vili Plebeculæ, as De Marca renders it^e, that is, to the common and inferior sort of people. But it is not certain, the canon intended the prohibition in that sense: or if it did it was of no force; for the people continued their ancient practice for some ages after that council. However, upon the whole matter, it appears that this power of the people did never so universally obtain, but that it

^d Justin. Novell. cxxiii. c. i. et Novell. cxxxvii. c. ii. (Amstel. 1667. p. 168.) Θεσπίζομεν, ὅσάκις ἂν χρεία γένηται ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονηθῆναι, τοὺς κληρικοὺς καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῆς πόλεως, ἧς μέλλει ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ τρισὶ προσώποις ψηφίσματα ποιεῖν, κινδύνῳ τῶν ἰδίων ψυχῶν, καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὁμνῦναι κατὰ τῶν θείων λογίων, καὶ ἐγγράφειν ἐν αὐτοῖς, λέγοντας ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν, ὅτι οὔτε διὰ τινὰ δόσιν, οὔτε διὰ ὑπόσχεσιν, ἢ φιλίαν, ἢ δι' ἄλλην οἰανδῆποτε αἰτίαν, ἀλλ' εἰδότες αὐτοὺς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ καθολικῆς πίστεως καὶ σεμνοῦ εἶναι βίου, καὶ γράμματα εἰδέναι, τούτους ἐπελέξαντο. . . ἵνα ἐκ τῶν τριῶν προσώπων, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰ τοιαῦτα ψηφίσματα γέγονεν, ὁ βελτίων χειροτονηθῇ τῇ ἐπιλογῇ καὶ τῷ κρίματι τοῦ χειροτονοῦντος.—Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. de Episcop. leg. xlii. (Amstel. 1663. p. 16.) Διὰ τοῦ παρόντος νόμου θεσπίζομεν, ὅσάκις ἂν ἐν οἰαδῇποτε πόλει ἱερατικὸν θρόνον σχολάσαι συμβαίῃ, ψήφισμα γίνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τρισὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ ὀρθῇ πίστει, καὶ βίου σεμνότητι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς μεμαρτυρημένοις, ὥστε ἐκ τούτων τὸν ἐπιτηδειότερον εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν προχειρίζεσθαι.

^e Concil. Laodic. c. xiii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1497.) Μὴ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐπιτρέπειν τὰς ἐκλογὰς ποιεῖσθαι τῶν μελλόντων καθίστασθαι εἰς ἱερατεῖον.—Marc. de Concord. lib. viii. c. vi. n. viii. (Bamberg. 1788. p. 441.) (Venet. 1770. p. 363.) Quare canonis istius (Laodicensi decimi tertii) decretum sequutus Justinianus suis legibus diserte clerum et primates populi solos ad electiones episcoporum admisit, neglectis turbis: quarum adsensus non erat negligendus, sed inter suffragia legitima non censebatur. Sic enim accipienda sunt verba canonis, ut plebis interventio prohibeatur, non autem, ut sola ejus violentia arceatur.

was limited in several cases by certain restrictions, and varied according to the different state of times and nations.

SECT. XIX.—*How and when Princes and Patrons came to have the chief Power of Elections.*

At last, upon the breaking of the Roman empire, the Gothic kings in France and Spain were generally complimented with a share in these elections ; and their consent was as necessary as any other to the ordination of bishops within their dominions. By which means their power quickly increased into a prerogative of nominating solely, and all others had little else to do but to accept their nominations. Which the reader that is curious in this matter, may find discoursed at large by De Marca ^f, in his account of the change that was made in the French and Spanish Churches in after-ages, which it is none of my business here further to pursue. As to the power of nomination in inferior patrons, it is generally agreed by learned men ^g, that it came in upon the division of dioceses into distinct

^f Marca, de Concord. lib. viii. c. ix. et x.

^g Stillingfl. Unreas. of Separat. p. 326, 327. As to the inferior right of patronage, it is justly thought to bear equal date with the first settlements of Christianity in peace and quietness. For when it began to spread into remoter villages and places distant from the cathedral churches, where the bishop resided with his presbyters, as in college together, a necessity was soon apprehended of having presbyters fixed among them. For the Council of Neocæsarea mentions the ἐπιχώριοι πρεσβύτεροι, the country presbyters, c. 13, whom the Greek canonists interpret to be such as then were fixed in country cures ; and this council was held ten years before the Council of Nice. In the time of the first Council of Orange, A. D. 441, express mention is made of the right of patronage reserved to the first founders of churches, c. 10, viz. if a bishop built a church on his own land in another bishop's diocese, yet the right of presenting the clerk was reserved to him. And this was confirmed by the second Council of Arles, c. 36, A. D. 452. By the constitution of the Emperor Zeno, A. D. 479, the rights of patronage are established upon the agreements at first made in the endowments of churches. This constitution was confirmed by Justinian, A. D. 541 ; and he allows the nomination and presentation of a fit clerk : and the same were settled in the Western Church, as appears by the ninth Council of Toledo, about A. D. 650 : and many canons were made in several Councils about regulating the rights of patronage, and the endowments of churches ; till at last it obtained, by general consent, that the patron might transmit the right of presentation to his heirs, and the bishops were to approve of the persons presented, and to give institution to the benefice. The barons of England, in the epistle to Gregory IX., plead that their

parishes, and the founding of churches in country places. For to give greater encouragement to such pious and useful works, the founder of any church, who settled an endowment upon it, was allowed to retain the right of presentation to himself, to nominate a fit clerk to the bishop for his approbation. That which led the way to this practice, was a decree of the first Council of Orange, an. 441, wherein this power and privilege was first granted to bishops, that if any bishop was disposed to found a church in the territory of another bishop, the bishop of the diocese where the church was built, should consecrate it; reserving to the founder^h the right of nominating such clerks as he should desire to have in his own church, whom the bishop of the diocese should ordain at his request; or if they were already ordained, he should allow them to continue without any molestation. And this canon is repeated in the second Council of Arlesⁱ, in the editions of Sirmond and Labbe, though it be wanting in some others. After this, by the laws of Justinian, all founders of churches, and their heirs, are allowed to nominate their own clerks, upon the right of patronage, to those churches. If any man builds an oratory, says one of his Novels^k, and either he or his heirs are minded to have clerks ordained thereto; if they allow maintenance to

ancestors had the right of patronage from the first planting of Christianity here. For those upon whose lands the churches were built, and at whose cost charges were endowed, thought they had great reason to reserve the nomination of the clerks to themselves. And this, Joh. Sarisburiensis saith, was received by a general custom of this whole kingdom. So that the right of patronage was at first built upon a very reasonable consideration; and hath been ever since received by as universal a consent as any law or custom among us, etc.

^h Concil. Arausic. I. c. x. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1449.) Si quis episcoporum in alius cujusdam episcopi territorio ecclesiam ædificare disponit... episcopus, in cujus territorio ecclesia adsurgat, eam quidem consecret, reservata tamen ædificatori episcopo hac gratia, ut quos desideret clericos in re sua videre, ipsos ordinet is, cujus territorium sit; vel si ordinati jam sint, ipsos habere acquiescat.

ⁱ Conc. Arelat. II. can. xxxvi. (vol. iv. p. 1015.)

^k Justin. Novell. cxxiii. c. xviii. (p. 172.) Εἰ τις εὐκτήριον οἶκον κατασκευάσει, καὶ βουλευθείη ἐν αὐτῷ κληρικοὺς προβάλλεσθαι, ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ οἱ τούτου κληρονόμοι· εἰ τὰς δαπάνας αὐτοὶ τοῖς κληρικοῖς χορηγήσουσι, καὶ ἀξίους ὀνομάσουσι, τοὺς ὀνομασθέντες χειροτονεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπιλεγέντας, ὡς ἀναξίους κωλύσουσιν οἱ θεῖοι κανόνες χειροτονηθῆναι, τηνικαῦτα ὁ τῶν τόπων θεοτάτος ἐπίσκοπος, οὓς ἂν νομίσοι καλλίονας, προβάλλεσθαι φροντιζέτω.

them, and they be worthy persons ; such as they nominate, shall be ordained. And the bishop has no power to ordain any other, unless the persons so nominated be unqualified by the canons. Another Novel¹ allows the bishop liberty to examine them, and judge of their qualifications ; but if he finds them worthy, he is obliged to ordain them, having, in that case, no power to refuse them. They who would see more of this matter, may consult our learned Bishop Stillingfleet, who gives an account^m of the progress of it in future ages ; which being foreign to my subject, I return to the business of elections in the ancient Church, and proceed to give an account of the several qualifications that were necessarily required in persons to be elected and ordained to any office or dignity in the church.

¹ Novell. lvii. c. ii. (Amstel. 1663. p. 91.) Διορίζομεν, ὥστε εἴ τις οἰκοδομήσας ἐκκλησίαν, ἢ καὶ ἄλλους χορηγῶν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ λειτουργοῦσαι σιτήσεις, βούλοιτο τινὰς κληρικοὺς ἐγκαθιστᾶν αὐτῇ, μὴ εἶναι αὐτῷ παρρῆσίαν μηδεμίαν οὐδὲ βούλεται κατ' ἐξουσίαν προσάγειν τῇ σῇ θεοφιλίᾳ, ἐφ' ᾗ τε χειροτονεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀκρίτως καὶ ἀνεξετάστως· ἀλλὰ προσαγομένους αὐτοὺς ἐξετάζεσθαι παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγιωσύνης, γνώμῃ τε τῇ σῇ καὶ τοῦ τὸν ἱερατικὸν θρόνον ἐπιτροπεύοντος, αἰεὶ τούτους δέχεσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν, οἵπερ ἂν τῇ τε σῇ μακαριότητι καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὴν ἐπιτήδευοι δόξαιεν καθεστάναι καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργίας ἄξιοι.

^m Stillingfl. Unreasonableness of Separation, part iii. p. 327. See preceding note (g) p. 459.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE EXAMINATION AND QUALIFICATIONS OF PERSONS TO BE ORDAINED TO ANY OFFICE OF THE CLERGY IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.—AND, FIRST, OF THEIR FAITH AND MORALS.

SECT. I.—*Three Inquiries made about Persons to be ordained ; respecting, first, their Faith ; secondly, their Morals ; thirdly, their outward Quality and Condition.*

BEFORE any person could regularly be elected or ordained to any clerical office in the Church, the electors and ordainers were obliged to make several inquiries concerning him, which I think may be reduced to these three heads : the examination of his faith, his morals, and his outward state and condition in the world. The two first of these they were most strict in canvassing and examining, because they were more essential and necessary to the ministry : but the third they did not omit, because the peculiar state of those times did more especially require it. For then men were tied by the laws of the empire to bear the offices of the state, according to their quality and substance ; and those offices were commonly inconsistent with the offices of the Church : which made it necessary to inquire, before men were ordained, whether they were under any obligation to the state, or obnoxious to any distinct power, for fear the Church should seem to encroach upon other men's rights, or bring trouble upon herself, by having her clergy recalled to a secular life again.

SECT. II.—*The Rule and Method of examining their Faith and Learning.*

The trial of their faith and orthodoxy, under which I also comprehend their learning, was made three ways : partly by

obliging the electors to give in their public testimony of them; partly by obliging the persons elected to answer to certain interrogatories, or questions of doctrine, that were put to them; and partly by making them subscribe a body of articles, or confession of faith, at the time of their ordination. By a law of Justinian's^a, the electors themselves were to declare upon oath, in the instrument or decree of election, if it were a bishop that was chosen, that they knew him to be a man of the true Catholic faith, and of good life and conversation, &c. And by the same law, the bishop to be ordained was required to give in a libel or form of confession of his faith, subscribed with his own hand; and to repeat the form of prayer used at the oblation of the holy Eucharist, and at baptism, with the other prayers of the Church. Which was an intimation that he allowed and approved the Liturgy, or public service of the Church. The fourth Council of Carthage prescribes a particular form of examination by way of interrogatories to the bishop who was to be ordained, which is too long to be here inserted; but it consists chiefly of such questions as relate to the articles of the Creed, and doctrines levelled against the most noted heresies^b, that either then were, or lately had been, predominant in the Church. Orders also are there given to examine, whether the candidate be well instructed in the law of God, and able to expound the sense of Scripture, and be thoroughly exercised in the doctrines of the Church. By which we may judge what due precaution was then taken to admit none but persons rightly qualified, as to their faith, to the chief administrations of the Church.

^a Justin. Novell. cxxxvii. c. ii. (vide supra, c. ii. § xviii. not. (d) p. 458.) — Ibid. (p. 196.) Ἀπαιτεῖσθαι δὲ πρότερον τὸν μέλλοντα χειροτονεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ χειροτονουῦντος λίβελλον μεθ' ὑπογραφῆς ἰδίας, περιέχοντα τὰ περὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς αὐτοῦ πίστεως ἀπαγγέλλειν δὲ τοῦτον καὶ τὴν θείαν προσκομιδὴν, τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ κοινωνίᾳ γινομένην, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι εὐχὴν, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς προσευχάς.

^b Conc. Carth. IV. c. i. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1198.) Qui episcopus ordinandus est, antea examinetur, si natura sit prudens, si docibilis, si moribus temperatus, si vita castus, si sobrius, si semper suis negotiis cavens [vacans], si humilis, si affabilis, si misericors, si litteratus, si in lege Domini instructus, si in scripturarum sensibus cautus, si in dogmatibus ecclesiasticis exercitatus. etc.

SECT. III.—*The irregular Ordination of Synesius considered.*

Upon which consideration, it has seemed very difficult to some learned men, to account for the practice and conduct of Theophilus of Alexandria, in ordaining Synesius, at the same time that he professed he could not yet believe the doctrine of the resurrection, and some other articles of the Christian faith. Baronius^c, and Habertus^d, and our learned Bishop Taylor^e reckon he only dissembled, and used this stratagem to avoid being ordained. But had this been the case, it had still been a just canonical exception against him: for the canons^f forbid the ordination of any one, who accuses himself as guilty of any heinous crime, whether his accusation be true or false: for he proves himself guilty either by confessing a truth, or at least by telling a lie about it. But, indeed, the case of Synesius was no feigned case, for he spake the real sense of his soul; as appears not only from what the historian^g says of it, but from the account which he himself gives in one of his epistles^h

^c Baron. an. ccccx. tom. v. p. 315, edit. 1610. (p. 318, edit. Antw. 1658.) *Errore maxime labuntur, qui putant hæc serio fuisse a Synesio inculcata. etc.*

^d Habert. Archierat. p. 500. *Ad hoc etiam meo judicio non nihil facit illa quamvis simulata Synesii, cum ad Cyrenensem episcopatum posceretur, contestatio, qua minabatur, se palam facturum, quid in mente haberet de animæ ante corpus existentia, etc.*

^e Taylor, Duct. Dubit. book iii. c. ii.

^f Conc. Valent. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 905.) *Quicumque se sub ordinatione vel diaconatus vel presbyterii vel episcopatus, mortali crimine dixerint esse pollutos, a supradictis ordinationibus submovendos, reos scilicet vel veri confessione, vel mendacio falsitatis.*

^g Evagr. lib. i. c. xv. (Vales. p. 273.) *Οὗτος μὲν Συνέσιος ἦν μὲν τὰ ἄλλα πάντα λόγιος· φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον ἐξήσκησεν, ὥς καὶ παρὰ Χριστιανῶν θαυμασθῆναι, τῶν μὴ προσπαθεία ἢ ἀντιπαθεία κρινόντων τὰ ὀρώμενα· πείθουσι δ' οὖν αὐτὸν τῆς σωτηριώδους παλιγγενεσίας ἀξιωθῆναι, καὶ τὸν ζυγὸν τῆς ἱερωσύνης ὑπελθεῖν, οὐπω τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀναστάσεως παραδεχόμενον, οὐδὲ δοξάζειν ἐθέλοντα· εὐθυβόλως εὖ μάλα στοχασάμενοι, ὥς ταῖς ἄλλαις τάνδρὸς ἀρεταῖς ἔψεται καὶ ταῦτα, τῆς θείας χάριτος μηδὲν ἐλλειπὲς ἔχειν ἀνεχομένης· καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύστησαν τῆς ἐλπίδος. κ. τ. λ.*

^h Synes. Ep. cv. p. 397, edit. Par. 1605. 8vo. (p. 249. B. edit. Par. 1630. fol.) *Οἶσθα δ' ὅτι πολλὰ φιλοσοφία τοῖς θρυλλουμένοις τούτοις ἀντιδιατάττεται δόγμασιν· ἀμέλει τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ ἀξιῶσω ποτὲ σώματος ὑστερογενῇ νομίζειν· τὸν κόσμον οὐ φήσω καὶ τ' ἄλλα μέρη συνδιαφθείρεσθαι· τὴν καθωμιλημένην ἀνάστασιν ἱερόν τι καὶ ἀπόρρητον ἡγῆμαι, καὶ πολλοῦ δέω ταῖς τοῦ πλήθους ὑπολήψεσιν ὁμολογῆσαι. . . καλούμενος δ' εἰς ἱερωσύνην, οὐκ ἀξιῶ προσποιῆσθαι δόγματα· ταῦτα Θεὸν, ταῦτα ἀνθρώπους μαρτύρομαι.*

to his brother Euoptius: "You know," says he, "that philosophy teaches the contrary to many of those generally received doctrines. Therefore I cannot persuade myself, that the soul is postnate to the body: I cannot say that the world and all its parts shall be dissolved: I look upon the resurrection to be *ἱερόν τι καὶ ἀπόρρητον*, a sort of mystical and ineffable thing, and am far from assenting to the vulgar opinions about it: and now being called to the priesthood, I would not dissemble these things, but testify them both before God and man." This asseveration seems too solemn and serious to be the speech of one who was only acting a part, and dissembling his opinion; and therefore it is more probable that he was in earnest, as Lucas Holsteniusⁱ more fully shows in a peculiar dissertation upon this subject against Baronius. Valesius, to vindicate Theophilus, says^k, Synesius altered his opinions before he was ordained:—but that is more than can be proved. The best account of the thing is that which is given by Holstenius, that it was the man's admirable virtues, and excellent qualifications in other respects, and a great want of fit men in those difficult times, that encouraged Theophilus to ordain him, in hopes that God would enlighten his mind, and not suffer so excellent a person long to labour under such errors in religion. But the fairest colours that can be put upon it, will hardly justify a fact so contrary to the rules of the Church. The instance was singular, and never made a precedent, or drawn into imitation; the general practice of the Church being, as has been showed,

ⁱ Holsten. Dissert. tert. de Synesio ap. Vales. not. in Theodor. p. 203. B. Ipsa Synesii verba adeo quidem perspicua sunt, adeo certa et manifesta, ut qua ratione in dubium vocari possint, plane non videam. Contestationes vero adeo sanctis ac religiosis verbis sunt conceptæ, ut qui iis ludere, aut eludere alios voluerit, eum et conscientiam fidemque profligasse, et veritatem, Deumque veritatis præsidem ludibrio habuisse jure merito credas. etc.

^k Vales. Not. in Evagr. p. 120. lib. i. c. xv. (p. 61. B 7.) Baronius cuncta illa non serio dici censet, sed fecte atque simulate, ut episcopatus onus declinaret. Verum hanc Baronii sententiam merito improbavit Petavius. Multo enim verisimilius esse dicit, Synesium hæc ad fratrem suum scripsisse, sicut tunc sentiebat. Postea vero a Theophilo aut aliis sacerdotibus edoctum, antequam episcopus fieret, veram de resurrectione sententiam amplexum esse.—Petav. Vit. Synes. p. 4. Multo verisimilius est, hoc illum initio ita, ut in animo habebat, adseverasse; 'ac paullo post ab Theophilo, aliisve doctis viris persuasum veritati cessisse, antequam episcopus fieret.'

to examine men's orthodoxy, and require their assent and subscriptions to the rule of faith before their ordination.

SECT. IV.—*A strict Inquiry made into the Morals of such as were to be ordained.*

Their next inquiry was into the morals of the person to be ordained. And here the examination was very strict and accurate: for then the custom was generally to ordain such only as were known to all the people, and of whose life and character they were satisfied, and could bear testimony to them. 'The bishops and presbyters who preside over us,' says Tertullian^l, 'are advanced to that honour only by public testimony.' 'The law is,' says Cyprian^m, 'to choose bishops in the presence of the people, who have a perfect knowledge of every man's life, and are acquainted with the tenour of their actions by their conversation.'

SECT. V.—*For which reason no Stranger to be ordained in a foreign Church.*

Upon which account the laws forbade the ordination of strangers in any Church, to which they did not belong. Optatus makes it an objection against the Donatists, that in the Roman see they never had a bishop who was a citizen of Rome; but still their succession in that cityⁿ was supplied by Africans and strangers. Whereas, on the contrary, he challenges^o them to show, whenever the Church at any time brought a Frenchman or a Spaniard into Afric, and ordained a stranger to a people that knew nothing of him. In the civil law, we

^l Tertull. Apol. c. xxxix. (Paris. 1664. p. 31. B 1.) Præsident apud nos probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti.

^m Cyprian. Ep. lxxviii. al. lxxvii. (Oxon. 1682. p. 172.) (p. 114, edit. Paris. 1666.) Episcopus deligatur plebe præsentē, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit, et unius cujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit.

ⁿ Optat. lib. ii. p. 48, edit. Paris. 1631. fol. (p. 38, edit. Paris. 1679.) (Antwerp. 1702. p. 33.) Quid est hoc, quod pars vestra in urbe Roma episcopum civem habere non potuit? Quid est, quod toti Afri et peregrini in illa civitate sibi successisse noscuntur?

^o Ibid. p. 51. (p. 43.) Numquid nos aliquem adduximus Hispanum et Gallum? aut nos ordinavimus ignorantibus peregrinum? (Antwerp. 1702. p. 37.)

have a constitution of Honorius the emperor^p to this purpose : that no clerks should be ordained out of any other possession or village, but only that where their Church was. Or if any thinks that decree was made rather for reasons of state, he may read the same in the canons of the Church ; as in the Council of Eliberis, which decrees^q that no stranger, baptized in a foreign country, should be ordained out of the province where he was baptized, because his life and conversation could not be known. And this rule was generally observed, except in some extraordinary cases, when either public fame had made a man eminent and noted over all the world ; or there were some particular reasons for going against the rule : of which I have given an account in another place^{qq}.

SECT. VI.—*Nor any one who had done public Penance in the Church.*

The strictness of this examination, as to men's morals, will appear further from this, that the commission of any scandalous crime, for which a man was obliged to do penance in the Church, did for ever after, according to the rules and discipline of those times, render that person irregular and incapable of holy orders. For though they granted pardon and absolution, and lay-communion, to all offenders that submitted to the discipline of public penance ; yet they thought it not proper to admit such to clerical dignities, but excluded them from the orders and promotions of the Church. At least it was thus in most of the Western Churches, in the fourth and fifth centuries, as appears from the Latin writers of those ages. The Epistles of Siricius and Innocent show it to have been the practice of the Roman Church in their time. For Siricius^r

^p Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episcop. leg. xxxiii. (Lugdun. 1665. vol. vi. p. 70.) Clerici non ex alia possessione, vel vico, sed ex eo, ubi ecclesiam esse constiterit, ordinentur.

^q Concil. Illiber. c. xxiv. (tom. i. p. 973.) Omnes qui peregre fuerint baptizati, eo quod eorum minime sit cognita vita, placuit, ad clerum non esse promovendos in alienis provinciis.

^{qq} Vide lib. ii. c. x. § iii.

^r Siric. Ep. i. ad Himer. Tarracon. c. xiv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1022.) Post pœnitudinem ac reconciliationem, nulli umquam laico liceat honorem clericatus adipisci : quia quamvis sint omnium peccatorum contagione mundati, nulla

says, no layman, after public penance and reconciliation, was to be admitted to the honour of the clergy: because, though they were cleansed from the contagion of all their sins, yet they ought not to touch the instruments of the sanctuary, who themselves before had been the instruments and vessels of sin. The letters of Innocent^s are to the same purpose. And so for the French Churches, we have the testimony of Gennadius^t, and the second Council of Arles^u, and Agde^v; and for the Spanish Churches, a canon of the first Council of Toledo^x, which allows not penitents to be ordained, except in case of necessity, and then only to the offices of the inferior orders, door-keepers and readers. The practice of the African Churches is evident from the fourth Council of Carthage, which decrees^y that no penitent should be ordained, though he was a good man at the present. And if any such was ordained by the bishop's ignorance, not knowing his character, he should be deposed, because he did not declare that he had been a penitent at the time of his ordination. By this we may understand what Optatus means, when, speaking of the Donatists, who made some of the Catholic children do public penance in the Church, he

tamen debent gerendorum sacramentorum instrumenta suscipere, qui dudum fuerint vasa vitiorum.

^s Innoc. Ep. xxii. c. iii. (ibid. p. 1274.) Ubi pœnitentiæ remedium necessarium est, illic ordinationis honorem locum habere non posse decernimus.

^t Gennad. de Eccles. Dogmatic. c. lxxii. (apud Augustin. tom. iii. edit. Frob. fol. p. 146.) Monitum duarum post baptismum matronarum clericum non ordinandum. . . . neque eum, qui publica pœnitentia mortalia crimina deflet.

^u Concil. Arelat. II. c. xxv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1014.) Hi qui post sanctam religionis professionem apostatant et ad sæculum redeunt et postmodum pœnitentiæ remedia non requirunt, sine pœnitentia communionem penitus non accipiant, quos etiam jubemus ad clericatus officium non admitti.

^v Concil. Agath. c. xciii. (ibid. p. 1390.) De pœnitentibus id placuit observare, quod sancti patres nostri synodali sententia censuerunt, ut nullus de his clericus ordinetur, etc.

^x Concil. Tolet. I. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1223.) Placuit de pœnitente ut non admittatur ad clerum, nisi tantum si necessitas aut usus exegerit, et tunc inter ostiarios deputetur vel inter lectores.

^y Concil. Carth. IV. c. lxxviii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1205.) Ex pœnitentibus (quamvis sit bonus) clericus non ordinetur. Si per ignorantiam episcopi factum fuerit, deponatur a clero, quia se ordinationis tempore non prodidit fuisse pœnitentem. Si autem sciens episcopus ordinaverit talem, etiam ab episcopatus sui ordinandi duntaxat potestate privetur.

says, 'they thereby gave them a wound, which was intended^z to cut them off from the benefit of ordination;' plainly referring to this rule in the Church, that he who had done public penance, was thereby made incapable of ordination. Which seems also to be St. Austin's meaning, when, speaking of a Christian astrologer, who had done penance for his fault, he says, 'his conversion perhaps^a might make some think he intended to get an office among the clergy of the Church: but no, says he, he is a penitent; he seeks nothing more but only a pardon and absolution;' meaning that a person in his circumstances could not pretend to sue for orders by the rules and canons of the Church. But we are to note, that this is always to be understood of public penance, not of private: for the Council of Gerona or Gerunda, in Catalonia, expressly makes this distinction^b between public penance in the Church and private penance in time of sickness; making the one to incapacitate men from taking orders, but not the other. And in all other canons, where this distinction is not expressed, it is always to be understood: for it was only that penance which left some public mark of disgrace upon men, which unqualified them for the orders of the Church. But this rule might be dispensed

^z Optat. lib. ii. p. 59. (p. 55, edit. 1679.) (Antverp. 1702. p. 46.) Invenistis pueros; de pœnitentia sauciastis, ne aliqui ordinari potuissent.

^a Augustin. append. Enarrat. Psalm. lxi. Posset videri, quia sic conversus est, clericatum quærere in ecclesia. Pœnitens est: non quærît nisi solam misericordiam.—Vide August. Epist. l. ad Bonifac. p. 87. (p. 232, edit. Altdorf. 1668. 4to.) (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 502. E 6.) Si ergo, inquiunt, oportet ut nos extra ecclesiam et adversus ecclesiam fuisse pœniteat, ut salvi esse possimus; quomodo post istam pœnitentiam apud vos clerici, vel etiam episcopi permanemus? Hoc non fieret, quoniam revera (quod fatendum est) fieri non deberet. (45) Ut enim constitueretur in ecclesia, ne quisquam post alicujus criminis pœnitentiam clericatum accipiat, vel ad clericatum redeat, vel in clericatu maneat; non desperatione indulgentiæ, sed rigore factum est disciplinæ Sed ne forsitan etiam detectis [de cæteris] criminibus, spe honoris ecclesiastici, animus intumescens superbe ageret pœnitentiam, severissime placuit, ut post actam de crimine damnabili pœnitentiam, nemo sit clericus, ut desperatione temporalis altitudinis medicina major et verior esset humilitatis.

^b Concil. Gerundens. an. 517. c. ix. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1569.) Qui ægritudinis languore depressus, pœnitentiæ benedictionem (quam viaticum deputamus) per communionem acceperit; et postmodum reconvalescens caput pœnitentiæ in ecclesia publice non subdiderit, si prohibitis vitiis non detinetur obnoxius, admittatur ad clerum.

with in extraordinary cases, and there are some learned men who think it was not so generally insisted on in the three first ages of the Church.

SECT. VII.—*No Murderer to be ordained, nor Adulterer, nor one that had lapsed in time of Persecution.*

As to particular crimes, there were a great many that unqualified men, whether they had done public penance for them or not; such as the three great crimes of murder, adultery, and lapsing in time of persecution. The Council of Toledo^c sets murder in the front of those sins which exclude men from holy orders. The crime of fornication and adultery is noted upon the same account by those called the Apostolical Canons^d, the Council of Neo-Cæsarea^e, the Council of Nice^f, Eliberis^g, and several others. Nay, the Council of Neo-Cæsarea goes a little further, and decrees^h, that if any man's wife committed adultery whilst he was a layman, he should not be admitted to any ecclesiastical function; or if she committed adultery when he was in office, he must give her a bill of divorce and

^c Concil. Tolet. I. can. ii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1223.) Pœnitente vero dicimus de eo qui post baptismum, aut pro homicidio, aut pro diversis criminibus, gravissimisque peccatis publicam pœnitentiam gerens, sub cilicio (al. concilio) divino fuerit reconciliatus altario.

^d Can. Apost. c. lx. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 40.) Εἴ τις κατηγορία γένηται κατὰ πιστοῦ πορνείας, ἢ μοιχείας, ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς ἀπηγορευμένης πράξεως, καὶ ἐλεγχθεῖη, εἰς κλῆρον μὴ ἀγέσθω.

^e Concil. Neo-Cæs. c. ix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1481.) Πρεσβύτερος, εἰς προσημαρτηκῶς σώματι προαχθῇ καὶ ὁμολογήσῃ, ὅτι ἡμαρτε πρὸ τῆς χειροτονίας, μὴ προσφερέτω, μένων ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς, διὰ τὴν ἄλλην σπουδὴν. κ. τ. λ.—Can. x. Ὁμοίως ὁ διάκονος, εἰς τῷ αὐτῷ ἁμαρτήματι περιπέσῃ, τὴν τοῦ ὑπηρέτου τάξιν ἐχέτω.

^f Concil. Nicæn. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 29. C 2.) Εἰ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ψυχικόν τι ἁμάρτημα εὗρεθῇ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ ἐλέγχοιτο ὑπὸ δύο ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων· πεπαύσθω ὁ τοιοῦτος τοῦ κλήρου.

^g Conc. Illiber. c. xxx. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 974.) Subdiaconos eos ordinari non debere, qui in adolescentia sua fuerint mœchati; eo quod postmodum, per subreptionem, ad altiore gradum promoveantur: vel si qui sunt in præteritum ordinati, amoveantur.

^h Conc. Neo-Cæs. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1481.) Γυνή τινος μοιχευθεῖσα λαϊκοῦ ὄντος, εἰς ἐλεγχθῇ φανερώς, ὁ τοιοῦτος εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐλθεῖν οὐ δύναται. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν μοιχευθῇ, ὀφείλει ἀπολῦσαι αὐτήν· εἰ δὲ συζῇ, οὐ δύναται ἔχεισθαι τῆς ἐγχειρισθείσης αὐτῇ ὑπηρεσίας.

put her away ; otherwise be degraded from his office. As to the crime of lapsing and sacrificing in time of persecution, Origenⁱ assures us, it was the custom of the Church in his time to exclude such as were guilty of it from all ecclesiastical power and government. And Athanasius^k says the same, that they were allowed the privilege of repentance, but not to have any place among the clergy. Or if any were ignorantly ordained, they were to be deposed as soon as they were discovered, by a rule of the great Council of Nice^l. Which was no new rule, but the ancient rule of the whole Catholic Church : for Cyprian^m says, it was agreed upon at Rome and in Afric, and by the bishops of the whole world, that such men might be admitted to repentance ; but should be kept back from the ordinations of the clergy, and the honour of the priesthood. Upon this account the Arians themselves, though they were not much given to act by rules, sometimes thought fit to deny men ordination ; as Athanasiusⁿ and Socrates^o say they did

ⁱ Origen. contr. Cels. lib. iii. (Cambr. 1677. p. 142, 10 from bottom.) Οἷα δ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀγωγή καὶ περὶ ἀμαρτανόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀκολασταίνοντων, οὓς ἀπελαύνουσι τοῦ κοινοῦ οἱ κατὰ τὸν Κέλσον παραπλήσιοι τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς τὰ ἐπιρρήτοτα ἐπιδεικνυμένοις ; καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν Πυθαγορείων σεμνὸν διδασκάλιον κενोटάφια τῶν ἀποστάντων τῆς σφῶν φιλοσοφίας κατεσκεύαζε, λογιζόμενον νεκροὺς αὐτοὺς γεγονέναι· οὗτοι δὲ ὡς ἀπολωλότας καὶ τεθνηκότας τῷ Θεῷ τοὺς ὑπ' ἀσελγείας ἢ τινος ἀτόπου νενικημένους, ὡς νεκροὺς πενθοῦσι καὶ ὡς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντας, ἐὰν ἀξιόλογον ἐνδείξωνται μεταβολήν, χρόνῳ πλείονι τῶν κατ' ἀρχὰς εἰσαγομένων ὕστερόν ποτε προσίενται εἰς οὐδεμίαν ἀρχὴν καὶ προστασίαν τῆς λεγομένης ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ καταλέγοντες τοὺς φθάσαντας, μετὰ τὸ προσεληλυθέναι τῷ λόγῳ, ἐπταικέναι.

^k Athan. Ep. ad Rufinian. (Bened. Paris. 1698. vol. i. p. 963 at bottom.) Ἦρρεν ὅπερ ὧδε καὶ πανταχοῦ, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν καταπεπτωκόσι καὶ προΐσταμένοις τῆς ἀσεβείας, συγγινώσκειν μὲν μετανοοῦσι, μὴ διδόναι δὲ αὐτοῖς τόπον κλήρου.

^l Concil. Nic. c. x. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 33.) "Οσοι προεχειρίσθησαν τῶν παραπεπτωκότων κατὰ ἄγνοιαν, ἢ καὶ προειδόντων τῶν προχειρισμένων, τοῦτο οὐ προκρίνει τῷ κανόνι τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ· γνωσθέντες γὰρ καθαιροῦνται.

^m Cyprian. Ep. lxxviii. al. lxxvii. (Oxon. 1682. p. 174.) Ejusmodi homines ad poenitentiam quidem agendam posse admitti ; ab ordinatione autem cleri atque sacerdotali honore prohiberi.

ⁿ Athan. de Synod. Arim. et Seleuc. (Colon. 1686. tom. i. p. 887. C 6.) Ἀστέριος δὲ τις ἀπὸ Καππαδοκίας, πολυκέφαλος σοφιστῆς, εἰς ὧν τῶν περὶ Εὐσέβιον, ἐπειδὴ θύσας ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ διωγμῷ, τῷ κατὰ τὸν πάππον Κωνσταντίου, οὐκ ἠδύνατο παρὰ αὐτῶν εἰς κλήρον προαχθῆναι, κ. τ. λ.

^o Socrat. lib. i. c. xxxvi. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 59, at bottom.) Συνῆν δὲ

by Asterius the Sophist; whom they would not ordain, because he had sacrificed in time of persecution. But they were far from being constant to this rule; for if Philostorgius^p says true, the leading bishops of the Arian party, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Maris of Chalcedon, Theognis of Nice, Leontius of Antioch, Antonius of Tarsus, Menophantus of Ephesus, Numenius, Eudoxius, Alexander, and Asterius of Cappadocia, all sacrificed in the Diocletian persecution. But then it must be owned, that some of these were ordained bishops in the Church before the Arian heresy began to appear: whence we must conclude, that either the bishops who ordained them, knew nothing of their lapsing, or else that the Church herself sometimes granted dispensations in this case also. Baronius^q and some others lay it to the charge of Eusebius the historian, that he sacrificed in time of persecution: Petavius^r, and Huetius^s, and Mr. Pagi^t, bring the same charge against Origen out of

ὁ Ἀστέριος συνεχῶς καὶ τοῖς ἐπισκόποις, τοῖς μάλιστα τὴν Ἀρειανῶν δόξαν μὴ ἀθετοῦσι καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰς τὰς συνόδους ἀπήντα, ὑποδῦναι μιᾶς πόλεως ἐπισκοπὴν προθυμούμενος· ἀλλ' ἱερωσύνης μὲν ἡστόχησε, διὰ τὸ ἐπιτεθυκέναι κατὰ τὸν διωγμόν.

^p Philostorg. lib. ii. c. xiv. (Vales. Amstel. p. 475.)

^q Baron. ad an. cccxxxv. n. viii. (Lucæ, 1739. vol. iv. p. 257.) Potamon invecutus est voce magna contra Eusebium, et dixit: Tu sedes, Eusebi, et Athanasius innocens stans a te judicatur? quis tulerit talia! Dic mihi tu: nonne mecum fuisti in carcere tempore persecutionis? Et ego quidem oculum amisi pro veritate: tu vero nihil mutilatum in corpore habere videris, neque testimonium propter confessionem tribuisti, sed stetisti vivens, nulla parte detruncata. Quomodo discessisti e carcere? nisi quod promisisti iis, qui necessitatem nobis persecutionis intulerunt, id quod nefarium est, te facturum esse, aut sane fecisti?

^r Petav. Animadvers. in Epiphani. Hæres. lxiv. n. ii. p. 259. Verisimile est Origenem, cum in Decii persecutione adfecta jam ætate lapsus esset, in Palæstinam recessisse, ac Tyri mortuum esse.

^s Huet. Origenian. lib. i. c. iv. pp. 21, 22, 23.

^t Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. ccli. n. vi. (Lucæ, vol. ii. p. 603.) Negat Baronius, Origenem in hac Decii persecutione lapsum, ejusque sententiam Valesius in notis Eusebianis sequutus est. Præferenda tamen sententia Petavii in Animadversionibus ad Epiphanium Hæres. lxiv. n. ii. et ad librum ejusdem de Ponderibus et Mensuris c. xviii., atque Huetii lib. i. Origenianorum c. iv., sancto Epiphanio id adserenti fidem adhibendam censentium. Hæc Epiphanii verba: 'ob eximiam sanctitatem et eruditionem summam in invidiam est adductus,' etc. Quæ verba licet ab aliquo Origeniani nominis hoste in Epiphanii textum intrusa dicat Baronius, tamen vel ipsa styli similitudo, ut inquit Petavius, satis Epiphanio adjudicat. Facti illius etiam meminerunt Nemesius

Epiphanius, the first reporter of the story: whilst Valesius^u and Du Pin^v undertake to vindicate the reputation of Origen from so foul an aspersion; and Hanckius^x and Dr. Cave^y do the same for Eusebius. I will not interpose in these controversies; but only observe, that if the accusations brought against those two persons were true, the consequence must be, either that persons who had lapsed might be ordained, or at least continue in their orders undeposed, when the Church saw fit to dispense with her ordinary rule; which probably was not so

(cap. xx.) Leontius Byzantius, et Justinianus imperator adversus Origenis errores, qui a synodo quinta probatus est. Et profecto incredibile videtur, hunc imperatorem in encyclica epistola ad universos episcopos destinata, quæ in Concilii quinti Acta refertur, vel qui nomine ejus eamdem scripsit, mendacium re nulla postulante confictum, patribus in os objecisse viris non illiteratis, et rei inauditæ novitatem procul dubio miraturis, ejusque falsitatem facile perspecturis.

^u Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. vi. c. xxxix. (p. 116, A 13.) De Æthiope adversus Origenem subornato, et de abnegata fide, nihil heic dicit Eusebius: sed et Baroni-
us cuncta hæc fabulosa esse merito censuit. Nemesius tamen, in libro de Natura Hominis, c. xxx., narrationem illam Epiphani confirmat.

^v Du Pin, Bibliothèque, tom. i. p. 444, edit. Anglic. Lond. 1692. fol. (tom. i. p. 225, edit. Latin. Colon. 1692. 4to.) Saint Epiphane l'accuse de s'estre
approché des autels, et d'avoir fait semblant d'offrir de l'encens aux Dieux; mais cette histoire, et presque tout ce que Saint Epiphane rapport d'Origènes, est fabuleux, et fait à plaisir par quelque ennemi d'Origènes, qui a trompé Saint Epiphane homme assez crédule. (Paris. 1693. vol. i. p. 146.)

^x Hanckius, de Scriptor. Byzantin. part. i. c. i. n. clviii. Crimen illud, quod ab inimicis Eusebio per altercationes objectum quidem, cujus autem convictus non fuit, in dubium merito venit. Quin, cum credibile non sit, Eusebio si gentilium diis sacrificasset, per istius rei conscios Cæsariensem episcopatum postea vel collatum vel permissum fuisse; potius vero simile, quoniam Eusebius ex carcere salvus emissus erat, alios ea gratia non dimissos, suspicionis materiam consequutos, illum non sine culpa, vel sacrificantis, vel sacrificaturi, custodia digressum: cum tamen ex eo potuerit alio modo liberari.

^y Cave, Histor. Litter. (vol. i. p. 128, edit. Londin.) (p. 112, edit. Genev. 1710. fol.) Postea nata adversariis ejus calumniandi materia, ipsum nempe carceri inclusum idolis immolasse. Objecerunt id ei anno 335. Synodo Tyriæ inter alios præsidenti confessores Ægyptii, et in his præcipue Potamo episcopus Heraclien-
sis. Verum si accusasse sufficiat, quis erit innocens? odio et livore ducti tela in illum undique arripiebant: neque ullum hac in re testem proferunt, præter levem quemdam rumusculum, seu rumoris potius suspicionem, quod nec ipse diffitetur Potamo, nulla alia ex causa ortum, quam quod Eusebius ex carcere salvus et illæsus evaserat. Quid? quod si immolasset, ex rigida istius temporis disciplina, omni clericali gradu excidisset, certe ad superiorem ordinem neutiquam promovendus.

strict, but that it might admit of some relaxation, when proper occasions and cases extraordinary seemed to require it.

SECT. VIII.—*No Usurer, or Seditious Person.*

Another crime which unqualified men for orders in those times, was sedition or rebellion: for he that stood convicted of treasonable practices was never to be ordained. This appears from the fourth Council of Carthage^z, which joins the seditious and usurers together, and excludes them both from ordination. As to the crime of usury, I shall not here stand to explain the nature of it, which will be done in a more convenient place^{zz}; but only observe, that this crime, in the sense in which the ancients condemned it, was of such an odious and scandalous nature as to debar men that had been guilty of it, from the honour and privilege of ordination. Whence Gennadius, speaking of the practice of the Latin Church, and the qualifications required in persons to be ordained, says, they must not be men convicted of taking usury^a. In the Greek Church, at least in the province of Cappadocia, the rule seems not to have been altogether so strict: for St. Basil's canons^b do not absolutely exclude such from the ministry, but allow them to be ordained, provided they first gave away to the poor what they had gained by usury, and promised not to exercise it for the future.

SECT. IX.—*No one who had voluntarily Dismembered his own Body.*

Another crime which made a man irregular, and debarred him from the privilege of ordination, was the disfiguring or dismembering of his own body. If any man, indeed, happened

^z Conc. Carth. IV. c. lxvii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1205.) Seditiosarios numquam ordinandos clericos, sicut nec usurarios, nec injuriarum suarum ultores.

^{zz} See lib. vi. c. ii. § vi. vol. ii. p. 114.

^a Gennad. de Eccles. Dogmat. lxxiii. Neque illum, qui usuras accepisse convincitur.

^b Basil. c. xiv. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. tom. ii. p. 71. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1729.) Ὁ τόκος λαμβάνων, ἐὰν καταδέξηται τὸ ἄδικον κέρδος εἰς πτωχοὺς ἀναλῶσαι, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, τοῦ νοσήματος τῆς φιλοχρηματίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι δεκτός ἐστιν εἰς ἱερωσύνην.

to be born an eunuch, there was no law against his ordination : for Eusebius^c says, Dorotheus, presbyter of Antioch, was an eunuch from his mother's womb ; and Socrates^d and Sozomen say of Tigris, presbyter of Constantinople, that he was made an eunuch by a barbarian master. Or if a man had suffered the loss of any member by the cruelty of the persecutors ; as many confessors, in the Diocletian persecution, had their right eyes bored out, and their left legs enfeebled ; in that case there was no prohibition of their ordination, except they were utterly incapacitated from doing the office of ministers, by being made blind, or deaf, or dumb ; for so those called the Apostolical Canons^e determined : " A man that hath lost his eye, or is maimed in his leg, may be ordained bishop, if he be otherwise worthy ; for it is not any imperfection of body that defiles a man, but the pollution of his soul. Yet if a man is deaf or blind, he shall not be made bishop ; not because he is polluted, but because he will not be able to perform the duties of his function." The Council of Nice adds a third case, in which it was lawful to ordain dismembered persons ; which was, when, in case of a mortal distemper, the physicians thought it necessary to cut off one limb of the body to save the whole. All these were excepted cases, and the prohibition of the canons did not extend to them : but the crime was when any one 'dismembered himself in health,' as the Nicene canon^f words it ; such an one was not to be ordained ; or if

^c Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxxii. (p. 232. B 11. edit. Vales.) Τὴν φύσιν εὐνοῦχος, οὕτω πεφυκὼς ἐξ αὐτῆς γενέσεως.

^d Socrat. lib. vi. c. xv. (Vales. 1700. p. 264. A 4.) Ἐκέλευον δὲ παρεῖναι ἅμα αὐτῷ Σεραπίωνα, καὶ Τίγριν εὐνοῦχον πρεσβύτερον, καὶ Παῦλον ἀναγνώστην. — Sozomen. lib. viii. c. xxiv. (Vales. 1700. p. 640. D 7.) Ἐν τῷ τότε καιρῷ καὶ Τίγριος πρεσβύτερος τῆς ἐσθῆτος γυμνωθεὶς, καὶ κατὰ νότου μαστιγωθείς, πόδας καὶ χεῖρας δεδεμένος διαταθεὶς, διελύθη τὰ ἄρθρα· ἐγένετο δὲ οὗτος βάρβαρος τὸ γένος, οὐκ ἐκ γενετῆς εὐνοῦχος· ἐν οἰκίᾳ δὲ τινος τῶν ἐν δυνάμει τὰ πρῶτα δουλεύσας, καὶ ἐπαινεθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ κεκτημένου, μετέσχεν ἐλευθερίας.

^e Can. Apost. c. lxxvi. lxxvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 41.) Εἴ τις ἀνάπηρος ἢ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν, ἢ τὸ σκέλος πεπληγμένος, ἄξιός ἐστιν, ἐπίσκοπος γινέσθω· οὐ γὰρ λώβη σωμαίων αὐτὸν μαιίνει, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς μολυσμός. Κωφὸς δὲ ὢν καὶ τυφλὸς, μὴ γινέσθω ἐπίσκοπος· οὐχ ὥς βεβλαμμένος, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά παρεμποδίζοιτο.

^f Concil. Nicæn. c. i. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 28.) Εἴ τις ἐν νόσῳ ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν ἐχειρουργήθη, ἢ ὑπὸ βαρβάρων ἐξετμήθη, οὗτος μενέτω ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ· εἰ δὲ τις ὑγιαίνων ἑαυτὸν ἐξέτεμε, τοῦτον καὶ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἐξεταζόμενον πεπαῦσθαι

he was ordained when he committed the fact, he was to be deposed. The Apostolical Canons^g give this reason for it, "Because such an one is, in effect, a self-murderer, and an enemy of the workmanship of God." Nor was it any excuse in this case, that a man made himself an eunuch out of a pretended piety, or to avoid fornication. For such were liable to the penalty of the canon as well as any others; which is noted by Gennadius^h and the Council of Arlesⁱ. And, indeed, the first reason of making the canon was to prevent that mistaken notion of piety, which had once possessed Origen^k, who taking those words of our Saviour, "There are some that make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake," in a wrong sense, fulfilled them literally upon himself. And the Valesian heretics carried the matter a little further, asserting, that men ought to serve God after that manner; and therefore they both made themselves eunuchs, and all that

προσέκει· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δεῦρο μηδένα τῶν τοιούτων χρῆναι προάγεσθαι· ὥσπερ δὲ τοῦτο πρόδηλον, ὅτι περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευόντων τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τολμώντων ἑαυτοὺς ἐκτέμνειν, εἴρηται· οὕτως εἴ τινες ὑπὸ βαρβάρων ἢ δεσποτῶν εὐνουχίσθησαν, εὐρίσκοιντο δὲ ἄλλως ἄξιοι, τοὺς τοιούτους εἰς κλῆρον προσίεται ὁ κανὼν.

^g Can. Apost. c. xxi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 29.) 'Ο ἀκρωτηριάσας ἑαυτὸν, μὴ γινέσθω κληρικός· αὐτοφονευτῆς γάρ ἐστιν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δημιουργίας ἐχθρός.

^h Gennad. de Eccles. Dogm. c. lxxii. Neque eum (ordinandum) qui semetipsum quolibet corporis sui membro, indignatione aliqua vel justo injustove timore superatus, truncaverit.

ⁱ Conc. Arelat. II. c. vii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1012.) Hos, qui se carnali vitio repugnare nescientes abscidunt, ad clerum pervenire non posse.

^k Euseb. lib. vi. c. viii. (Amstel. 1695. p. 169.) 'Εν τούτῳ δὲ τῆς κατηχήσεως ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τοῦργον ἐπιτελοῦντι, τῷ Ὁριγένει πρᾶγμά τι διαπέπρακται, φρενὸς μὲν ἀτελοῦς καὶ νεανικῆς· πίστεώς γε μὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ σωφροσύνης μέγιστον δεῖγμα περιέχον· τὸ γὰρ εἰσὶν εὐνουχοὶ οἵτινες εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀπλούστερον καὶ νεανικώτερον καὶ ἐκλαβὼν, ὁμοῦ μὲν Σωτήριον φωνὴν ἀποπληροῦν οἰόμενος· ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ νέον τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντα, μὴ ἀνδράσι μόνον, καὶ γυναιξὶ δὲ τὰ θεῖα προσομιλεῖν· ὥς ἂν πᾶσαν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἀπίστοις αἰσχρᾶς διαβολῆς ὑπόνοιαν ἀποκλείσειε, τὴν σωτήριον φωνὴν ἔργοις ἐπιτελέσαι ὠρμήθη. — Eriphan. Hæres. lxiv. n. iii. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 527. A 2.) Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν Ὁριγένην ἐπινενοηκέναι ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τὸ σωματίον· οἱ μὲν λέγουσι νεῦρον ἀποτετμηκέναι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἡδονῇ ὀχλεῖσθαι, μὴδὲ ἐν ταῖς κινήσει ταῖς σωματικαῖς φλέγεσθαι τε καὶ πυρβολεῖσθαι· ἄλλοι δὲ οὐχὶ φησιν, ἀλλὰ ἐπενόησέ τι φάρμακον ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς μορίοις, καὶ ἀποξηρᾶναι.

came over to them, as St. Austin¹ informs us. It was to correct and discountenance these erroneous opinions and practices, that the Church at first made this rule; which was so nicely observed, that we scarce meet with two instances to the contrary in after-ages. Leontius made himself an eunuch, to avoid suspicion in his converse with the virgin Eustolium; but he was deposed from the office of presbyter for the fact: and it gave occasion to the Council of Nice to renew the ancient canon against such practices; so that when the Arians afterward ordained him bishop of Antioch, the historians^m tell us, the Catholics generally declaimed against his ordination as uncanonical. The only instance that looks like a dispensation with this rule, is what we have in Baronius, concerning Timotheus, bishop of Alexandria, his ordaining Ammon, the Egyptian monk, who, to avoid being ordained, had cut off his own right ear to make himself irregular; notwithstanding which, Baroniusⁿ says, "Timotheus ordained him, and justified what he did with this expression, that this law, indeed, was observed by the Jews; but for his own part, if they brought to him a man without a nose that was but of good morals, he would ordain him bishop." But there is some reason to question the truth of this narration; for not only Palladius, whom Baronius cites, but Socrates^o and Sozomen, in telling the story, seem

¹ August. de Hæres. c. xxxvii. Valesii et se ipsos castrant, et hospites suos, hoc modo existimantes Deo se debere servire.

^m Socrat. lib. ii. c. xxvi. (Vales. 1700. p. 97.) . . . Λεόντιος ὁ τῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίας τότε προεστηκώς· ὅστις ἦν καὶ πρεσβύτερος ἦν, ἀφηρέθη τῆς ἀξίας, ὅτι γυναικὶ συνδιημερεύων Εὐστολίῳ ὄνομα, καὶ τὴν εἰς αὐτὴν αἰσχρὰν ὑπόνοιαν ἐπικρύψαι σπουδάσας, τῶν γεννητικῶν ἐξέτεμεν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ παρῥησιέστερον τῇ γυναικὶ συνδιῆγεν, ὥς μὴ ἔχων δι' αὐτὴν αὐτὴν διεβάλλετο· γνώμῃ δὲ καὶ σπουδῇ τοῦ βασιλέως Κωνσταντίου τῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίας προεβλήθη ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ Στέφανον, ὃς Πλάκιτον διεδέκτο πρότερον.—Theodoret. lib. ii. c. xxiv. (Vales. p. 106.) Ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ μετὰ Στέφανον, ὃς Φλάκιλλον διαδεξάμενος τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐξηλάθη συλλόγων, Λεόντιος τὴν προεδρίαν ἐδέξατο, παρὰ τοὺς ἐν Νικαίᾳ γραφέντας ὅρους ταύτην λαβών· ἐκτομίας γὰρ ἦν, αὐτουργὸς γενόμενος τῆς τόλμης.

ⁿ Baron. an. ccclxxxv. n. xxx. p. 523. (Lucæ, vol. v. p. 593.) A Judæis lex ista servatur. Ego, si dederitis mihi aliquem etiam naribus truncum, sed moribus probum, non eum dubitabo episcopum facere.

^o Socrat. lib. iv. c. xxiii. Sozom. lib. i. c. xiv. Pallad. Histor. Lausiæ. c. xii.

rather to intimate that he was not ordained. However, supposing it to be true, it is a singular instance, and we shall hardly find such another in all the history of the Church. Which shows how cautious the ancients were in observing this rule, that they might not bring any disrepute or scandal upon the Church.

SECT. X.—*Men only accountable for Crimes committed after Baptism, as to what concerned Ordination.*

But in all these and the like cases, there is one thing particularly to be observed, that the crimes which made men irregular, were generally understood to be such only as were committed after baptism. For all crimes, committed before baptism, were supposed to be so purged away in the waters of baptism, as that a perfect amnesty passed upon them, and men notwithstanding them were capable of ordination. So that not only the crimes which men committed whilst they were heathens, but such as they fell into when they were catechumens, were overlooked in this inquiry, when their morals came to be examined for ordination. This is evident not only from the known case of St. Austin, whose faults were never objected to him at his ordination, because they were only such as preceded his baptism; but also from the rule made in the Council of Ancyra, in the case of such as lapsed into idolatry, whilst they were only catechumens. For the canon^p says, “That such as sacrificed before baptism, and were afterwards baptized, might be promoted to ecclesiastical dignities, as persons that were cleansed from all crimes by the sanctification of baptism.” It is true, only that one crime of sacrificing is here specified; but, by parity of reason, the rule must be understood to extend to all other cases of the like nature: and so the practice of the Church has commonly determined it.

^p Conc. Ancyra. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1460.) Τὸν πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος τεθυκότα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα βαπτισθέντα, ἔδοξεν εἰς τάξιν προάγεσθαι, ὡς ἀπολουσαμένους.

SECT. XI.—*Except any great Irregularity happened in their Baptism itself. As in the case of Clinic Baptism.*

Yet here again we must observe, that if any great irregularity happened in men's baptism itself, such crimes were always objected against them, to debar them from ordination. Thus it was frequently with those who were baptized only with clinic baptism, in time of sickness or urgent necessity, when they had carelessly deferred their baptism to such a critical moment, and might have had it sooner, had it not been their own default. This delaying of baptism was always esteemed a very great crime, and worthy of some ecclesiastical censure. And therefore the Church, among other methods which she took to discountenance the practice of it, thought fit to punish persons who had been guilty of it, and had put themselves upon the fatal necessity of a clinic baptism, by denying them ordination. We have a canon in the Council of Neo-Cæsarea^a to this purpose: "If any man is baptized only in time of sickness, he shall not be ordained a presbyter; because his faith was not voluntary, but, as it were, of constraint; except his subsequent faith and diligence recommend him, or else the scarcity of men make it necessary to ordain him." And that this was an old rule of the Church, appears from the account which Cornelius^r gives of the ordination of Novatian to be presbyter. He says, "The clergy and many of the people objected against it, alleging, that it was not lawful to ordain one who had been baptized upon his bed in time of sickness; and that the bishop was forced to intercede with them, to give way to his ordination, as a matter of grace and favour." Which shows, that the ordination of such was contrary to the common rule and practice of the Church.

^a Conc. Neo-Cæsar. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1483.) Ἐὰν νοσῶν τις φωτισθῇ, εἰς πρεσβύτερον ἄγεσθαι οὐ δύναται· οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως γὰρ ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης· εἰ μὴ τάχα διὰ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν καὶ πίστιν, ἢ διὰ σπάνιν ἀνθρώπων.

^r See Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. (p. 199. C 8. Amstelod.) Ὅς διακωλυόμενος ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαϊκῶν πολλῶν· ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐξὸν ἦν τὸν ἐπὶ κλίνης διὰ νόσον περιχυθέντα, ὥσπερ καὶ οὗτος, εἰς κλῆρον τινὰ γενέσθαι, ἠξίωσε συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ τοῦτον μόνον χειροτονῆσαι.

SECT. XII.—*And Heretical Baptism.*

In like manner, they who were baptized by heretics, were not ordinarily allowed clerical promotion, when they returned to the bosom of the Catholic Church. The Council of Eliberis is very peremptory^s in its decree, “That whatever heresy they came from, they should not be ordained; or if any such were already ordained, they should be undoubtedly degraded.” Pope Innocent^t testifies for the same practice in the Roman Church, saying, “It is the custom of our Church to grant only lay communion to those that return from heretics, by whom they were baptized, and not to admit any of them to the very lowest order of the clergy.” But it must be confessed, that the Council of Nice dispensed with the Novatians^u in this respect, allowing their clergy, though both baptized and ordained among them, to be received with imposition of hands, and retain their orders in the Church. And the African fathers granted the same indulgence to the Donatists, to encourage them to return to the unity of the Catholic Church. For in the Council of Carthage, an. 397, which is inserted into the African Code^v, a proposal was made, that such as had been baptized among the Donatists in their infancy, by their parents’ fault, without their own knowledge and consent, should, upon their return to the Church, be allowed the privilege of ordination: and in the next council^x the pro-

^s Concil. Illiber. can. li. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 976.) Ex omni hæresi fidelis si venerit, minime est ad clerum promovendus: vel si qui sunt in præteritum ordinati, sine dubio deponantur.

^t Innocent. Ep. xxii. n. iv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1274. B 14.) Nostræ lex ecclesiæ est, venientibus ab hæreticis, qui tamen illic baptizati sint, per manus impositionem laicam tantum tribuere communionem, nec ex his aliquem in clericatus honorem vel exiguum subrogare.

^u Conc. Nic. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 32.) Περὶ τῶν ὀνομαζόντων μὲν ἑαυτοὺς καθαρούς ποτε, προσερχομένων δὲ τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ ὥστε χειροθετούμενους αὐτοὺς, μένειν οὕτως ἐν τῇ κλήρῳ.

^v Cod. Can. Afric. c. xlvi. al. xlvii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1071.) Ἦρεσεν, ἵνα ἐρωτήσωμεν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ συνιερεῖς ἡμῶν Σιρίκιον καὶ Συμπλικιανὸν περὶ μόνων τῶν νηπίων τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Δονατισταῖς βαπτιζομένων, μήπως τοῦτο, ὅπερ οἰκεία προθέσει οὐκ ἐποίησαν, τῇ τῶν γονέων πλάνῃ ἐμποδίσῃ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ μὴ προκόπτειν εἰς ὑπουργίαν τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου, ὅταν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν σωτηριώδεις προθέσει ἐπιστρέψωσι.

^x Ibid. c. lvi. al. lvii. (p. 1084.) Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ ἀνωτέρᾳ συνόδῳ ὀρισθὲν μέμνηται ἅμα ἡμοῖς ἢ ὑμετέροις ὁμοψυχία, ὥστε τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς Δονατισταῖς

posal was accepted, and a decree passed accordingly in favour of them. By which we may understand, that this was a piece of discipline that might be insisted on or waved, according as Church-governors in prudence thought most for the benefit and advantage of the Church. But in case the persons so returning had been baptized by such heretics whose baptism was null, and to be reiterated in the Church, as the baptism of the Paulianists or Samosatzenian heretics was ; in that case it was determined by the great Council of Nice, that such persons, when they were rebaptized, might be ordained^y. For baptism, as has been noted before, set men clear of all crimes : and their former baptism being null, that was reckoned their only baptism which they received at their return to the Catholic Church ; and no crimes, committed before that, were then to prejudice their ordination in the Church.

SECT. XIII.—*No Man to be ordained, who had not made all his Family Catholic Christians.*

I cannot here omit to mention another qualification required of persons to be ordained, because it was of great use and service in the Church ; which was, that none should be admitted, at least to the superior degrees of bishops, presbyters, or deacons, before they had made all the members of their family Catholic Christians. This is a rule we find in the third Council of Carthage^z, which was equally designed to promote

μικροὺς βαπτιζομένους, μηδέπω δυναμένους γινώσκειν τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν τὸν ὄλεθρον, μετὰ τὸ εἰς κεῖραν λογισμοῦ δεκτικὴν παραγενέσθαι, ἐπιγνωσθείσης τῆς ἀληθείας, τὴν φαυλότητα ἐκείνων βδελυττομένους πρὸς τὴν καθολικὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν, τὴν ἀνὰ πάντα τὸν κόσμον διακεχυμένην, τάξει ἀρχαία διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῆς χειρὸς ἀναδεχθῆναι, τοὺς τοιούτους ἐκ τοῦ τῆς πλάνης ὀνόματος μὴ ὀφείλειν ἐμποδίζεσθαι εἰς τάξιν κληρώσεως, ὅποτε τὴν ἀληθινὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἰδίαν ἐαυτῶν ἐλογίσαντο τῇ πίστει προσερχόμενοι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῷ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντες, τῆς τριάδος τὰ ἀγιάσματα ὑπεδέξαντο.

^y Concil. Nic. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 37.) Περὶ Παυλιανισάντων, εἴτα προσφυγόντων τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅρος ἐκτίθεται ἀναβαπτίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐξάπαντος· εἰ δέ τινες ἐν τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἐξητάσθησαν, εἰ μὲν ἄμεμπτοι καὶ ἀνεπίληπτοι φανεῖν, ἀναβαπτισθέντες χειροτονίσθωσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου.

^z Concil. Carth. III. can. xviii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1170.) Ut episcopi, presbyteri, et diaconi non ordinentur, priusquam omnes, qui sunt in domo eorum, Christianos catholicos fecerint.

the conversion of Pagans, Jews, Heretics, and Schismatics, who are all opposed to Catholic Christians. And it was a very proper rule in that case, since nothing could be more disadvantageous or dishonourable to religion, than to have any countenance or secret encouragement given to its opposers by those who were designed to serve at the altar. Besides that, this was but a proper way of making reprisals upon the heathen religion; for Julian had made a like decree for his Pagan priests in opposition to the Christians, charging Arsacius, high-priest of Galatia, that he should admit none^a to the priest's office who tolerated either servants, or children, or wives that were Galilæans, and did not come, with their whole family and retinue, to the worship of the gods in the idol-temples. It had been a great omission and oversight in the governors of the Christian Church, had they not been as careful to secure the interest of the true religion in the families of their ministers, as that Pagan prince was to secure a false religion among his idol-priests. And therefore had there been nothing more than emulation in the case, yet that had been a sufficient reason to have laid this injunction upon all the candidates of the Christian priesthood.

SECT. XIV.—*What Methods were anciently taken to prevent Simoniacal Promotions.*

There is but one qualification more I shall mention under this head, which was, that men should come honestly and legally to their preferment, and use no indirect or sinister arts to procure themselves an ordination. Merit, and not bribery, was to be their advocate, and the only thing to be considered in all elections. In the three first ages, whilst the preferments were small, and the persecutions great, there was no great danger of ambitious spirits, nor any great occasion to make laws against Simoniacal promotions. For then martyrdom was as it were a thing annexed to a bishopric; and the first

^a Julian. Ep. ad Arsac. ap. Sozomen. lib. v. c. xvi. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 503. C.) Τῆς ἱερατικῆς λειτουργίας ἀπόστησον, εἰ μὴ προσέρχονται μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων καὶ θεραπόντων τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἀνέχονται τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἢ υἱέων, ἢ τῶν Γαλιλαίων γαμετῶν, ἀσεβούντων μὲν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀθεότητα δὲ θεοσεβείας προτιμώντων.

persons that were commonly aimed and struck at, were the rulers and governors of the Church. But in after-ages ambition and bribery crept in among other vices ; and then severe laws were made, both in Church and state, to check and prevent them. Sulpicius Severus takes notice of this difference betwixt the ages of persecution, and those that followed, when he says ^b, that “ In the former, men strove who should run fastest to those glorious combats, and more greedily sought for martyrdom by honourable deaths, than, in after-times, by wicked ambition they sought for the bishoprics of the Church.” This implies, that in the age when Sulpicius lived, in the fifth century, some irregular arts were used by particular men to advance themselves to the preferments of the Church. To correct whose ambition and ill designs the Church inflicted very severe censures upon all such as were found guilty of simony, or as some then ^c called it, *χριστεμπορείαν*, the selling of Christ. The Council of Chalcedon decreed ^d, that “ if any bishop gave ordination, or an ecclesiastical office or preferment of any kind, for money, he himself should lose his office, and the party so preferred be deposed.” And the reader may find several other constitutions of the same import in those called the Apostolical Canons ^e, the Council of Constantinople ^f under Gennadius, an.

^b Sever. Histor. lib. ii. p. 99, edit. Amstelod. 1656. 8vo. (lib. ii. c. xxxiii. p. 248, edit. Lips. 1703.) Certatim gloriosa in certamina ruebatur ; multoque avidius tum martyria gloriosis mortibus quærebantur, quam nunc episcopatus pravis ambitionibus appetuntur.

^c Epist. Alexandri Alexandrini, ap. Theodoret. lib. i. c. iv. (p. 9. B 5.) Οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου χριστεμπορείαν θεωροῦντες, οὐκ ἔτι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑποχείριοι μένειν ἐκαρτέρησαν.

^d Concil. Chalced. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 755.) Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἐπὶ χρήμασι χειροτονίαν ποιήσαιο, καὶ εἰς πράσιν καταγάγῃ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἐπίσκοπον, ἢ χωρεπίσκοπον, ἢ πρεσβύτερον, ἢ διάκονον, ἢ ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ καταριθμουμένων, ἢ προβάλλοιτο ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἢ οἰκόνομον, ἢ ἐκδικον, ἢ προσμονάριον, ἢ ὅλως τινὰ τοῦ κανόνος, δι’ αἰσχροκέρδειαν οἰκείαν· ὁ τοῦτο ἐπιχειρήσας, ἐλεγχθεὶς, περὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον κινδυνεύετω βαθμόν· καὶ ὁ χειροτονούμενος μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς κατ’ ἐμπορίαν ὠφελείσθω χειροτονίας ἢ προβολῆς, ἀλλ’ ἔστω ἀλλότριος τῆς ἀξίας, ἢ τοῦ φροντίσματος, οὐπερ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἔτυχεν· εἰ δὲ τις καὶ μεσιτεύων φανείῃ τοῖς οὕτως αἰσχροῖς καὶ ἀθεμίτοις λήμμασιν, καὶ οὗτος, εἰ μὲν κληρικὸς εἴη, τοῦ οἰκείου ἐκπιπτέτω βαθμοῦ· εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς, ἢ μονάζων, ἀναθεματιζέσθω.

^e Canon. Apost. c. xxix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 32.) Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος κοσμικοῖς

459, the second Council of Orleans^g, Bracara^h, and many others. The imperial laws also were very properly contrived to prevent this abuse. For by one of Justinian's lawsⁱ it was enacted, that whenever a bishop was to be chosen, the electors themselves should take an oath, and insert it into the election-paper, that they did not choose him for any gift, or promise, or friendship, or any other cause; but only because they knew him to be a man of the true Catholic faith, and an unblameable life and good learning. And in another of his laws, where this same injunction is repeated, it is further provided, that the party elected shall also, at the time of his ordination, take an oath upon the holy Gospels, that he neither gave^k nor promised, by himself or other, nor hereafter will give to his ordainer, or to his electors, or any other person, any thing to

ἀρχουσι χρησάμενος, δι' αὐτῶν ἐγκρατὴς γένηται ἐκκλησίας, καθαιρείσθω, καὶ ἀφοριζέσθω, καὶ οἱ κοινωνοῦντες αὐτῷ πάντες.

^f Conc. CP. Epist. Synod. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1026.) Ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸς καὶ Σωτὴρ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐγχειρίσας τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ διδασκάλους τούτους ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνθρώποις ἐξαποστείλας, παρεκελεύσατο διαρρήδην, ἣν εἰλήφασι παρ' αὐτοῦ δωρεάν, ταύτης καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μεταδιδόναι δωρεάν, μὴ κτωμένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς χαλκόν, ἢ ἄργυρον, ἢ χρυσόν, ἢ τινα περιουσίαν, ἄλλως ὅλως ὑλικὴν ἢ γεώδη. ταύτην τὴν ἐντολήν, οὐ μόνον ἐκείνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν δι' ἐκείνων ἐνετείλατο, κ. τ. λ.

^g Conc. Aurel. II. c. iii. (ibid. p. 1780.) Ne quis episcopus de quibuslibet causis, vel episcoporum ordinationibus, cæterorumque clericorum, aliquid præsumat accipere: quia sacerdotem nefas est cupiditatis venalitate corrumpi.—Ibid. can. iv. Si quis sacerdotium per pecuniæ nundinum exsecrabili ambitione quæsierit, abjiciatur ut reprobus: quia apostolica sententia donum Dei esse præcipit pecuniæ trutina minime comparandum.

^h Conc. Bracar. III. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 897.) Placuit, ut de ordinationibus clericorum episcopi munera nulla suscipiant, sed, sicut scriptum est, quod gratis donante Deo accipiant, gratis dent. Et non aliquo pretio gratia Dei et impositio manuum venundetur.

ⁱ Justin. Novell. cxxiii. c. i. vide supra lib. iv. c. ii. § 18. not. (d) pag. 458.

^k Novell. cxxxvii. c. ii. (Amstel. 1663. p. 196.) Ὁρκὸν δὲ ὑπέχειν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν χειροτονούμενον κατὰ τῶν θείων γραφῶν, ὥς οὔτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε δι' ἑτέρου προσώπου δέδωκέ τι ἢ ὑπέσχετο, οὔτε μετὰ ταῦτα δώσει, ἢ αὐτῷ τῷ χειροτονούντι αὐτὸν, ἢ τοῖς τὰ ψηφίσματα εἰς αὐτὸν ποιησαμένοις, ἢ ἑτέρῳ τῶν πάντων τινὶ, ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν γινομένης χειροτονίας. Εἴ τις δὲ παρὰ τὴν μνημονευθεῖσαν παραφυλακὴν ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονηθῇ, κελεύομεν καὶ αὐτὸν πᾶσι τρόποις τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐκβάλλεσθαι, καὶ τὸν παρὰ ταῦτα τολμήσαντα χειροτονῆσαι.

procure him an ordination. And for any bishop to ordain another without observing the rule prescribed, is deposition by the same law, both for himself and the other whom he ordained. These were some of those ancient rules to be observed in the examination of men's lives and morals, before they were consecrated to the sacred function, or admitted to serve in any of the chief offices of the Church.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE QUALIFICATIONS OF PERSONS TO BE ORDAINED,
RESPECTING THEIR OUTWARD STATE AND CONDITION IN
THE WORLD.

SECT. I.—*No Soldier to be ordained.*

A THIRD inquiry was made into men's outward state and condition in the world: for there were some callings and states of life which debarred men from the privilege of ordination; not because they were esteemed absolutely sinful vocations, but because the duties attending them were commonly incompatible and inconsistent with the offices of the clergy. Of this nature were all those callings which come under the general name of 'Militia Romana,' which we cannot so properly English, 'the military life,' as 'the service of the empire:' for it includes several offices as well civil as military; the Romans, as Gothofred and other learned^a persons have observed, calling all

^a Gothofred. Comm. in Cod. Theod. lib. xii. tit. i. de Decurion. leg. lxiii. (Lugdun. 1665. vol. iv. p. 414.) Militiæ appellatione hoc ævo omne officium et obsequium publicum dictum est.—Vales. Not. in Sozom. lib. v. c. iv. p. 103. Triplex fuit militia apud Romanos. Prima et honoratissima est Palatina: eorum scilicet qui in palatio militabant. Secunda fuit castrensis sive armata. Tertia fuit cohortalis; eorum scilicet qui in officio præfectorum et præsidum militabant.—Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. ccclxxv. n. xii. (Lucæ, 1739. vol. v. p. 428.) (Antwerp. 1727. vol. i. p. 542.) Observat Gothofredus, hoc ævo militiæ et militandi, στρατείας καὶ στρατεύεσθαι, voce designari quæcumque officia muniaque publica: unde militia non tantum armata, sed etiam togata palatina, officialium advocatorum militia, λειτουργία, tandem omne publicum ministerium, atque adeo municipalia quoque seu curialia officia muniaque pro patria.

inferior officers by the name of 'Militia.' So there were three sorts of it, 'Militia Palatina,' 'Militia Castrensis or Armata,' and 'Militia Præsidialis or Cohortalis : ' the first including the officers of the emperor's palace ; the second, the armed soldiery of the camp ; and the third, the apparitors and officials of judges and governors of provinces ; all which were so tied to their service, that they could not forsake their station : and for that reason the laws of the state forbade any of them to be entertained as ecclesiastics, or ordained among the clergy. Honorius^b the emperor particularly made a law to this purpose, that no one who was originally tied to the military life, as some were even by birth, should, either before or after they were entered upon that life, take upon them any clerical office, or think to excuse themselves from their service under the notion of becoming ecclesiastical persons. The canons of the Church seem to have carried the matter a little further : for they forbade the ordination of any who had been soldiers after baptism, because they might perhaps have imbrued their hands in blood. This appears from the letters of Innocent I., who blames the Spanish Churches^c for admitting such persons into orders, alleging the canons of the Church against it. The first Council of Toledo forbids any such to be ordained deacons, "though they had never been concerned in shedding of blood ; because^d though they had not actually shed blood, yet by entering upon the military life they had obliged themselves, if occasion had so required, to have done it." Which seems to

^b Cod. Theod. lib. vii. tit. xx. de Veteranis, leg. xii. (Lugdun. 1665. vol. ii. p. 434.) Quoniam plurimos vel ante militiam, vel post inchoatam vel peractam, latere objectu piæ religionis agnovimus, dum se quidem vocabulo clericorum et infaustis defunctorum obsequiis occupatos, non tam observatione cultus, quam otii et socordiæ amore defendunt, nulli omnino tali excusari objectione permittimus.

^c Innocent. Ep. xxiii. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1281. D 4.) Quantos ex aliqua militia [adscitos ad sacerdotium esse comperimus,] qui quum potestatibus obedi- rent, severa necessario præcepta sunt exsequuti ?—(1282 B.) Ne quispiam qui post baptismum militaverit, ad ordinem debeat clericatus admitti.—Ep. ii. ad Victricium Rothomag. c. ii. p. 1250. Si quis post remissionem peccatorum, cingulum militiæ sæcularis habuerit, ad clericatum omnino admitti non debet.

^d Concil. Tolet. I. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1224.) Si quis post baptismum militaverit, chlamydem sumserit, aut cingulum ; etiamsi graviora non admiserit, si ad clerum admissus fuerit, diaconii non accipiat dignitatem.

import, that soldiers might be allowed in the inferior services, but were not to be admitted to the sacred and superior orders of the Church.

SECT. II.—*Nor any Slave or Freed Man without the Consent of the Patron.*

Another state of life, which debarred men from the privilege of ordination, was that of slaves or vassals in the Roman empire; who, being originally tied by birth or purchase to their patrons' or masters' service, could not legally be ordained, because the service of the Church was incompatible with their other duties; and no man was to be defrauded of his right under pretence of an ordination. In this case, therefore, the patron was always to be consulted before the servant was ordained. Thus in one of those called the Apostolical Canons^e, we find a decree, that no servants should be admitted among the clergy without the consent of their masters, to the grievance of the owners, and subversion of their families. But if a servant be found worthy of an ecclesiastical promotion, as Onesimus was, and his master gave his consent, and grant him his freedom, and let him go forth from his house, he may be ordained. The Council of Toledo^f has a canon to the same purpose. And the Council of Eliberis^g goes a little further, and says, "though a secular master," that is, an heathen, as Albaspinæus interprets it, "had made his servant a freeman, he should not be ordained." The reason of which is conceived to be, that such masters gave them only a conditional freedom, and still retained a right to exact certain services and manual labours of them, which would not consist with the service of

^e Can. Apost. lxxxi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 43.) Οἰκέτας εἰς κλῆρον προχειρίζεσθαι ἄνευ τῆς τῶν δεσποτῶν γνώμης, ἀνατροπὴν τὸ τοιοῦτο ἐργάζεσθαι· εἰ δὲ ποτε καὶ ἄξιος φανείη ὁ οἰκέτης πρὸς χειροτονίαν βαθμοῦ, οἷος καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος Ὀνήσιμος ἐφάνη, καὶ συγχωρήσουσιν οἱ δεσπόται, καὶ ἐλευθερώσουσι, καὶ τοῦ οἴκου ἐαυτῶν ἐξαποστελοῦσι, γινέσθω.

^f Concil. Tolet. I. c. x. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1225.) Clericos, si qui obligati sunt, vel pro æquatione, vel genere alicujus domus non ordinandos, nisi probatæ vitæ fuerint, et patronorum consensus accesserit.

^g Concil. Illiber. c. lxxx. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 979.) Prohibendum est, ut liberti, quorum patroni in sæculo fuerint, ad clerum [non] promoveantur.

the Church. The imperial laws also^h made provision in this case, that no persons under such obligations should be admitted to any office of the clergy; or if they were admitted, merely to evade their obligations, their masters should have power to recal them to their service, unless they were bishops or presbyters, or had continued thirty years in some other office of the Church. By which it appears, that the ordination of such persons was prohibited only upon a civil account; not because that state of life was sinful, or that it was any undervaluing or disgrace to the function to have such persons ordained, but because the duties of the civil and ecclesiastical state would not well consist together.

SECT. III.—*Nor any Member of a Civil Company or Society of Tradesmen who were tied to the Service of the Commonwealth.*

For the same reason the laws forbade the ordination of any persons who were incorporated into any society for the service of the commonwealth, unless they had first obtained the leave of the society, and prince, under whom they served. This is the meaning of that lawⁱ of Justinian, which forbids any of those called ταξεῶται, or ‘Cohortales,’ that is, the officers or apparitors of judges, to be ordained, unless they had first spent fifteen years in a monastic life. And the first Council of Orleans^k requires expressly either the command of the prince, or the consent of the judge, before any such secular officer be ordained. By the laws of Theodosius Junior^l and Valen-

^h Valent. iii. Novell. xii., ad calcem Cod. Theod. (Lugdun. 1665. vol. vi. p. 26.) Nullus originarius, inquilinus, servus, vel colonus, ad clericale munus accedat . . . ut vinculum debitæ conditionis evadat. (p. 27.) Originarii sane vel servi, qui jugum natalium declinantes, ad ecclesiasticum se ordinem transtulerunt, exceptis episcopis et presbyteris, ad dominorum jura recedant, si non in eodem officio annum tricesimum compleverunt.

ⁱ Justin. Novell. cxxiii. c. xv. (Amstel. 1663. p. 171.) Ἀλλὰ μηδὲ βουλευτὰς ἢ ταξεῶτας κληρικοὺς γίνεσθαι . . . πλὴν εἰ μὴ, ὥς εἰκὸς, μοναχικὸν βίον τις ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔλαττον δεκαπέντε ἐνιαυτῶν διήνυσεν.

^k Concil. Aurelian. I. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1405.) De ordinationibus clericorum id observandum esse decrevimus, ut nullus sæcularium ad clericatus officium præsumatur, nisi aut cum regis jussione aut cum judicis voluntate.

^l Theod. Novell. xxvi. de corporatis urbis Romæ; ad calcem Cod. Theod. (Lugdun. 1665. vol. vi. p. 13.) Illustris magnificentia tua pragmatici nostri

tinian III.^m, all corporation-men are forbidden to be ordained; and if any such were ordained among the inferior clergy, they were to be reclaimed by their respective companies: if among the superior, bishops, presbyters, or deacons, they must provide a proper substitute, qualified with their estate, to serve in the company from whence they were taken. The reader that is curious in this matter may find several other laws in the Theodosian Codeⁿ made by the elder Valentinian and Theodosius the Great, with respect to particular civil societies so incorporated for the use of the public; no member of which might be ordained, but either they must quit their estates, or be liable to be recalled to the service which they had unwarrantably forsaken.

SECT. IV.—*Nor any of the Curiales, or Decuriones, of the Roman Government.*

For reasons of the same nature, the canons were precise in forbidding the ordination of any of those who are commonly known by the name of ‘Curiales,’ or ‘Decuriones,’ in the

tenore comperto sciat, corporatum urbis Romæ, qui non expleto ordine cœpti officii, priusquam ad primum iter favos ad locum emeritus pervenerit, ad militiæ cujuslibet cingulum se credit transferendum, corporibus cui nomen suum ante dicaverat, oportere revocari: sive etiam in clericorum numero reperitur, usque ad diaconis locum similis præcepti conditio teneatur, etc.

^m Valent. Novell. xii. ibid. (Lugdun. 1665. vol. vi. p. 27.) Ii qui diaconi ordinati sunt, suffectos pro se dare debebunt. Si non habent, unde sibi hac ratione prospiciant, ipsi ad nexum proprium reducantur. Cæteris inferioris gradus ad competentia ministeria retrahendis: exceptis episcopis atque presbyteris: servatis tamen, quæ de patrimonio talium personarum legum præcedentium statuta sanxerunt. . . Ita ut hujus conditionis diaconus domino pro se vicarium reddat, omni pariter peculio restituto.

ⁿ Cod. Theod. lib. xiv. tit. iv. de Suariis, leg. viii. (Lugdun. 1665. vol. v. p. 178.) Eos qui ad clericatus se privilegia contulerunt, aut agnoscere oportet propriam functionem, aut ei corpori, quod declinant, proprii patrimonii facere cessionem.—Ibid. lib. xiv. tit. iii. de Pistoribus, leg. xi. (Lugdun. 1665. vol. v. p. 159.) Hac sanctione generaliter edicimus, nulli omnino ad ecclesias, ob declinanda pistrina, licentiam pandi: quod si quis ingressus fuerit, amputato privilegio Christianitatis, sciat se omni tempore ad consortium pistorum et posse et debere revocari.—It. lib. viii. tit. v. de Cursu Publico, leg. xlvi. (Lugdun. 1665. vol. ii. p. 553.) In his, qui non terrena sed cœlestia privilegia quæsiverunt, hoc custodiendum esse sancimus, ut si quemquam ex hujusmodi genere hominum jam tenet religio sacrosancta, ejusque operam non potest accipere mancipatus, facultates memorati cursus publicus consequatur.

Roman government ; that is, such as were members of the Curia, the court, or common-council of every city. These were men who, by virtue of their estates, who tied to bear the offices of their country : so that out of their body were chosen all civil officers, the magistrates of every city, the collectors of the public revenue, the overseers of all public works, the pontifices or flamens who exhibited the public games and shows to the people, with abundance of others, whose offices are specified by Gothofred^o, to the number of twenty-two, which I need not here recite. These were always men of estates, whose substance amounted to the value of three hundred solids ; which is the sum that is specified by Theodosius Junior^p, as qualifying a man to be a member of the Curia : and both they and their estates were so tied to civil offices, that no member of that body was to be admitted into any ecclesiastical office, till he had first discharged all the offices of his country, or else provided a proper substitute, one of his relations qualified with

^o Gothofred. Paratitlon. Cod. Theod. lib. xii. tit. i. de Decurionibus (tom. iv. p. 339.) Inter alia (curialium) munera, hæc erant. 1. Curæ publicæ iis committebantur. 2. Ad prosecutiones destinabantur. 3. Pecuniarum civitatis publicarum administratio eis committebatur. 4. Exactio item annonarum. 5. Adscriptio. 6. Susceptores in aliis provinciis creabantur, compulsores. 7. Susceptores suo periculo nominabant. 8. Judicium præcepta exsequebantur. 9. Gesta municipalia coram his fiebant. 10. Mansiones, horrea, pagi his committebantur. 11. Præpositi mansionum, horreorum pagis creabantur. 12. Procuratores metallorum ex his fiebant. 13. Descriptionibus, contributionibus facultates eorum subjectæ erant. 14. Calefaciendis thermis apud Antiochiam aliquid præstabant. 15. Adde et alia munera, veluti legationis, etc. 16. Ut postliminio reversi suis sedibus redderentur, auxilium suum deferre debebant. 17. Palatiorum a transeuntium injuriis et a senio vindicandorum cura ad eos quoque pertinebat, operum publicorum curam gessere, et reipublicæ pecuniæ. 18. Pericula ordinis complurima erant ; aurum coronarium ab his præstabatur. 19. Cursus publici mancipatus ad hos aliquando pertinuit, aliquando non. 20. Non sufficientibus his qui ad cursus clavularis procurationem eligendi erant, curiales ad hoc munus vocati. 21. Providebant, quo pacto pastui militarium animalium sine læsione provincialium consuleretur. 22. Curialium munera inferiora fuere prototypiæ et exactiones : scribæ et logographi curiarum munera.

^p Theod. Novell. xxxviii., ad calcem Cod. Theod. (vol. vi. p. 17.) Illam quoque partem dispositio nostra non præterit, ut quisquis civis vel incola deinceps in nullo obnoxius (cujus tamen substantia trecentorum solidorum non exsuperet quantitatem) fuerit repertus, habeat adipiscendi clericatus liberam facultatem. Eum vero, cujus patrimonium majore quam definivimus æstimatione censebitur, liceat curiæ secundum vetera statuta sociari.

his estate, to bear offices in his room: otherwise the person so ordained was liable by the laws of the empire (of which I give a more particular account hereafter^{pp} in the next book) to be called back by the Curia from an ecclesiastical to a secular life again. Which was such an inconvenience to the Church, that she herself made laws to prohibit the ordination of any of these 'Curiales,' to avoid the trouble and molestation which was commonly the consequent of their ordination. St. Ambrose^q assures us, that sometimes presbyters and deacons, who were thus ordained out of the 'Curiales,' were fetched back to serve in Curial offices, after they had been thirty years and more in the service of the Church. And therefore, to prevent this calamity, the Council of Illyricum, mentioned by Theodoret^r, made a decree, that presbyters and deacons should always be chosen out of the inferior clergy, and not out of these 'Curiales,' or any other officers of the civil government. Innocent, bishop of Rome, frequently refers to this rule of the Church^s in his Epistles, where he gives two reasons against their ordination: "First, that they were often recalled by the Curia to serve in civil offices, which brought some tribulation upon the Church. Secondly, because many of them had served in the office of Flamens^t after baptism, and were crowned as the heathen high-priests were used to be, while they exhibited the public games and shows to the people." Which though it was indulged by the civil law in Christian magistrates, yet

^{pp} See Book v. chap. iii. § xv. vol. ii. p. 53.

^q Ambros. Ep. xxix. Per triginta et innumeros annos presbyteri quidam gradu functi, vel ministri ecclesiæ retrahuntur a munere sacro, et curæ deputantur.

^r Ap. Theodoret. lib. iv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 831. C 13.) 'Ομοίως πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἱερατικοῦ τάγματος . . καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ στρατιωτικῆς ἀρχῆς.

^s Innocent. Ep. iv. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1261.) De curialibus manifestatio est, quoniam etsi inveniantur hujusmodi viri, qui debeant clerici fieri, tamen quoniam sæpius ad curiam repetuntur, cavendum ab his est, propter tribulationem, quæ sæpe de his ecclesiæ provenit.

^t Innocent. Ep. xxiii. c. vi. (ibid. p. 1282. B 5.) Neque de curialibus aliquem venire ad ecclesiasticum ordinem posse, qui post baptismum vel coronati fuerint, vel sacerdotium sustinuerint, et editiones publicas celebraverint. Nam et hoc de curialibus est cavendum, ne iidem qui ex curialibus fuerint, aliquando a suis curiis, quod frequenter videmus accidere, reposcantur.

the Church reckoned it a crime, for which men were sometimes obliged to do public penance, as appears from the canons^u of the Council of Eliberis; and consequently such a crime as made men irregular and incapable of ordination. So that, upon both accounts, these 'Curiales' were to be excluded from the orders of the Church. And though this rule, by the importunity of men, was sometimes transgressed, yet the laws both of Church and state always stood in force against such ordinations: and sometimes the ordainers themselves were punished with ecclesiastical censures. Of which there is a famous instance related by Sozomen^v, who says the Council of Constantinople, an. 360, deposed Neonas from his bishopric for ordaining some of these 'Curiales' bishops. Sozomen, indeed, calls them πολιτευόμενοι; but that is but another name for Curiales, whom the Greeks otherwise term βουλευται, 'Counsellors;' and the Latins, 'Municipes,' 'Burghers or corporation-men;' and 'Minor Senatus^x,' the little senate of every city, in opposition to the great senate of Constantinople and Rome. These persons, whatever denomination they went by, were so entirely devoted to the service of the commonwealth, that till they had some way or other discharged that duty, they might not (as appears) be admitted to serve in any office of the Church.

SECT. V.—*Nor any Proctor or Guardian, till his Office expired.*

Indeed it was a general rule in this matter, as we learn from one of the Councils^y of Carthage, that no one was to be ordained who was bound to any secular service. And for that reason it was decreed by the same council, at least for the

^u Concil. Illib. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 971.) Flamines, qui non immolaverint, sed munus tantum dederint; eo quod se a funestis abstinerunt sacrificiis, placuit, in fine eis præstari communionem; acta tamen legitima poenitentia.

^v Sozom. lib. iv. c. xxiv. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 473. C 2.) Νέωνα δὲ (καθαιροῦσι) ὡς ἀπείρους τινὰς ἱερῶν γραφῶν καὶ θεσμῶν ἐκκλησίας, ἀπερισκέπτως πολιτευομένους ὄντας, ἐπισκόπους καταστήσαντα.

^x Majorian. Novell. i. ad calcem Cod. Theod. (Lugdun. vol. vi. p. 32.) Curiales servos esse reipublicæ ac viscera civitatum nullus ignorat, quorum cœtum recte appellavit antiquitas minorem senatum.

^y Conc. Carth. I. c. ix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1825.) Recte statutum est, ut obnoxii alienis negotiis non ordinentur.

Churches of Afric, that no agent or factor in other men's business, nor any guardian of orphans, should be ordained, till his office and administration was perfectly expired; because the ordination of such^z would otherwise turn to the reproach and defamation of the Church. But (if I mistake not) this prohibition did not extend to the inferior orders, but only to those whose office was to serve at the altar.

SECT. VI.—*Pleaders at Law denied Ordination in the Roman Church.*

In some Churches, there seems also to have been an absolute prohibition and rule against ordaining advocates or pleaders at law, not only whilst they continued in their profession, but for ever after. This seems to have been the custom of the Roman and Spanish Churches: for Innocent, bishop of Rome, in a letter^a to the Council of Toledo, complains of an abuse then crept into the Spanish Church, which was, "That many who were exercised in pleading at the bar, were called to the priesthood." To correct which abuse, as he deemed it, he proposed this rule to them to be observed, that no one who had pleaded causes after baptism^b should be admitted to any order of the clergy. What particular reasons the Church of Rome might then have for this prohibition, I cannot say; but it does not appear, that this was the general rule of the whole Catholic Church. For the Council of Sardica^c allows a lawyer

^z Ibid. c. viii. (p. 1825.) Magnus episcopus Aptungensis dixit: Quid dilectioni vestræ videtur, procuratores et actores, tutores etiam seu curatores pupillorum, si debeant ordinari? Gratus episcopus dixit: Si post deposita universa, et reddita ratiocinia, actus vitæ ipsorum fuerint comprobati in omnibus, debent et cum laude, cleri, si postulati fuerint, honore munerari. Si enim ante libertatem negotiorum vel officiorum ab aliquo sine consideratione fuerint ordinati, ecclesia infamatur. Universi dixerunt: Recte omnia statuit sanctitas tua: ideoque tua, nostra est quoque sententia.

^a Innocent. Ep. xxiii. c. iv. D. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1281.) Quantos ex his, qui post acceptam baptismi gratiam in forensi exercitatione versati sunt, et obtinendi pertinaciam susceperunt, adscitos ad sacerdotium esse comperimus.

^b Ibid. c. vi. p. 1282. B. Ne quispiam ad ordinem debeat clericatus admitti, qui causas post acceptum baptismum egerit.

^c Conc. Sardic. c. x. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 636.) "Ὁσιος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπε· καὶ τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω, ἵνα μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἐξετάζοιτο, ὥστε εἰάν τις πλούσιος, ἢ σχολαστικὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀξιοῖτο ἐπίσκοπος

even to be ordained bishop, if he first went regularly through the offices of reader, deacon, and presbyter. Which shows that the custom, as to this particular, was not one and the same in all Churches.

SECT. VII.—*Also Energumens, Actors, Stage-players, &c., in all Churches.*

The reader may find several other cautions given by Genadius^d against ordaining any who had been actors or stage-players, or energumens, during the time of their being possessed, or such as had married concubines, that is, wives without formality of law, or that had married harlots, or wives divorced from a former husband. But I need not insist upon these, since the very naming them shows all such persons to have been in such a state of life, as might reasonably be accounted a just impediment of ordination. It will be more material to inquire, what the ancients meant by Digamy, which after the Apostle they always reckoned an objection against a man's ordination? And whether any vow of perpetual celibacy was exacted of the ancient clergy, when they were admitted to the orders of the Church? Which, because they are questions that come properly under this head, it will not be amiss to resolve them distinctly, but briefly, in the following chapter.

γίνεσθαι, μὴ πρότερον καθίστασθαι, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ ἀναγνώστου, καὶ διακόνου, καὶ πρεσβυτέρου ὑπηρεσίαν ἐκτελέσῃ· ἵνα καθ' ἕκαστον βαθμὸν, ἐάνπερ ἄξιος νομισθεῖη, εἰς τὴν ἀψίδα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς κατὰ προκοπὴν διαβῆναι δυνηθεῖη.

^d Gennad. de Eccles. Dogmat. c. lxxii. (ap. Augustin. tom. iii. p. 146, edit. Basil. 1528.)

CHAPTER V.

OF THE STATE OF DIGAMY AND CELIBACY IN PARTICULAR:
AND OF THE LAWS OF THE CHURCH ABOUT THESE, IN
REFERENCE TO THE ANCIENT CLERGY.

SECT. I.—*No Digamist to be Ordained, by the Rule of the
Apostle.*

As to what concerns Digamy, it was a primitive apostolical rule, "That a bishop or a deacon should be one who was the husband of one wife only:" on which rule all the laws against Digamy in the primitive Church were founded. But then we are to observe, that the ancients were not exactly agreed about the sense of that apostolical rule; and that occasioned different notions and different practices among them in reference to the ordination of Digamists.

SECT. II.—*Three different Opinions among the Ancients about
Digamy: First, that all Persons were to be refused Orders as
Digamists, who were twice Married after Baptism.*

One very common and prevailing notion was, that all persons were to be refused orders, as Digamists, who were twice married after baptism, though legally and successively to two wives one after another. For though they did not condemn second marriages as sinful and unlawful, with the Novatians and Montanists; yet upon presumption that the Apostle had forbidden persons twice married to be ordained bishops, they repelled such from the superior orders of the Church. That this was the practice of some Churches in the time of Origen, may appear from what he says in his comments upon St. Luke, that not only fornication^a, but marriages, excluded men from

^a Orig. Hom. xvii. in Luc. p. 228, edit. Basil. 1571. (p. 145. D. edit. Paris. 1604.) Ab ecclesiasticis dignitatibus non solum fornicatio sed et nuptiæ repel-

the dignities of the Church: for no Digamist could be either bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or deaconess in the Church. Tertullian, when he became a Montanist, laid hold of this argument, and urged it to decry second marriages in all persons; pleading ^b that a layman could not in decency desire license of the ecclesiastics to be married a second time, seeing the ecclesiastics themselves, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, were but once married. Which he repeats frequently ^c in several parts of his writings. And it cannot be denied, but that many other ancient writers, St. Ambrose^d, St. Jerome^e, Gennadius^f,

lunt: neque enim episcopus, nec presbyter, nec diaconus, nec vidua, possunt esse digami.

^b Tertull. de Monogam. c. xi. (Paris. 1664. p. 531. C 5.) Qualis es id matrimonium postulans, quod eis a quibus postulas, non licet habere; ab episcopo monogamo, a presbyteris et diaconis ejusdem sacramenti, etc.

^c Tertull. de Pœnit. c. ix. De Exhortat. Castit. c. vii. (p. 521, last line.) In veteri lege animadverto castratam licentiam sæpius nubendi.. Apud nos plenius atque instructius præscribitur, unius matrimonii esse oportere qui alleguntur in ordinem sacerdotalem. Usque adeo quosdam memini digamos loco dejectos.—Id. ad Uxor. lib. i. c. vii.

^d Ambros. de Offic. lib. i. c. 1. (Paris. 1836. vol. iii. p. 176.) De castimonia quid loquar, quando una tantum, nec repetita permittitur copula? Et in ipso ergo conjugio lex est, non iterare conjugium, nec secundæ conjugis sortiri conjunctionem. Quod plerisque mirum videtur, cur etiam ante baptismum iterati conjugii ad electionem muneris et ordinationis prærogativam impedimenta generentur; cum etiam delicta obesse non soleant, si lavacri remissa fuerint sacramento. Sed intelligere debemus, quia baptismo culpa dimitti potest, lex aboleri non potest. In conjugio non culpa, sed lex est. Quod culpæ est igitur, in baptismo relaxatur: quod legis est, in conjugio non solvitur.

^e Hieron. Ep. ii. ad Nepotian. (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 269.) (vol. i. p. 11. h. edit. Francof.) Prædicator continentiae, nuptias ne conciliet. Qui apostolum legit dicentem, ‘Superest, ut qui habent uxores, sic sint, quasi non habeant;’ cur virginem cogit ut nubat? Qui de monogamia sacerdos est, quare viduam hortatur, ut digama sit?—Ep. xi. ad Ageruch. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 904.) Considera, quod vidua non eligatur, nisi unius viri uxor: et nos putamus sacerdotum hoc tantum esse privilegium, ut non admittatur ad altare, nisi qui unam habuerit uxorem. Non solum enim ab officio sacerdotii digamus excluditur, sed et ab eleemosyna ecclesiæ, dum indigna putatur stipe, quæ ad secunda conjugia devoluta est. Quamquam lege sacerdotali teneatur, et laicus, qui talem præbere se debet, ut possit eligi in sacerdotium. Non enim eligitur, si digamus fuerit. Porro eliguntur ex laicis sacerdotes. Ergo, et laicus tenetur mandato, per quod ad sacerdotium pervenitur.—Id. Epist. lxxxiii. (tom. ii. p. 215. b. edit. cit.) In utraque epistola (Timothei et Titi) sive episcopi, sive presbyteri.. jubentur monogami in clerum eligi.

^f Gennad. de Eccles. Dogmat. c. lxxii. (ap. August. tom. iii. p. 146, edit.

Epiphanius^g, and the Councils of Agde^h and Carthageⁱ, put the same sense upon the words of the Apostle. Only Epiphanius puts a distinction between the superior and inferior orders, making the rule in this sense obligatory to the former, but not to the latter.

SECT. III.—2. *Others extended the Rule to all Persons twice married, whether before or after baptism.*

Some there are, again, who gave the rule a stricter exposition, making it a prohibition not only of ordaining persons twice married after baptism, but also such as were twice married before it, or once before and once after ; as many Gentiles and catechumens happened to be in those times, when baptism was administered to adult persons. St. Ambrose^k was of opinion, that even these were to be excluded from ordination ; and so it was decreed by Innocent, bishop of Rome^l, and the Council

Basil. 1528. p. 207, edit. 1569.) Maritum duarum post baptismum matronarum clericum non ordinandum.

^g Epiph. Exposit. Fid. n. xxi. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 1104. A 4.) Δευτερόγαμον οὐκ ἔξεστι δέχεσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ (ἐκκλησίᾳ) εἰς ἱερωσύνην, κἄντε ἐγκρατευόμενος εἴη χῆρος,* ἀπαρχῆς τάξεως ἐπισκόπου, καὶ πρεσβυτέρου, καὶ διακόνου, καὶ ὑποδιακόνου· μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἱερωσύνην λοιπὸν ἀναγνωστῶν τάγμα ἐξ ὅλων τῶν ταγμάτων, τουτέστι παρθένων, καὶ μοναζόντων, καὶ ἐγκρατενομένων, καὶ χηρευσάντων, καὶ τῶν ἔτι ἐν σεμνῷ γάμῳ.

^h Concil. Agath. c. i. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1383.) Placuit de bigamis aut in-nuptarum maritis, quamquam aliud patrum statuta decreverint, ut qui huc usque ordinati sunt, habita miseratione, presbyterii vel diaconatus nomen tantum obtineant ; officium vero presbyteri consecrandi, et ministrandi hujusmodi diacones non præsumant.

ⁱ Concil. Carth. IV. c. lxix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1205.) Simili sententiæ sub-jacebit episcopus, si sciens ordinaverit clericum eum, qui viduam aut repudiatam uxorem habuit, aut secundam.

^k Ambros. Ep. lxxxii. ad Vercellenses. (Paris. 1836. vol. iv. p. 381.) (tom. v. p. 121. C. edit. Colon. 1616.) Plerique ita argumentantur, unius uxoris virum dici post baptismum habitæ ; eo quod baptismo vitium sit ablutum, quo efferebatur impedimentum. Et vitia quidem atque peccata diluuntur omnia ; ut si quis contaminaverit suum corpus cum plurimis, quas nulla conjugii lege sociaverit, remittantur ei omnia : sed conjugia non resolvuntur, si quis iteraverit ; culpa enim lavacro, non lex solvitur : nulla enim culpa conjugii, sed lex est. . . . Ideo et apostolus legem posuit, dicens : ‘ Si quis sine crimine est, unius uxoris vir.’ Ergo qui sine crimine est, unius uxoris vir, tenetur ad legem sacerdotii suscipiendi : qui autem iteraverit conjugium, culpam quidem non habet coinquinati, sed prærogativa exuitur sacerdotis.

^l Innocent. Ep. ii. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1251.) Ne ab aliquibus existime-

of Valencia^m, in France. But this opinion was generally rejected by others, as farthest from the sense of the Apostle.

SECT. IV.—3. *The most probable opinion of those who thought the Apostle by Digamists meant Polygamists, and such as married after Divorce.*

The most probable opinion is, that of those ancient writers, who interpret the Apostle's rule as a prohibition of ordaining Polygamists, or such as had married many wives at the same time; and such as had causelessly put away their wives, and married others after divorcing of the former; which were then very common practices both among Jews and Gentiles, but scandalous in themselves, and such as the Apostle would have to be accounted just impediments of ordination. This is the sense which Chrysostomⁿ and Theodoret^o propose and defend,

tur, ante baptismum si forte quis accepit uxorem, et ea de sæculo recedente alteram duxerit, in baptismo esse dimissum, satis errat a regula: quia in baptismo peccata remittuntur, non acceptarum uxorum numerus aboletur.—Id. Epist. xxiii. c. vi. (p. 1278.) Nec illud debere admitti, quod aliquanti pro defensione pravi erroris opponunt, et adserunt, quod ante baptismum *uxor accepta non debeat imputari, quia in baptismo omnia dimittuntur*; non intelligentes hujusmodi, quod sola in baptismo peccata dimittuntur, nec uxorum numerus aboletur. [N. B. The words in italics do not occur in Labbe.]

^m Concil. Valent. c. i. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 905.) Sedit, neminem post hanc synodum, qua ejusmodi illicitis vel sero succurritur, de digamis, aut internuptarum maritis, ordinari clericum posse. Nec requirendum, utrumne initiati sacramentis divinis, an gentiles, hac se infelicis sortis necessitate macularint, eum divini præcepti casta sit forma.

ⁿ Chrysostom. Hom. x. in 1 Tim. iii. 2. (Bened. vol. xi. p. 598, at bottom.) ..μιας γυναικὸς ἄνδρα· οὐ νομοθετῶν τοῦτό φησιν, ὥς μὴ εἶναι ἐξὸν ἄνεν τούτου γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀμετρίαν κωλύων· ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐξῆν καὶ δευτέροις ὁμιλεῖν γάμοις, καὶ δύο ἔχειν κατὰ ταῦτόν γυναικας· τίμιος γὰρ ὁ γάμος· τινὲς δὲ, ἵνα μιας γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ ᾖ, φασὶ τοῦτο εἰρησθαι.—Id. Hom. ii. in Tit. i. 6. (Bened. vol. xi. 738. A 3.) Ἐπιστομίζει τοὺς αἰρετικούς τοὺς τὸν γάμον διαβάλλοντας, δεικνὺς, ὅτι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐναγὲς, ἀλλ' οὕτω τίμιον, ὥς μετ' αὐτοῦ δύνασθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον ἀναβαίνειν θρόνον. ἐν ταύτῳ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀσελγεῖς κολάζων, καὶ οὐκ ἀφείς μετὰ δευτέρου γάμου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγχειρίζεσθαι ταύτην· ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἀπελθοῦσαν μηδεμίαν φυλάξας εὐνοίαν, πῶς ἂν οὗτος γένοιτο προστάτης καλός; τίνα δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὑποσταίῃ κατηγορίαν; ἴστε γὰρ ἅπαντες, ἴστε ὅτι εἰ μὴ κεκώλυται παρὰ τῶν νόμων τὸ δευτέροις ὁμιλεῖν γάμοις, ἀλλ' ὅμως πολλάς ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα κατηγορίας· οὐδεμίαν οὖν παρέχειν λαβὴν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις τὸν ἄρχοντα βούλεται.

^o Theod. in 1 Tim. iii. 2. (Schulze, Halæ, vol. iii. p. 653.) Πάλαι εἰώθεισαν καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ δύο καὶ τρισὶ καὶ πλείοσι γυναιξὶ νόμῳ γάμου κατὰ ταῦτόν συνοικεῖν· τινὲς δὲ καὶ νῦν, καίτοι τῶν βασιλικῶν νόμων δύο

as most agreeable to the mind of the Apostle. And it is certain that second marriages, in any other sense, were not always an insuperable objection against men's ordination in the Christian Church. For Tertullian owns^r, that there were bishops among the Catholics who had been twice married; though in his style that was an affront to the Apostle. And it appears from the letters of Siricius^q and Innocent^r, that the bishops of Spain and Greece made no scruple to ordain such generally among the clergy; for they take upon them to reprove them for it. Theodoret, agreeably to his own notion, ordained one Irenæus bishop who was twice married: and when some objected against the legality of the ordination upon that account, he defended it by the common practice of other Churches. "Herein," says he^s, "I followed the example of my predecessors. Alexander, bishop of the apostolical see of Antioch, with Acacius of Beroëa, ordained Diogenes a Digamist; and Praylius ordained Domninus of Cæsarea, a Digamist likewise. Proclus, bishop of Constantinople, received and

κατὰ ταῦτόν ᾑγεσθαι κωλύόντων γυναῖκας, καὶ παλλακῖσι μίγνυνται, καὶ ἑταίραις ἔφασαν τοίνυν, τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον εἰρηκέναι, τὸν μὲν μόνῃ γυναικὶ συνοικοῦντα σωφρόνως, τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς ἄξιον εἶναι χειροτονίας· οὐ γὰρ τὸν δεύτερον, φασὶν, ἐξέβαλε γάμον, ὅγε πολλάκις τοῦτο γενέσθαι κελεύσας.

^r Tertull. de Monogam. c. xii. (Paris. 1664. p. 533. B 8.) Quod enim et digami præsident apud vos, insultantes utique apostolo, etc.

^q Siric. Epist. i. ad Himer. Tarrac. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1021.) Apostolus 'unius uxoris virum' tam sacerdotem, quam diaconum fieri debere mandavit. Quæ omnia ita a vestrarum regionum despiciuntur episcopis, quasi in contrarium magis fuerint constituta.

^r Innocent. Ep. xxii. ad Episc. Maced. c. i. (ibid. p. 1272.) Eos qui viduas accepisse suggeruntur uxores, non solum clericos effectos agnovi, verum etiam usque ad infulas summi sacerdotii pervenisse: quod contra legis esse præcepta, nullus ignorat.

^s Theodor. Epist. cx. ad Domninum. (Schulze, Halæ, vol. iv. p. 1180.) Εἰς τὸ τῆς διγαμίας, τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἠκολουθήσαμεν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ὁσίας μνήμης Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ τὸν ἀποστολικὸν τοῦτον διακοσμήσας θρόνον, σὺν τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ Ἀκακίῳ τῆς Βεροίας ἐπισκόπῳ, τὸν τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Διογένην ἐχειροτόνησαν δίγαμον ὄντα· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ μακάριος Πραῦλιος Δομνῖνον τὸν Καισαρείας δίγαμον ὄντα· ἔθει τοίνυν ἠκολουθήσαμεν, καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐπισήμοις, καὶ ἐπὶ γνώσει καὶ βίῳ πολυθρυλλήτοις· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα δεδιδαγμένος ὁ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Πρόκλος, ὁ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἔγραψεν ἐπαινῶν καὶ θαυμάζων. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῆς Ποντικῆς διοικήσεως θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι, καὶ οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι πάντες, καὶ οὐδεμία ἀμφιβολία περὶ τούτου γεγένηται,

approved the ordination of many such; and so do the bishops of Pontus and Palestine, among whom no controversy is made about it." From hence it appears, that the practice of the Church varied in this matter; and that therefore Bellarmin and other Romanists very much abuse their readers, when they pretend that the ordination of Digamists, meaning persons twice lawfully married, is both against the rule of the Apostle, and the universal consent and practice of the Church.

SECT. V.—*No Vow of Celibacy required of the Clergy as a Condition of their Ordination for the Three first Ages.*

They still more abuse their readers, in pretending that a vow of perpetual celibacy, or abstinence from conjugal society, was required of the clergy, as a condition of their ordination, even from the apostolical ages. For the contrary is very evident from innumerable examples of bishops and presbyters, who lived in a state of matrimony without any prejudice to their ordination or function. It is generally agreed by ancient writers, that most of the Apostles were married. Some say, all of them, except ^t St. Paul and St. John: others say, St. Paul was married also, because he writes to his 'yoke-fellow,' whom they interpret his wife, Phil. iv. 3. This was the opinion of Clemens Alexandrinus ^u, wherein he seems to be followed by Eusebius ^v, and Origen ^x, and the author of the interpolated

^t Ambros. ad Hilar. in 2 Cor. xi. Omnes apostoli, excepto Joanne et Paulo, uxores habuerunt.—Epiphan. Hæres. lxxviii. n. x. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 1042. C 10.) Εἰ ἦσαν τέκνα τῇ Μαρίας, καὶ εἰ ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῇ ἀνὴρ, τίνι λόγῳ παρεδίδου τὴν Μαρίαν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ, καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην τῇ Μαρίᾳ; τίνι δὲ τῷ λόγῳ Πέτρῳ μᾶλλον οὐ παραδίδωσι; τίνι δὲ τῷ λόγῳ Ἀνδρέᾳ, Ματθαίῳ τε, καὶ Βαρθολομαίῳ; ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι Ἰωάννη διὰ τὴν παρθενίαν.—Coteler. cites Eusebius, Basil, and some others, for the same opinion.—Not. in Ignat. Ep. ad Philadelph. Interpolat. n. iv. vide seq. not. (a).

^u Clem. Alex. Stromat. iii. p. 448, edit. Paris. 1641. (pag. 535, 18. Oxon. 1715.) Καὶ ὅγε Παῦλος οὐκ ὀκνεῖ ἐν τινι ἐπιστολῇ τὴν αὐτοῦ προσαγορεύειν σύζυγον, ἣν οὐ περιεκόμιζεν, διὰ τὸ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας εὐσταλέος.

^v Euseb. lib. iii. c. xxx. ubi hæc Clementis verba recitantur. (Vales. 1695. p. 82.)

^x Origen. Com. in Roman. i. p. 459, edit. Basil. (p. 296. L. edit. Paris. 1604.) Paulus ergo (sicut quidam tradunt) cum uxore vocatus est: de qua dicit ad Philippenses scribens, 'Rogo te etiam, germana compar, adjuva illas, quæ cum ipsa sunt.'

epistle^y to the Church of Philadelphia, under the name of Ignatius; whom some modern Romanists, mistaking him for the true Ignatius, have most disingenuously mangled, by erasing the name of Paul out of the text; which foul dealing Bishop Usher^z has exposed, and Cotelerius^a does in effect confess it, when he owns that the author himself wrote it, and that he therein followed the authority of Clemens, Origen, and Eusebius. But passing by this about St. Paul, (which is a matter of dispute among learned men, the major part inclining to think that he always lived a single-life,) it cannot be denied that others of the Apostles were married; and in the next ages after them we have accounts of married bishops, presbyters, and deacons, without any reproof or mark of dishonour set upon them. As to instance in a few: Valens, presbyter of Philippi, mentioned by Polycarp^b; Chæremon, bishop of Nilus, an exceeding old man, who fled with his wife to Mount Arabion in time of persecution, where they both perished together, as Eusebius informs us^c. Novatus was a married presbyter of Carthage, as we learn from Cyprian's Epistles^d. Cyprian himself was also a married man, as Mr. Pagi^e con-

^y Pseudo-Ignat. Ep. ad Philad. n. iv. (Coteler. Antverp. 1698. vol. ii. p. 80.)
 'Ως Πέτρον, καὶ Παύλον, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων τῶν γάμοις προσομιλη-
 σάντων.

^z Usset. Dissert. in Ignat. c. xvii. tot. (apud Coteler. tom. ii. p. 226, 227, 228.)

^a Coteler. Not. in loc. (tom. ii. Patr. Apostolic. p. 80. n. 43.) Amplectitur Ignatiaster opinionem Clementis Alexandrini *στροματέων* iii. p. 448. et aliorum quorumdam, ortam ex pravo intellectu Paulinorum textuum Philipp. iv. 3. et 1 Cor. v. 9; quam refert etiam, nec refellit Eusebius Histor. lib. iii. c. xxx.; ut modeste fit a Nicephoro, c. xlv. lib. ii.: quæque per Origenem, initio explanationum in epistolam ad Romanos, simpliciter cum opposita sententia proponitur.

^b Polycarp. Ep. ad Philipp. n. ix. (apud Coteler. tom. ii. p. 189.) Valde contristor pro eo (Valente) et pro conjuge ejus.

^c Euseb. lib. vi. c. xlii. (Vales. 1695. p. 197. B 3.) *Χαιρήμων ἦν ὑπέργηρος τῆς Νείλου καλουμένης ἐπίσκοπος πόλεως οὗτος εἰς τὸ Ἀράβιον ὄρος ἄμα τῇ συμβίῳ αὐτοῦ φυγὼν, οὐκ ἐπανελήλυθεν.*

^d Cyprian. Ep. xlix. al. lii. ad Corn. (Oxon. p. 97.) Uterus uxoris (Novati) calce percussus, et abortione properante in parricidium partus expressus. Et damnare nunc audet sacrificantium manus; cum sit ipse nocentior pedibus, quibus filius qui nascebatur, occisus est.

^e Bingham has mistaken Pagi, who says, "Baronius *male* deduxit Cyprianum uxorem habuisse." (Antverp. 1727. vol. i. p. 231.)

fesses. And so was Cæcilius^f, the presbyter that converted him. As also Numidicus, another presbyter of Carthage, of whom Cyprian^g tells us this remarkable story: that in the Decian persecution he saw his own wife, with many other martyrs, burnt by his side; whilst he himself, lying half-burnt, and covered with stones, and left for dead, was found expiring by his own daughter, who drew him out of the rubbish, and brought him to life again. Eusebius assures us^h, that Phileas, bishop of Thmuis, and Philoromus, had both wife and children: for they were urged with that argument by the heathen magistrate to deny their religion in the Diocletian persecution; but they generously contemned his argument, and gave preference to the laws of Christ. Epiphaniusⁱ says, Marcion the heretic was the son of a bishop, and that he was excommunicated by his own father for his lewdness. Domnus also, bishop of Antioch^k,

^f Pontius, Vit. Cyprian. (Oxon. 1682. p. 3.) Erat sane illi etiam de nobis contubernium viri justī et laudabilis memoriæ Cæciliī, et ætate tunc et honore presbyteri, qui eum ad agnitionem veram divinitatis a sæculari errore correxerat. Hunc toto honore atque omni observantia diligebat, obsequenti veneratione suspiciens, non jam ut amicum animæ coæqualem, sed tamquam novæ vitæ parentem. Denique, ille demulsus ejus obsequiis, in tantum dilectionis immensæ merito provocatus est; ut de sæculo excedens, arcessitione jam proxima commendaret illi conjugem ac liberos suos, et quem fecerat de sectæ communione participem, postmodum faceret pietatis heredem.

^g Cypr. Epist. xxxv. al. xl. (Oxon. 1682. p. 78.) Numidicus presbyter .. uxorem adhaerentem lateri suo, concrematam simul cum cæteris, (vel conservatam magis dixerim) lætus adspexit. Ipse semiustulatus et lapidibus obrutus, et pro mortuo derelictus, dum postmodum filia sollicita pietatis obsequio cadaver patris inquireret, semianimis inventus, et extractus, et refocillatus est.

^h Euseb. lib. viii. c. ix. (Vales. 1695. p. 246. D.) Οἷος Φιλόρωμος ἦν. . . Φιλέας τε τῆς Θμυϊτῶν ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος. . . οἱ δὲ μυρίων ὅσων πρὸς αἵματός τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἀντιβολουμένων, ἔτι μὲν τῶν ἐπ' ἀξίας ἀρχόντων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δικαστοῦ παρακαλοῦντος, ὥς ἂν αὐτῶν οἶκτον λάβοιεν φειδῶτε παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ποιήσοιτο· οὐδαμῶς πρὸς τῶν τοσούτων ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοζωῆσαι μὲν ἐλέσθαι, καταφρονῆσαι δὲ τῶν περὶ ὁμολογίας καὶ ἀρνήσεως τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεσμῶν ὑπήχθησαν.

ⁱ Epiphan. Hær. xlii. n. i. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 302. C 3.) Τὴν φθορὰν ἀπεργασάμενος, ἐξεοῦται τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρός· ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὁ πατήρ δι' ὑπερβολὴν εὐλαβείας τῶν διαφανῶν, καὶ σφόδρα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπιμελομένων, διαπρέπων ἐν τῇ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίᾳ.

^k Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. (Vales. p. 230. D 1.) Ἦναγκάσθημεν ἀντιτασσόμενον αὐτὸν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ μὴ εἰκόντα ἐκκηρύξαντες, ἕτερον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καταστήσαι ἐπίσκοπον Θεοῦ προνοίᾳ ὥς πεπείσμεθα, τὸν τοῦ μακα-

is said to be son to Demetrian, who was bishop of the same place before him. It were easy to add abundance more such instances; but these are sufficient to show, that men of all states were admitted to be bishops and presbyters, in the primitive ages of the Church.

SECT. VI.—*The Vanity of the contrary Pretences.*

The most learned advocates of the Roman communion have never found any other reply to all this, save only a groundless pretence of their own imagination, that all married persons, when they came to be ordained, promised to live separate from their wives by consent, which answered the vow of celibacy in other persons. This is all that Pagi¹ or Schelstrate^m have to say in the case, after all the writers that have gone before them: which is said not only without proof, but against the clearest evidences of ancient history, which manifestly prove the contrary. For Novatus, presbyter of Carthage, whose case Pagi had under consideration, was certainly allowed to cohabit with his wife after ordination: as appears from the charge that Cyprian brings against him, that he had struck and abused his wifeⁿ, and thereby caused her to miscarry; for which crime he had certainly been thrust out not only from the presbytery, but the Church also, had not the persecution, coming on so suddenly, prevented his trial and condemnation. Cyprian does not accuse him for cohabiting with his wife, or begetting children after ordination; but for murdering his children which he had begotten; which was indeed a crime that made him liable both to deposition and excommunication:

ρίου Δημητρίου καὶ ἐπιφανῶς προστάντος πρὸ τούτου τῆς αὐτῆς παροικίας
υἱὸν Δόμνον ἅπασιν τοῖς πρέπουσιν ἐπισκόπῳ καλοῖς κεκοσμημένον.

¹ Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. ccxlviii. n. vi. (Lucæ, vol. ii. p. 566.) (Antwerp. 1727. vol. i. p. 232.) Hæc similia exempla aliud non probant, quam ex matrimonio junctis ad sacerdotium fuisse promotos, quos postea matrimonio usos ostendere debuisset Pearsonius, ut ejus argumentum vim haberet.

^m Schelstrat. Eccles. Afric. dissert. iii. c. iv. (p. 157, edit. Paris. 1579.) Hos omnes nihil aliud voluisse, quam ex matrimonio junctis ad sacerdotium fuisse promotos, recte adnotat Pamelius addens, nullibi scriptum reperiri, hos postea matrimonio usos: quod omnis antiquitas semper tradiderat, continentiae legem sacris illis ordinibus esse adnexam, unde et canon, ‘Pudicitiae custodes etiam ab uxoribus se abstineant.’

ⁿ Cypr. Epist. xlix. al. lii. ad Cornel. See note (d) pag. 501.

but the other was no crime at all by any law then in force in the African or in the universal Church. There seems, indeed, in some places to have been a little tendency towards introducing such a law by one or two zealous spirits; but the motion was no sooner made, but it was quashed immediately by the prudence and authority of wiser men. Thus Eusebius observes, that Pinytus, bishop of Gnossus, in Crete, was for laying the law of celibacy upon his brethren; but Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, wrote to him, that he should consider the weakness of men, and not impose^o that heavy burden upon them. And thus matters continued for three centuries, without any law that we read of requiring celibacy of the clergy at the time of their ordination.

SECT. VII.—*The Clergy left to their liberty by the Nicene Council.*

In the Council of Nice, an. 325, the motion was again renewed, that a law might pass to oblige the clergy to abstain from all conjugal society with their wives, which they had married before their ordination. But the proposal was no sooner made, but Paphnutius, a famous Egyptian bishop, and one himself never married, vigorously declaimed against it, saying, so heavy a burden was not to be laid upon the clergy; that the marriage-bed was honourable; and that they should not, by too great severity, bring detriment on the Church: for all men could not bear so severe an exercise, and the chastity of the wives so separated would be endangered also. Conjugal society, he said, was chastity: and it was enough that such of the clergy as were not married before their ordination, should continue unmarried, according to the ancient tradition of the Church; but it was not proper to separate any one from his wife, which he had married whilst he was a layman. This said, the whole council agreed to stifle the motion that had been made, and left every man to his liberty as before. So

^o Dionys. Ep. ad Pinytum, ap. Euseb. lib. iv. c. xxiii. (Vales. 1695. p. 117. B.) Ταύταις ἄλλη ἐγκατείλεται πρὸς Κνωσσίους ἐπιστολή, ἐν ᾗ Πίνυτον τῆς παροικίας ἐπίσκοπον παρακαλεῖ, μὴ βαρὺ φορτίον ἐπάναγκες τὸ περὶ ἀγνείας τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιτιθέναι, τῆς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν καταστοχάζεσθαι ἀσθενείας.

Socrates^p and Sozomen tell the story. To which all that Valesius^q after Bellarmin has to say, is, that he suspects the truth of the thing, and desires leave to dissent from his historians. Which is but a poor evasion, in the judgment of Du Pin himself, who thus^r reflects upon them for it: "Some question the truth of this story," says he; "but I believe they do it for fear the story might prejudice the present discipline, rather than from any solid proof they have for it. But they should consider, that this canon is purely a matter of discipline, and that the discipline of the Church may change according to the times; and that it is not necessary, for the defence of it, to prove that it was always uniform in all places." So that in the judgment of that learned Romanist, there is no question to be made, but that the Council of Nice decreed in favour of the married clergy, as the historians relate it did; and that then the practice was different from that of the present Church of Rome, which others are so unwilling to have the world believe.

SECT. VIII.—*And other Councils of that Age.*

It is as evident from other councils of the same age, that the married clergy were allowed to continue in the service of the Church, and no vow of abstinence required of them at their ordination. Socrates observes, that the Council of Gangra anathematized Eustathius the heretic, because he taught men to separate^s from such presbyters as retained their wives which they married while they were laymen, saying, their communion and oblations were abominable. The decree is still extant

^p Socrat. lib. i. c. xi. Sozom. lib. i. c. xxiii.

^q Vales. Not. in Socrat. lib. i. c. xi. (p. 6.) Tota hæc narratio de Paphnutio et de coelibatu clericorum prorsus suspecta mihi videtur.

^r Du Pin, Bibliothèque, (Paris. 1689. vol. ii. part. i. p. 942.) (vol. ii. p. 253, Lond. 1692.) (p. 555, Colon. 1693.) Quelques-uns doutent de la vérité de cette histoire. Je crois qu'ils le font plutôt dans la crainte qu'ils ont que ce fait ne donne quelque atteinte à la discipline d'à présent, que parce qu'ils en aient quelque preuve solide. Mais ces personnes devroient considérer que ce règlement est purement de discipline, et que la discipline de l'Eglise peut changer suivant les temps, &c. (Utrecht. 1731. vol. ii. p. 318.)

^s Socrat. lib. ii. c. xliii. (Vales. 1700. p. 128. D 4.) Πρεσβυτέρου γυναῖκα ἔχοντος, ἣν νόμῳ λαϊκὸς ὢν ἡγάγετο, τὴν εὐλογίαν καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν, ὡς μῦθος ἐκκλίνειν ἐκέλευεν.

among the canons of that Council ^t, and runs in these words : “ If any one separate from a married presbyter, as if it were unlawful to participate of the eucharist when such an one ministers, let him be Anathema.” The Council of Ancyra gives leave to deacons to marry after ordination ; if they protested ^u at their ordination that they could not continue in an unmarried state, they might marry, and yet continue in their office, having in that case the bishop’s licence and permission to do it. And though the Council of Neo-Cæsarea in one canon forbids ^v unmarried presbyters to marry after ordination ; yet such as were married before ordination, are allowed by another canon to continue ^x without any censure, being only obliged to separate from their wives in case of fornication. The Council of Eliberis ^y, indeed, and some others in this age, began to be a little more rigorous toward the married clergy : but it does not appear that their laws were of any great force : for Socrates ^z says, even in his time, in the Eastern Churches, many

^t Conc. Gangrens. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 419.) Εἴ τις διακρίνοιτο παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου γεγαμηκότος, ὥς μὴ χρῆναι λειτουργήσαντος αὐτοῦ προσφορᾶς μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

^u Conc. Ancyran. c. x. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1460.) Διάκονοι, ὅσοι καθίστανται, παρ’ αὐτὴν τὴν κατάστασιν εἰ ἐμαρτύραντο καὶ ἔφασαν χρῆναι γαμῆσαι, μὴ δυνάμενοι οὕτως μένειν, οὗτοι μετὰ ταῦτα γαμήσαντες, ἔστωσαν ἐν τῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ, διὰ τὸ ἐπιτραπῆναι αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.

^v Conc. Neo-cæs. can. i. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1480.) Πρεσβύτερος ἐὰν γήμῃ, τῆς τάξεως αὐτὸν μετατίθεται.

^x Ibid. c. viii. Γυνή τινας μοιχευθεῖσα λαϊκοῦ ὄντος, ἐὰν ἐλεγχθῇ φανερώς, ὁ τοιοῦτος εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐλθεῖν οὐ δύναται· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν μοιχευθῇ, ὀφείλει ἀπολῦσαι αὐτήν· ἐὰν δὲ συζῇ, οὐ δύναται ἔχεισθαι τῆς ἐγχειρισθείσης αὐτῇ ὑπηρεσίας.

^y Concil. Illiberrit. c. xxxiii. (Labbe, vol. i. Conc. p. 974.) Placuit in totum prohiberi episcopis, presbyteris, et diaconibus, vel omnibus clericis positus in ministerio, abstinere se a conjugibus suis, et non generare filios : quicumque vero fecerit, ab honore clericatus exterminetur.— Conc. Arelat. II. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1011.) Adsumi aliquem ad sacerdotium non posse in conjugii vinculo constitutum, nisi fuerit præmissa (al. promissa) conversio.

^z Socrat. lib. v. c. xxii. (Vales. 1700. p. 235. C 6.) (p. 287. c. edit. Amstel. 1596.) Ἔγνω ἐγὼ καὶ ἕτερον ἔθος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ· γενόμενος κληρικὸς ἐκεῖ, ἦν νόμῳ γαμήσας πρὶν κληρικὸς γένηται, μετὰ τὸ κληρικὸς γενέσθαι συγκαθευδῆσας αὐτῇ, ἀποκήρυκτος γίνεται· τῶν ἐν ἀνατολῇ πάντων γνώμῃ ἀπεχομένων, καὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων, εἰ καὶ βούλονται, οὐ μὴν ἀνάγκη νόμου τοῦτο ποιούντων· πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, καὶ παῖδας ἐκ τῆς νομίμης γαμετῆς πεποιήκασιν· ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἔθους, ἀρχηγὸς Ἡλιώδορος,

eminent bishops begat children of their lawful wives ; and such as abstained, did it not by obligation of any law, but their own voluntary choice. Only in Thessaly, Macedonia, and Hellas, the clergy were obliged to abstain under pain of ecclesiastical censure ; which, he says, was occasioned by Bishop Heliodore's writing his book called his " Ethiopics." So that as yet there was no universal decree against married bishops in the Greek Church, much less against presbyters and deacons. But the Council of Trullo, an. 692, made a difference between bishops and presbyters, allowing presbyters, deacons, and all the inferior orders, to cohabit^a with their wives after ordination ; and giving the Roman Church a smart rebuke for the contrary prohibition : but yet laying an injunction upon bishops^b to live separate from their wives, and appointing the wives^c to betake themselves to a monastic life, or become deaconesses in the Church. And so the matter was altered in the Greek Church, as to bishops, but not any others. In the Latin Church also the alteration was made, but by slow steps in many places : for in Afric even bishops themselves cohabited with their wives at the time of the Council of Trullo, as appears from one of the forementioned canons^d

Τρίκκης τῆς ἐκεῖ γενόμενος· οὗ λέγεται πονήματα ἐρωτικά βιβλία, ἃ νέος ὢν ἔταξε, καὶ Αἰθιοπικά προσηγόρευσε· φυλάσσεται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθος ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ, καὶ αὐτῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ Ἑλλάδι.

^a Concil. Trull. c. xiii. (Labbe, vol. vi. Conc. p. 1147.) Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τάξει κανόνος παραδέδοσθαι διέγνωμεν, τοὺς μέλλοντας διακόνου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου ἀξιοῦσθαι χειροτονίας καθομολογεῖν, ὥς οὐκέτι ταῖς αὐτῶν συνάπτονται γαμεταῖς· ἡμεῖς τῷ ἀρχαίῳ ἐξακολουθοῦντες κανόνι τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ τάξεως, τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνδρῶν κατὰ νόμους συνοικέσια καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐρῶσθαι βουλόμεθα· μηδαμῶς αὐτῶν τὴν πρὸς γαμετὰς συνάφειαν διαλύοντες, ἢ ἀποστεροῦντες αὐτοὺς τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ καιρὸν τὸν προσήκοντα ὁμιλίας, κ. τ. λ.

^b Ibid. can. xii. (p. 1147.) Καὶ τοῦτο εἰς γνῶσιν ἡμετέραν ἦλθεν, ὥς ἐν τε Ἀφρικῇ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ ἑτέροις τόποις, οἱ τῶν ἐκεῖσε θεοφιλέστατοι πρόεδροι συνοικεῖν ταῖς ἰδίαις γαμεταῖς, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς προελθοῦσαν χειροτονίαν οὐ παραιτοῦνται . . . ἔδοξεν ὥστε μηδαμῶς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν γίνεσθαι. κ. τ. λ.

^c Ibid. can. xlviii. (p. 1166.) Ἡ τοῦ πρὸς ἐπισκοπῆς προεδρίαν ἀναγομένου γυνῆ κατὰ κοινὴν συμφωνίαν τοῦ οἰκείου ἀνδρὸς προδιαζευχθεῖσα, μετὰ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς χειροτονίαν ἐν μοναστηρίῳ εἰσίστω, πόρρῳ τῆς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καταγωγῆς ὑποδομημένῳ, καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου προνοίας ἀπολανέτω· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀξία φανείῃ, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς διακονίας ἀναβιβασθήσεται ἀξίωμα.

^d Concil. Trull. c. xii. See preceding note (b).

of that council. But it is beyond my design to carry this inquiry any further ; what has been already said being sufficient to show, that the married clergy were allowed to officiate in the first and primitive ages ; and that celibacy in those times was no necessary condition of their ordination, as is falsely pretended by the polemical writers of the present Church of Rome.—I have now gone through the several qualifications of the ancient clergy, concerning which inquiry was made before their ordination. I come now, in the next place, to consider the solemnity of the thing itself, together with the laws and customs which were generally observed at the time of ordination.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE ORDINATIONS OF THE PRIMITIVE CLERGY, AND
THE LAWS AND CUSTOMS GENERALLY OBSERVED THEREIN.

SECT. I.—*The Canons of the Church to be read to the Clerk, before the Bishops ordained him.*

WHEN the election of a person, duly qualified according to the forementioned rules, was made, then it was the bishop's office, or the metropolitan's, if the party elect was himself a bishop, to ordain him. But before they proceeded to ordination, there were some other laws and rules to be observed : for, not to mention here again the oath against Simony, and the subscriptions, which, I have showed before^e, were anciently required of persons to be ordained ; I must not forget to note, that, in the African Church, a rule was made in the third Council of Carthage^a, and thence transferred into the African Code^b, that before any bishop or other clergyman was ordained, the

^e See ch. iii. § ii. p. 462. et § xiv. p. 482.

^a Cone. Carth. III. c. iii. (vol. ii. p. 1167.)

^b Cod. Afric. can. xviii. (ibid. p. 1057.) Ἦρεσεν, ὥστε χειροτονουμένου ἐπισκόπου ἢ κληρικοῦ, πρότερον ἀπὸ τῶν χειροτονούντων αὐτοὺς τὰ δεδογμένα ταῖς συνόδοις εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς αὐτῶν ἐντίθεσθαι ἵνα μὴ ποιῶντες κατὰ τῶν ὅρων συνόδου μεταμεληθῶσιν.

ordainers should cause the canons of the Church to be read in his hearing, that they might not have cause to repent afterward, that they had transgressed any of them. This rule was made at the instance and request of St. Austin, as Possidius^c notes in his life, who says, that because he was ordained bishop of Hippo while Valerius was alive,—which was contrary to the rule of the Council of Nice, which he was ignorant of at the time of his ordination,—he therefore prevailed with the African fathers to make a decree, that the canons of the Church should be read at every man's ordination. This rule implied a tacit promise, that the party ordained would observe the canons that were read to him: but, for greater security, it was afterward improved into an explicit promise by a law of Justinian^d, which requires every clerk, after the reading of the canons, to profess, that as far as it was possible for man to do, he would fulfil what was contained in them. Whence, no doubt, came those later forms of professing obedience to the canons of the seven general councils in the Greek Church; and the oath to St. Peter, taken by the bishops of Rome in the Latin Church, that they would observe the decrees of the eight general councils. The first of which forms may be seen at length in Habertus^e, and the other in Baronius^f, and the book called *Liber Diurnus*^{ff}, by the reader that is curious to consult them.

^c Possid. Vit. Aug. c. viii. (Bened. 1700. vol. x. append. p. 176. E 3.) Quod in se postea fieri non debuisse, ut vivo suo episcopo ordinaretur, et dixit, et scripsit, propter concilii universalis vetitum, quod jam ordinatus didicit: nec quod sibi factum esse doluit, aliis fieri voluit. Unde etiam sategit, ut conciliis constitueretur episcoporum, ab ordinantibus deberi ordinandis vel ordinatis omnia statuta sacerdotum in notitiam esse deferenda.

^d Justin. Novell. vi. c. i. n. viii. (Amstel. 1663. p. 12.) Οὕτως αὐτὸν διακείμενον, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν παρασκευαζόμενον προσῆκόν ἐστι τοὺς εὐαγεῖς καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐκκεκριμένους ἀναγινώσκειν κανόνας πρὸ τῆς χειροτονίας, οὓς ἡ ὀρθὴ καὶ ἀμώμητος ἡμῶν ἐδέξατο πίστις, καὶ ἡ καθολικὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ προσήκατό τε καὶ παραδίδωσιν ἐκκλησία. . . Εἰ καταδέξοιτο, καὶ φήσειεν ὡς καθ' ὅσον ἀνθρώπῳ δυνατόν πληρώσει τὰ τούτοις περιεχόμενα, τηνικαῦτα νουθετεῖν αὐτὸν, καὶ λέγειν ὡς, εἰ μὴ ταῦτα φυλάξει, Θεοῦτε ἀλλότριος ἔσται, καὶ ἐκπεσεῖται τῆς δοθείσης τιμῆς.

^e Habert. Archierat. p. 496. Πρὸς τούτοις ἀποδέχομαι τὰς ἀγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικὰς ἐπτὰ συνόδους, αἱ τινες ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν σεπτῶν δογμάτων συνηθροίσθησαν, καθομολογῶν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν διωρισμένους στέργειν καὶ φυλάττειν κανόνας· καὶ τὰς ἀγίας διατάξεις, ὅσαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἡμῶν πατράσι κατὰ διαφόρους

SECT. II. — *No Clerk to be ordained ἀπολελυμένως.*

Secondly, another rule to be observed in this case was, that every man should be fixed to some Church at his ordination, and not be left at liberty to minister wherever he would, because of several inconveniences that attended that practice. This rule concerned bishops as well as the inferior clergy: for the ‘Nullatenenses’ of later ages, as Panormitan calls Titular and Utopian bishops, were rarely known in the primitive Church. For though every bishop was, in some sense, ordained bishop of the Catholic Church, as I have showed before^g; yet for order’s sake he was always confined to a certain district in the ordinary exercise of his power; and so presbyters and all other inferior clergy were confined to the diocese of their own bishop, and might not be ordained, unless they had some place wherein to exercise their function. This was the ancient custom of the Church, which the Council of Chalcedon confirmed by a canon, that no presbyter, or deacon, or any other ecclesiastic, should be ordained^{gg} at large, but be assigned either to the city-

καιροὺς καὶ χρόνους ἐτυπώθησαν, πάντας οὖς ἀποδέχονται, συναποδεχόμενος, καὶ οὖς ἀποστρέφονται συναποστρεφόμενος. κ. τ. λ.

^f Baron. an. dccclxix. (Lucæ, vol. xv. p. 180.) (Antverp. 1603. vol. x. p. 433.) (p. 421, 422. num. lxxii. edit. 1618.) Ego N. sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconus, vel presbyter, aut episcopus cardinalis electus, ut fiam per Dei gratiam hujus sanctæ apostolicæ sedis humilis minister, profiteor ibi, beate Petre apostolorum princeps, etc... De ceteris ecclesiæ dogmatibus sicut in universalibus Conciliis et Constitutionibus Apostolicorum Pontificum, probatissimorumque ecclesiæ doctorum scriptis sunt commendata, id est, quæ ad rectitudinem nostræ vestræque orthodoxæ fidei a te traditionem recipiunt, conservare, sanctaque octo universalia Concilia, id est Nicænum, Constantinopolitanum, et Ephesinum primum, Chalcedonense, Quintum quoque, et Sextum item Constantinopolitana, et Septimum item Nicænum, Octavum quoque Constantinopolitanum usque ad unum apicem immutillate servare, et pari honore ac veneratione digna habere, etc.

^{ff} Garneri Liber Diurn. Romanor. Pontific. Paris. 1680. 4to. p. 29. ubi eadem verba leguntur. [Grischov.]

^g See Book ii. c. v. vol. i. p. 105, seqq.

^{gg} Concil. Chalced. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 758.) Μηδένα ἀπολελυμένως χειροτονεῖσθαι μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον, μήτε ὅλας τινὰ τῶν ἐν ἐκκλησιαστικῷ τάγματι· εἰ μὴ ἰδικῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἢ κώμης, ἢ μαρτυρίῳ, ἢ μοναστηρίῳ, ὃ χειροτονούμενος ἐπικηρύττοιτο· τοὺς δὲ ἀπολύτως χειροτονουμένους ὥρισεν ἡ ἀγία σύνοδος ἄκυρον ἔχειν τὴν τοιαύτην χειροθεσίαν, καὶ μηδαμῶς δύνασθαι ἐνεργεῖν ἐφ’ ὕβρει τοῦ χειροτονήσαντος.

church, or some church or oratory in the country, or a monastery; otherwise his ordination to be null and void. This the Latins called ‘*Ordinatio Localis*,’ and the persons so ordained ‘*Locales*,’ from their being fixed to a certain place. As in the Council of Valencia^h, in Spain, we find a canon, that obliges every priest before his ordination to give a promise that he will be *Localis*; to the intent that no one should be permitted to transgress the rules and discipline of the Church with impunity; which they might easily do, if they were allowed to rove about from one place to another. This, in the style of Leo, bishop of Rome, is ordinationⁱ, ‘founded upon a place,’ or, as we would say now, a title; without which, he says, the ordination was not to be looked upon as authentic.—But it must be observed, that a title then did not always signify a parochial church, or distinct cure; for this was a rule, before dioceses were divided into parishes: but the confinement laid upon men at their ordination was, that they should be fixed to their own bishop’s diocese, and officiate in the place where he appointed them.

SECT. III.—*Exceptions to this Rule very rare.*

There were, indeed, some few exceptions to this rule, but very rare, and upon extraordinary occasions. Paulinus and St. Jerome seem to have had the privilege granted them, of being ordained without affixing to any Church. Paulinus says^k expressly of himself, that he was ordained presbyter at Barcelona with this condition, that he should not be confined to that Church, but remain a priest at large. And St. Jerome gives the same account^{kk} of his own ordination at Antioch; that he

^h Concil. Valent. c. vi. (vol. iv. Conc. p. 1620.) Qui localem se futurum primitus non spoponderit: ut per hoc nullus a regula vel disciplina ecclesiastica deviare permittatur impune.

ⁱ Leo, Epist. xcii. ad Rustic. c. i. (Labbe, vol. iii. Conc. p. 1405.) Vana habenda est ordinatio, quæ nec loco fundata est, nec auctoritate munita.

^k Paulin. Ep. vi. ad Sever. p. 101. Ea conditione in Barcinonensi ecclesia consecrari adductus sum, ut ipsi ecclesiæ non alligarer; in sacerdotium tantum Domini, non in locum ecclesiæ dedicatus.

^{kk} Hieron. Ep. lxi. ad Pammach. (tom. ii. p. 181, edit. Basil. 1565.) (p. 123, edit. Francof. 1584.) Si sic presbyterium tribuis, ut monachum non auferas: tu videris de judicio tuo. Sin autem sub nomine presbyteri tollis mihi, propter quod sæculum dereliqui: ego habeo, quod semper habui.

was consecrated presbyter, with license to continue a monk, and return to his monastery again. Sozomen¹ relates the like of Barses and Eulogius, two monks of Edessa, that they were both ordained bishops, not of any city, but only honorary bishops within their own monasteries, out of respect to their eminent virtues. And it was such a sort of ordination, that Theodoret^m says, Flavian, bishop of Antioch, gave to Macedonius the famous Syrian anchorite, whom he drew from his cell in the desert, only to ordain him presbyter, and so let him return to the desert again. These are all the instances of this kind which I remember, in ancient history. It was not as yet the custom to ordain bishops ‘Partibus Infidelium,’ that never meant to see their bishoprics. Though after-ages despised this rule, as Zonarasⁿ complains of the Greek Church, and Habertus^o cannot but lament it in the Latin; yet the ancient

¹ Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxxiv. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 561.) Βάρσης τε καὶ Εὐλόγιος, οἱ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι ἄμφω ὕστερον ἐγενέσθην, οὐ πόλεως τινός, ἀλλὰ τιμῆς ἕνεκεν, ἀνταμοιβῆς ὥσπερ τῶν αὐτοῖς πεπολιτευμένων, χειροτονηθέντες ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις μοναστηρίοις.

^m Theod. Hist. Relig. c. xiii. (tom. iii. p. 835. d. edit. Paris. 1642.) (Schulze, Halæ, vol. iii. p. 1207.) Ἐπειδὴ ὁ μέγας Φλαβιανὸς τὴν μεγάλην τοῦ Θεοῦ ποιμνὴν ποιμαίνειν ἐτάχθη, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρός ἔμαθεν ἀρετὴν, (ἦδετο γάρ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων ἐφέρετο στόμασιν) ἄγει μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ὄρους κορυφῆς, ὡς γραφῆς κατ’ αὐτοῦ γενομένης· τῆς δὲ μυστικῆς ἱερουργίας προκειμένης, προσάγει τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐγκαταλέγει· ὥς δὲ τέλος ἔλαβεν ἡ λειτουργία, καὶ τις αὐτῷ τοῦτο μεμήνυκε, (πάμπαν γὰρ ἠγνόει τὸ γεγονός,) τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐλοιδορεῖτο, καὶ λόγοις ἔβαλλεν ἅπαντας· ὕστερον δὲ τὴν βακτηρίαν λαβὼν, εἰώθει γὰρ σκηριπτόμενος διὰ τὸ γῆρας βαδίζειν, ἐδίωκεν αὐτὸν τε τὸν ἀρχιερέα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσοι παρῆσαν. ὑπελάμβανε γὰρ τὴν χειροτονίαν τῆς τοῦ ὄρους αὐτὸν κορυφῆς, καὶ τῆς ποθουμένης διαίτης ἀποστερήσειν. ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν αὐτὸν μόλις τινὲς τῶν συνήθων ἀγανακτοῦντα κατέπαυσαν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ τῆς ἐβδομάδος συνεπεράνθη κύκλος, καὶ ἦκε πάλιν τῆς δεσποτικῆς ἑορτῆς ἡ ἡμέρα, αὐθις αὐτὸν ὁ μέγας Φλαβιανὸς μετεπέμψατο, τῆς πανηγύρεως κοινωνῆσαι σφίσι παρακαλῶν· ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀφικομένους, οὐκ ἀπόχρη ὑμῖν, ἔφη, τὰ ἤδη γεγενημένα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν με βούλεσθε προβάλλεσθαι πρεσβύτερον; τῶν δὲ λεγόντων, ὡς οὐ δυνατόν εἴη δις τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιτεθεῖναι χειροτονίαν, οὐκ εἶξεν, οὐδὲ ἀφίκετο, ἕως αὐτὸν ὁ χρόνος καὶ οἱ συνήθεις τοῦτο πολλάκις ἐδίδαξαν.

ⁿ Zonar. Not. in Concil. Chalced. c. vi. Ὡσπερ νῦν ἕκαστον τῶν ἀρχιερέων τῇσδε τῆς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ὁ χειροτονῶν αὐτὸν προβληθῆναι λέγει, οὕτως τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶς χειροτονούμενος τῇσδε τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἱερεὺς, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ κληρικὸς ἀπλῶς ὠνομάζετο, εἰ καὶ νῦν τοῦτο πάντῃ καταπεφρόνηται.

^o Habert. Archierat. ad can. vi. Chalced. p. 351. Hanc ecclesiæ legem ac

Church was more punctual in observing the laws, scarce ever ordaining either bishop or inferior clerk without fixing them to a certain diocese, from which, without the consent of their superiors, they were not to remove to any other.

SECT. IV.—*No Bishop to Ordain another Man's Clerk without his Consent.*

Thirdly, and from hence arose a third rule about ordinations, that no bishop should ordain or admit into his Church any clerk belonging to another Church, without the consent of the bishop to whom he formerly belonged. The councils^p are very peremptory in this decree; particularly the great Council of Nice^q, and that of Sardica^r, and the second of Arles^s, declare all such ordinations null and void. The first Council of Carthage^t extends the prohibition even to laymen belonging to another diocese: for it decrees, that as no clerk shall be received by another bishop without the letters dimissory of his

disciplinam antiquam esse, recte in eum canonem Zonaras animadvertit, *εἰ καὶ νῦν τοῦτο πάντα καταπεφρόνηται*, quamvis, inquit, ea nunc plane in contemptum abierit, quod nobis peræque legendum est.

^p Conc. Carth. III. c. xxi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1170.) Ut clericum alienum, nisi concedente ejus episcopo, nemo audeat vel retinere vel promovere in ecclesia sibi credita.—Conc. Chalced. c. xx. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 766.) *Κληρικοὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τελοῦντας, καθὼς ἤδη ὠρίσαμεν, μὴ ἐξεῖναι εἰς ἄλλης πόλεως τάττεσθαι ἐκκλησίαν, κ. τ. λ.*—Conc. Arausian. I. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1449.) Si quis alibi consistentem clericum ordinandum putaverit, prius definiat, ut cum ipso habitet. Sic quoque non sine consultatione ejus episcopi, cum quo ante habitavit, eum, qui fortasse non sine causa diu ab alio ordinatus non est, ordinare præsumat.

^q Conc. Nic. c. xvi. (vol. ii. p. 36.) *Εἰ τολμήσειέ τις ὑφαρπάσαι τὸν ἐν τῷ ἐτέρῳ διαφέροντα, καὶ χειροτονῆσαι ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ, μὴ συγκατατιθεμένου τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, οὗ ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενος, ἄκυρος ἔστω ἡ χειροτονία.*

^r Conc. Sardic. c. xv. (vol. ii. p. 640.) *Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἐξ ἐτέρας παροικίας βουλευθῇ ἀλλότριον ὑπηρέτην, χωρὶς τῆς συγκαταθέσεως τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, εἰς τινα βαθμὸν καταστήσῃ, ἄκυρος καὶ ἀβέβαιος ἡ κατάστασις ἡ τοιαύτη νομίζοιτο.*

^s Conc. Arelat. II. c. xiii. (vol. iv. p. 1012. E 4.) Quod si, aliquo commotionis tempore, invito episcopo suo, in aliena ecclesia habitans, ab episcopo loci clericus fuerit ordinatus, hujusmodi ordinatio irrita habeatur.

^t Conc. Carth. I. c. v. (vol. ii. p. 1824.) Non debere clericum alienum ab aliquo suscipi sine litteris episcopi sui, neque apud se detinere: sed nec laicum usurpare sibi de plebe aliena, ut eum ordinet, sine conscientia ejus episcopi, de cujus plebe est.

own bishop; so neither shall any bishop take a layman out of another people, and ordain him, without the consent of that bishop out of whose people he is taken. The reason of which laws was, that every bishop was supposed to have a peculiar right in all the clergy and people of his own diocese; and it was very conducive to the peace and good order of the Church to have such rules maintained and observed. Only in the African Church, the bishop of Carthage was allowed a privilege in this case, as he was exarch or primate of all the African provinces. For by ancient custom, confirmed by a canon in the third Council of Carthage^u, which is also inserted into the African Code^v,—the bishop of Carthage is allowed to take a clerk out of another Church, and ordain him for the service of any Church under his jurisdiction. But an exception in his particular case confirms the rule in all the rest.

SECT. V.—*No Bishop to Ordain in another Man's Diocese.*

Fourthly, another rule for the preservation of order in this affair was, that every bishop should confine himself to his own Church, and not assume to himself the power of ordaining in the diocese of another man. So the Council of Antioch^x, and those called the Apostolical Canons^y, determined, that a bishop should not presume to ordain out of his own bounds, in cities or countries not subject to him. St. Austin had occasion to insist upon this rule in the case of Pinianus, when the people of Hippo required him to ordain him presbyter against his will;

^u Conc. Carth. III. c. xlv. (ibid. p. 1176. A.) Fuit semper hæc licentia huic sedi, unde vellet, et de cujus nomine fuisset conventus, pro desiderio cujusque ecclesiæ ordinare episcopum.

^v Cod. Can. Afric. c. lv. (ibid. p. 1078.) Περὶ τοῦ ἐξεῖναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Καρχηδόνοσ, ὅθεν θέλει, κληρικὸν χειροτονεῖν.—(Ibid. p. 1079. B 3.) 'Αεὶ ὑπῆρξεν ἡ αὐθεντία αὕτῃ τῷ θρόνῳ, τούτῳ ἵνα ὅθεν ἤλθε (ἤθελε), καὶ περὶ οἰουδήποτε προετράπη ὀνόματος κατὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐκάστης ἐκκλησίας ἐχειροτονήθῃ ἐπίσκοπον.

^x Conc. Antioch. c. xxii. (vol. ii. p. 572.) 'Επίσκοπον μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πόλει τῇ μὴ ὑποκειμένῃ αὐτῷ, μηδὲ χώρα τῇ αὐτῷ μὴ διαφερούσῃ ἐπὶ χειροτονίᾳ τινός, μηδὲ καθιστᾶν πρεσβυτέρους, ἢ διακόνους, εἰς τόπους ἑτέρῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποκειμένους, εἰ μὴ ἄρα μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ οἰκείου τῆς χώρας ἐπισκόπου· εἰ δὲ τολμήσειεν τις τοιοῦτο, ἄκυρον εἶναι τὴν χειροτονίαν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιτιμίας ὑπὸ τῆς συνόδου τυγχάνειν.

^y Can. Apost. c. xxxiv. 'Επίσκοπον μὴ τολμᾶν ἔξω τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὅρων χειροτονίας ποιεῖσθαι εἰς τὰς μὴ ὑποκειμένας αὐτῷ πόλεις καὶ χώρας. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 32.)

and threatened that if he would not, they would have another bishop to ordain him. St. Austin^z told them, that no bishop could ordain him in his church, without first asking his leave and permission; and that having given him a promise, that he would not ordain him against his will, he could not in honour consent, that any other bishop should come and ordain him. Socrates^a says, Epiphanius took upon him to ordain a deacon in the diocese of Chrysostom at Constantinople: but Chrysostom told him that he acted contrary to canon, in ordaining in churches that were not under his jurisdiction. Which shows, that this was an universal law, prevailing both in the Eastern and Western Churches. And by the same rule, all metropolitans, with their provincial bishops, were confined to their own province, and might not ordain any bishop in another province, except they were invited by the bishops of that province to come and give them their assistance. Which rule was made in the general Council of Constantinople^b, and confirmed in the Council of Ephesus^c, upon the controversy that arose between the Churches of Cyprus and the patriarch of Antioch, who laid claim to the power of ordinations in those Churches; but was rejected in his claim, because they were out of his district, and under another jurisdiction. But it is to be observed, that these rules were only made for ordinary cases, to preserve peace and a good understanding among the bishops of the Church, whilst every one acted in his proper sphere, and kept to those bounds and limits which the laws appointed. For otherwise, as I have showed heretofore^{cc},

^z Aug. Epist. ccxxv. ad Albinam. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 279. A 11.) Dicebam ego quibus poteram, qui ad nos in absidem honoratiores et graviores adscenderant, nec a promissi fide me posse dimoveri, nec ab alio episcopo in ecclesia mihi tradita, nisi me interrogato ac permittente, posse ordinari.

^a Socrat. lib. vi. c. xii. (Vales. 1700. p. 260. C 2.) Προσορμήσας τῷ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην μαρτυρίῳ, ἀπέχει δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐξελθὼν τῆς νεῶς, σύναξιν τε ἐπιτελέσας, καὶ διάκονον χειροτονήσας, αὐθις εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέρχεται. — Cap. xiv. Παρὰ κανόνας πράττεις πολλά, ὦ Ἐπιφάνιε, πρῶτον μὲν χειροτονίαν ἐν ταῖς ὑπ' ἐμὲ ἐκκλησίαις ποιησάμενος, κ. τ. λ. (p. 262. C 1.)

^b Conc. Constant. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 947. B 3.) Ἀκλήτους ἐπισκόπους ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἐπὶ χειροτονίαις, ἢ τισιν ἄλλαις οἰκονομίαις ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς.

^c Conc. Ephes. Act. vii. Decret. de Episc. Cypr. (vol. iii. p. 801.) See Book ii. c. xvii. § ix. not. (g) vol. i. p. 231.

^{cc} Book ii. c. v. vol. i. p. 105, seqq.

every bishop was a bishop of the whole Catholic Church ; and in that capacity authorized to ordain, or perform any other acts of the episcopal office in any part of the world, upon urgent necessity and extraordinary occasions. As Athanasius and Eusebius Samosatensis did, in the times of the great prevalency of the Arian heresy ; ordaining bishops and presbyters in any province or diocese (though contrary to the letter of this law), in order to preserve the Catholic faith, and a succession of orthodox men in the service of the Church. So that this was only a rule for common and ordinary cases. And in Cyprus, Epiphanius ^d says, they did not insist upon the rule at all one among another ; but any bishop ordained in any other man's diocese, as occasion required, without breach of charity ; for they gave a sort of general leave to one another, as finding it most expedient for the Church in that province to use such a liberty among themselves ; though they stiffly maintained their privilege against the encroachments of all foreign sees, and more especially that of Antioch.

SECT. VI.—*The Original of the Four solemn Times of Ordination.*

The next things to be noted in this affair, are such as concern the time and place of ordination. Concerning the time there may several inquiries be made : 1. Whether they had originally any set and constant times of ordination, as the Church now has four times a year ? 2. Whether Sunday was always the day of ordination ? 3. Whether ordinations were always confined to morning service ? As to the first inquiry, it does not certainly appear, that the Church had any constant annual times of ordination, before the fourth century. For Habertus truly observes^e, that then it was more usual to ordain men singly, as the present occasions of every Church required. Pope Leo^f, indeed, derives the ‘*Jejunia quatuor temporum*,’ the

^d Epiph. Ep. ad Joan. Hierosolym. tom. ii. p. 313. Multi episcopi communionis nostræ presbyteros in nostra ordinaverunt provincia, etc.

^e Habert. Archierat. part. viii. observat. iv. p. 130. Tunc singuli, et quidem rari, non vero tam multi ac hodie, ordinabantur.

^f Leo, Serm. ii. de Jejun. Pentecost. (Lugd. 1700. p. 162.) Item serm. ix. de Jejun. Sept. Mensis, sive de jejunio quatuor temporum, p. 178. It. serm. vii.

fasts of the four seasons of the year, which are now commonly called Ember-weeks, from apostolical tradition. But as Mr. Pagi^g and Quesnel^h, in their censures of that author, observe, there is nothing more usual with him than to call every thing an apostolical law, which he found either in the practice of his own Church, or decreed in the archives of his predecessors Damasus and Siricius. So that all other authors before Leo being silent upon this matter, we can lay no great stress upon his authority for it. Besides, he does not so much as once intimate, that these fasts were appointed upon the account of any set and solemn times of ordinations, but upon other more general reasons. So that it is not certain that the Church had any fixed times of ordination when Leo wrote, an. 450. And in the ages before, it is more evident she had not. For as to bishops, it is certain the Church never confined herself to any set times for the ordination of them; but as soon as any bishop was dead, another was chosen and ordained in his room with all convenient speed; and in some places this was done within a day or two after his decease, as has been showed in a former^{hh} book. As to presbyters and deacons, and others below them, it is evident also, that for the first three ages they were ordained at all times, as the occasions of the Church required. Cyprian ordained Aurelius a Reader upon the first of December, as Bishop Pearsonⁱ computes by the critical rules of calculation; and he ordained Saturus a Reader, and Optatus a Subdeacon, in the month of August^k; neither of which were

^g Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. lxxvii. n. xix. (Lucæ, 1738. vol. i. p. 650.) (Antverp. 1727. vol. i. p. 57.) Per canones, inquit Quesnellus, nihil aliud Leo intelligit, quam regulam ecclesiasticam solo usu et traditione ecclesiastica firmatam, quomodo sæpe sæpius usurpare videtur. . . . Familiare est Leoni, ut cum de apostolica traditione sermonem habet, de ea loquatur, quam ab Apostolo Petro ecclesiæ Romanæ relictam putabat. Ea vero ex B. Petri traditione descendere existimavit, quæ et olim observata, et decretis sancita inveniebat eorum ecclesiæ suæ pontificum, quorum monumenta supererant illa ætate.

^h See preceding note.

^{hh} Book ii. c. xi. § ii. vol. i. p. 151.

ⁱ Pearson. Annal. Cyprian. ann. ccl. n. xx. p. 25. (p. 20, edit. Amstel. 1700.) Mense Decembri ineunte, Cyprianus cum collegis suis, inconsulto clero suo, Aurelium Confessorem ordinavit Lectorem, et quidem, ut opinor, ipsis calendis Decembribus, etc.

^k Pearson. *ibid.* n. xv. Scripsit epistolam xxvii., mense Augusto ineunte, ad

solemn times of ordination. Paulinus, who lived in the fourth century, was ordained on Christmas-day, as he himself¹ informs us: yet neither was that one of the four days which afterwards became the stated times of ordination. The Roman Pontifical under the name of Damasus, in the life of almost every bishop, takes notice of the ordinations which they made in the Roman province, of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, during their whole life; and always the ordinations are said to be made in the month of December. Which, if that book were of any great authority, would prove that there was one fixed time of ordination at Rome; but not four. But I confess the credit of that book cannot much be depended upon for the history of the primitive ages, one way or other; it being of much later date than the title pretends; and perhaps the author only spake of ancient things according to the custom of his own times, when one of these four times might be brought into use. Which seems to have been before the time of Simplicius, an. 467. For the Pontifical, in his life^m, adds February to December; as it does also in the life of Gelasius. And in one of the decrees of Gelasiusⁿ, there are no less than five stated times of ordination appointed, viz., June, September, December, the beginning of Lent, and the middle of Lent, and Saturday in the evening, in all these times to be the precise time of ordination. Amalarius Fortunatus^o takes notice of

clerum Romanum. Scripsit etiam eodem tempore ad Moysen et Maximum reliquosque Confessores Romæ in carcere constitutos epistolam xxviii. . . Ut autem hæ litteræ solemniter, juxta morem ecclesiæ, mitterentur; Cyprianus fecit Lectorem Saturum et Hypodiaconum Optatum Confessorem, easque per eosdem misit; cujus rei statim clerum suum certiores facit epistola xxix.

¹ Paulin. Ep. vi. ad Sever. p. 101. Die Domini, quod nasci carne dignatus est, repentina vi multitudinis . . . presbyteratu initiatus sum.

^m Pontifical. Vit. Gelas. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1155. A 8.) Hic fecit ordinationes duas in urbe Roma per menses Februarium et Decembrem, presbyteros triginta duos, diaconos duos, episcopos per diversa loca numero sexaginta septem.

ⁿ Gelas. Ep. ix. ad Episc. Lucaniæ, c. xi. al. xiii. (ibid. p. 1191.) Ordinationes presbyterorum et diaconorum, nisi certis temporibus et diebus, exerceri non debent, id est, quarti mensis jejunio, septimi, et decimi, sed et etiam quadragesimalis initii, ac mediana quadragesimæ die, sabbati jejunio circa vespem noverint celebrandas.

^o Amalar. de Offic. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 1. (Bibl. M. Vet. P. vol. xiv. p. 968. C.) (Bibl. SS. Patr. tom. vi. p. 927, Paris. 1589.) Primi apostolici semper in

the change that was made in the time of Simplicius, telling us, that all the bishops of Rome before Sulpicius made their ordinations always in the month of December, and that he was the first that ordained in February. Which, no doubt, he had from the fore-mentioned passages of the Pontifical, which, in some places, speaks of one, and in others, of two solemn times of ordination, but never of four : which argues, that these four were not as yet determined, when that book was written ; which, with the interpolations that it has now, was not till after the time of Justinian, as learned men generally agree. So that I leave it to further inquiry, whether there were any such fixed times of ordination in the Church of Rome as these authors mention, for four or five of the first centuries. In other Churches, we read of none ; but the instances that have been produced rather prove the contrary. The inquisitive reader will be able to furnish himself with many other such instances, from which it may be concluded, that the times of ordination were not fixed for four of the first centuries, since no ancient writer within that space makes any mention of them. And therefore there is no necessity, with Baronius^p and Bellarmin^q, to make the ‘*Jejunia quatuor temporum*’ an apostolical tradition ; but it is sufficient to speak of them as an useful order of the Church, founded upon ecclesiastical institution, some ages after.

Decembrio mense, in quo nativitas Domini nostri Jesu Christi celebratur, consecrationes ministrabant usque ad Simplicium, qui fuit a B. Petro quadragesimus nonus. Ipse primus sacravit in Februario.

^p Baron. an. lvii. n. ccix. (Lucæ, vol. i. p. 488.) (Antverp. 1612. vol. i. p. 516. A 5.) Ipsa quatuor anni temporum jejunia, quæ in ecclesia servari solent, ex Apostolica institutione sumsisse principium, sanctus Leo absque ulla dubitatione confirmat, etc.

^q Bellarm. de Verbo Dei non scripto, lib. iv. c. iii. p. 206. (p. 67. H. edit. Colon. 1615.) Sextum mendacium est : Calixtus jejunia quatuor temporum instituit : ergo falsum est, quod sint ex apostolica traditione. Mendacium est, quod Calixtus omnia instituerit quatuor temporum jejunia. Ipse enim (in epist. i.) dicit, se tantum addidisse unum jejunium ad tria, quæ antea erant. Quo circa quod sanctus Leo (sermon. ii. de jejunio Pentecostes, et sermon. viii. de jejunio septimi mensis) dicit, illa jejunia esse ex apostolica traditione, non pugnat cum decreto Calixti.

SECT. VII.—*Ordinations indifferently given on any day of the week for three Centuries.*

The same must be said in answer to the second question, Whether Sunday was always the day of ordination? It is evident, that for the three first centuries it was not. For Mr. Pagi has unanswerably proved^r against Papenbroch, from the most certain rules of chronology, that, before the time of Constantine, the ordinations of the bishops of Rome themselves were performed indifferently upon any day of the week; and that the affixing them to the Lord's-day and other solemn festivals was the business of the fourth century. So that when pope Leo^s says, that such ordinations as were made upon other days than Sundays, were against the canons and the tradition of the Fathers, he is to be understood, as before, to mean only the customs of his own time; if yet it was the custom when Leo lived: for there is some reason to doubt of the authority either of Leo's epistle, or that of Gelasius, who lived not long after. For Gelasius^t says, the ordinations of presbyters and deacons were to be made on Saturday in the evening. So that either one of these epistles is spurious; or else the custom varied in the same century in the Church of Rome.

^r Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. lxvii. n. xiv. (Lucæ, 1738. vol. i. p. 649.) (Antwerp. 1727. vol. i. p. 57. n. 18.) (edit. Paris. 1689.) (n. xviii. edit. Antwerp. 1705.) Ante constitutam a Constantino Magno ecclesiæ pacem, pontificum Romanorum ordinationes quocumque die indiscriminatim peractæ. Hanc regulam tertio ecclesiæ sæculo tot exemplis comprobabimus, ut ea in dubium revocari minime possit. In Martyrologio Hieronymiano, ad diem xxviii. Decembris, legitur, 'Romæ Felicis et Bonifacii episcopi de ordinatione;' quæ ultima verba a librario corrupta et posita loco istorum, 'Episc. dies ordinationis,' id est, 'episcoporum.' Nam in Martyrologiis aliquando legitur, 'Ordinatio N. episcopi,' vel 'episcopatus N.,' vel 'natale episcopatus N.,' vel 'natale cathedræ;' id est, S. Petri Antiochiæ. Quare S. Felix, hujus nominis primus, anno centesimo sexagesimo nono, die vicesima octava mensis Decembris, quæ in feriam tertiam incidebat, ordinatus est. Mitto alia exempla suis locis adducenda. Post itaque tria priora ecclesiæ sæcula in morem inductum, ut ordinationes tam Romanorum pontificum, quam cæterorum episcoporum, diebus Dominicis vel festis solemnioribus peragerentur.

^s Leo, Epist. lxxxi. ad Dioscorum, c. i. tot. (Labbe, vol. iii. Conc. pp. 1374, 1375.)

^t Gelas. Epist. ix. ad Episcop. Lucan. c. xi. See note (n) pag. 518.

SECT. VIII.—*The Ceremony usually performed in the time of the Oblations at Morning-service.*

I confess Gelasius is singular in that part of his decree, which fixes ordinations to evening-service. For though the ancients were not always precise to a certain day of the year, or a certain day of the week; yet they more punctually observed the time of the day, to give ordinations at morning-service. This was a very ancient rule of the Church, as we may learn from the objection that was made against Novatian, that, among his other irregularities, he was ordained at an uncanonical hour, ὥρα δεκάτῃ, at ten o'clock, or four in the afternoon, as Cornelius^u in his epistle to Fabian lays the charge against him. The Council of Laodicea is still more punctual to the time, that ordinations should not be given, while the Hearers and Catechumens^v were present, but at the time of the oblation. The reason of which was, that the person ordained might either consecrate, or at least participate of the eucharist at the time of his ordination. Whence Theodoret, speaking of the ordination of Macedonius the Anchorite, says, it was done^x, τῆς μυστικῆς ἱερουργίας προκειμένης, in the time of the mystical, that is, the communion-service. And so Epiphanius^y represents the ordination of Paulinianus, St. Jerome's brother, whom he ordained presbyter, whilst he ministered in the holy sacrifice of the altar. But this is to be understood chiefly, if not only, of the three superior orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons: for as to the rest, it was indifferent what time they were ordained, so long as it was in the Church in any part of divine service.

^u Ap. Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. (Vales. 1695. p. 198. C.) Οὗς παραγενομένους ἄτε δὴ ἀνθρώπους ἀπλουστέρους περὶ τὰς τῶν πονηρῶν μηχανὰς τε καὶ ῥαδιουργίαν, συγκλεισθέντας ὑπὸ τινων ὁμοίων αὐτῷ τεταγμένων ἀνθρώπων, ὥρα δεκάτῃ μεθύοντας καὶ κραιπαλῶντας, μετὰ βίας ἠνάγκασεν εἰκονικῇ τινι καὶ ματαίᾳ χειρεπιθεσίᾳ ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτῷ δοῦναι.

^v Concil. Laodic. c. v. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1497.) Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τὰς χειροτονίας ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ ἀκρωμένων γίνεσθαι.

^x Theodoret. Histor. Relig. c. xiii. See § iii. not. (m) pag. 512.

^y Epiphan. Ep. ad Joan. Hierosol. (tom. ii. p. 313. A 8.) Cum ministraret in sanctis sacrificiis, rursus cum ingenti difficultate tento ore ejus ordinavimus presbyterum et iisdem verbis, quibus antea suaseramus, impulimus, ut sederet in ordine presbyterii.

SECT. IX.—*The Church the only regular Place of Ordination.*

But out of the Church, no ordination could be regularly performed. Though there was this difference between the superior and inferior orders, that the one were conferred within the sanctuary, or altar-part, and the other without ; yet they both agreed in this, that the Church was still the proper place to give birth to all such orders, as were to be employed in any ecclesiastical service. And therefore Gregory Nazianzen^z justly upbraids Maximus the cynic, who intruded himself into his see of Constantinople, that being excluded from the Church, he was ordained in the house of a minstrel. Which was also objected to Ursinus, who was a competitor with Damasus for the see of Rome, that he was not ordained in a Church^a, but in an obscure corner of the hall called Sicina.

SECT. X.—*Ordination received kneeling at the Altar.*

As to the ceremonies used in the act of ordination itself, beside what has been noted before in speaking of each particular order, it will be proper to observe some things of them in general. As, first, that the ordinations of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, were always received kneeling before the altar. So the author under the name of Dionysius^b represents the matter in his Rationale upon the Churches' service. And Theodoret mentions it as the customary rite^c, when speaking of the ordination of a bishop, he says, They brought him to the holy table, and made him kneel on his knees by force.

^z Nazianz. Carm. de Vit. (Colon. 1690. tom. ii. p. 15, line 12.)

Εἰς γὰρ χοράλῳ λυπρὸν οἰκητήριον
 Ἀχθέντες οἱ σεμνοῖτε καὶ Θεῷ φίλοι,
 Λαοῦ τ' ἔχοντες τῶν ἀποβλήτων τινὰς,
 Κυνῶν τυποῦσι τὸν κάκιστον ποιμένα
 Κείραντες, οὐ δῆσαντες, οὐδὲ σὺν βίᾳ
 Κύων γὰρ ἦν πρόθυμος εἰς τὰ κρείσσονα.

^a Socrat. lib. iv. c. xxix. (Vales. 1700. p. 202. C 9.) Χειροτονεῖται οὐκ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ τόπῳ τῆς βασιλικῆς, καὶ ἐπικαλουμένης Σικίνης.

^b Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccles. c. v. contempl. iii. § ii. p. 364. § viii. p. 368, 369. (tom. i. edit. Antverp. 1634.)

^c Theodoret. lib. iv. c. xv. (Vales. 1695. p. 169. A 2.) Πάντων τὸν Ἀντίοχον ψηφισαμένων τοῦ Θεοῦ διάδοχον, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν ἀγαγόντων τε καὶ κλίνει βιασαμένων τὰ γόνατα κ. τ. λ.

SECT. XI.—*Given by imposition of Hands and Prayer.*

Secondly, The solemnity itself in giving the superior orders was always performed by imposition of hands and prayer. Which is evident from St. Jerome, who says, that imposition of hands was therefore added to complete the ordinations of the clergy^d, lest any one, by a silent and solitary prayer, should be ordained without his knowledge. Gregory Nyssen^e indeed tells us a very strange story of the ordination of Gregory Thaumaturgus, how Phædimus bishop of Amasea ordained him only by prayer without imposition of hands: for he was absent, being fled to the wilderness, to avoid ordination: notwithstanding which Phædimus consecrated him to the bishopric of Neo-Cæsarea, which he afterwards accepted. But as a learned man conjectures^f, it is most likely that he had another ordination; or if not, this act must pass for a singular instance, contrary to the common rule and established order of the Church. The Greeks call this imposition of hands both *χειροτονία* and *χειροθεσία*, as may be seen in the canons of the Council of Nice^g and Chalcedon. Yet sometimes those

^d Hieron. lib. xvi. in Iesai. c. lviii. (Vallars. vol. iv. p. 694, at bottom.) (p. 265, edit. Basil. 1565.) (tom. v. p. 184. G. edit. Francof. 1684.) *Χειροτονία*, id est, ordinatio clericorum, non solum ad imprecationem vocis, sed ad impositionem completur manus (ne scilicet vocis imprecatio clandestina clericos ordinet nescientes.) etc.

^e Nyssen. Vit. Greg. Thaum. (tom. iii. p. 544.) 'Ο Φαίδιμος . . ἀντὶ χειρὸς ἐπάγει τῷ Γρηγορίῳ τὸν λόγον ἀφιερῶσαι τῷ Θεῷ τὸν σωματικῶς οὐ παρόντα.

^f Cave, Histor. Litterar. (Basil. 1741. vol. i. p. 132.) (vol. i. p. 94, Lond.) (p. 82, edit. Genev. 1720.) A Phædimō Amasææ antistite Neo-Cæsareæ episcopus ordinatur, modo plane mirabili et hactenus inaudito. . . Cum enim Gregorius in solitudinem secesserat, ne a philosophiæ studiis distraheretur animus, et ut Phædimi consilium evitaret, novas subinde latebras quæreret; Phædimus impetu quodam divino proventus, oratione primum ad Deum conversa, deinde sermone ad Gregorium habito, eum, quasi jam præsentī manus imposeret, Deo et ecclesiæ isti episcopum consecravī. Quam provinciam, Deo animum ejus suaviter disponente, Gregorius more consueto, uti credi par est, prius ordinatus, postea lubens suscepit.

^g Conc. Nic. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. ii. Conc. p. 37. E 4.) Ἐμνήσθημεν δὲ διακονισσῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ σχήματι ἐξετασθεισῶν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ χειροθεσίαν τινὰ ἔχουσιν, ὥστε ἐξάπαντος ἐν τοῖς λαϊκοῖς αὐτὰς ἐξετάζεσθαι.—Concil. Chalced. c. xv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 763.) Εἰ δὲ γε δεξαμένη τὴν χειροθεσίαν, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ παραμείνασα τῇ λειτουργίᾳ, ἐαυτὴν ἐπιδῶ γάμφ, ὑβρίσασα τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριν, ἢ τοιαύτῃ ἀναθεματίζέσθω μετὰ τοῦ αὐτῇ συναφθέντος.

words are distinguished, as in the author of the Constitutions^h, where he says, *πρεσβύτερος χειροθετεῖ, οὐ χειροτονεῖ*, a presbyter gives imposition of hands, but does not ordain. Where it is plain, that imposition of hands means not ordination, but some other benediction of the Church, wherein imposition of hands was used, as well as in ordination. Neither does *χειροτονία* always signify ordination, in ancient writers; though it does most commonly so, as Fronto Ducæusⁱ and other learned persons have showed: but sometimes it denotes no more than designation or election, as when Ignatius uses the phrase, *χειροτονῆσαι θεοπρεσβύτην*^k, only to signify the election or appointment of a messenger to go upon an errand of the Church. Which I note, to caution the reader against mistakes committed by some authors, who confound ordinations with elections, for want of distinguishing the critical senses of words, as the subject-matter requires.

SECT. XII.—*The Sign of the Cross used in Ordination.*

I must further observe, that as the sign of the cross was used upon many occasions by the primitive Christians, so particularly in their ordination:—which we learn from Chrysostom, who more than once mentions it upon this occasion. “If,” says he, “we are to be regenerated, the cross is used, viz. in baptism; or if we are to be nourished with the mystical food^l,

^h Constit. Apost. viii. c. xxviii. *Πρεσβύτερος χειροθετεῖ, οὐ χειροτονεῖ.* (p. 493.)

ⁱ Front. Duc. not. in Chrysostom. Hom. i. ad Pop. Antiochen. p. 3. C 5. *Περὶ χειροτονιῶν*, de ordinationibus. Brixianus interpres verterat, ‘de electionibus:’ atque apud profanos quidem scriptores *χειροτονία*, quæ proprie manuum extensionem sonat, decretum significat, vel suffragiorum lationem, qua in populi comitiis magistratus deferebantur, et *χειροτονεῖν* per suffragia creare; sed apud Christianos et sacros auctores peculiariter pro ecclesiasticorum ministrorum ordinatione sumitur, qui plerique per impositionem manuum accipiebant potestatem. etc.

^k Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. xi. (Coteler. Antverp. 1698. vol. iii. p. 38.) *Πρέπει εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ χειροτονῆσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑμῶν θεοπρεσβύτην*, κ. τ. λ.—Id. Epist. ad Philadelph. n. x. (ibid. p. 85.) *Πρέπον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν χειροτονῆσαι διάκονον εἰς τὸ πρεσβεῦσαι ἐκεῖ Θεοῦ πρεσβείαν*.—Id. Ep. ad Polycarp. n. vii. (ibid. p. 97.) *Πρέπει, συμβούλιον ἀγαγεῖν θεοπρεπέστατον, καὶ χειροτονῆσαι, εἴ τινα ἀγαπητὸν λίαν ἔχετε καὶ ἄοκνον, ὃς δυνήσεται θεόδρομος καλεῖσθαι*.

Chrysost. Hom. lv. in Matth. (liv. Field’s edition, Cambridge, 1838. vol. ii. p. 113.) *Κὰν ἀναγεννηθῆναι δεῖ, σταυρὸς παραγίνεται· κὰν τραφῆναι τὴν μυστι-*

the eucharist, or to receive an ordination, we are signed with the sign of the cross." Upon this account, Suicerus^m notes out of the author under the name of Dionysius, that the imposition of hands in ordination was called σφραγίς, consignation, and σταυροειδής σφραγίς, consignation in form of a crossⁿ, because the sign of the cross was made on the head of him that was ordained.

SECT. XIII.—*But no Unction, or the ceremony of delivering Vessels into the Hands of Presbyters and Deacons.*

As to the ceremony of unction, I have already had occasion to show its noveltyⁿⁿ in another place; together with the custom of delivering some of the holy vessels into the hands of the person ordained. Which Habertus says was never used in giving any of the superior orders, but only the inferior, by the rule of the fourth Council of Carthage, which makes that the chief part of their ordination. Though Habertus^o and some

κὴν ἐκείνην τροφήν, καὶ χειροτονηθῆναι, καὶ ὁτιοῦν ἕτερον ποιῆσαι, πανταχοῦ τὸ τῆς νίκης ἡμῖν παρίσταται σύμβολον. (Paris. 1636. vol. i. p. 457. A.)

^m Suicer. Thesaur. voce σφραγίς, tom. ii. p. 1199. Manuum impositio, quæ fiebat ad ordinationem, σφραγίς consignatio dicebatur, quia tum manum imponent capiti, signum crucis etiam in capite consecrandi faciebant. Dionysius Areopagita, cap. v. de Ecclesiast. Hierarchia, p. 314. σταυροειδῆ σφραγίδα vocat, et pag. 312. explicat mysterium sacerdotalis consecrationis: ἐκάστω, κ. τ. λ. See following note (n).

ⁿ Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccles. c. v. pp. 312, 314, edit. Paris. 1644. (p. 364, edit. Antverp. 1634.) 'Εκάστω αὐτῶν ἡ σταυροειδὴς ἐνσημαίνεται πρὸς τοῦ τελούντος ἱεραρχοῦ σφραγίς. See also p. 365. § iv.

ⁿⁿ Book ii. c. xix. § xvii. vol. i. p. 272.

^o Habert. Archieratic. p. 323. Martinus Becanus, iv. parte de Sacram. tract. de Ordin. qu. iv. conclusione iii.: 'Impositio manuum videtur esse materia essentialis hujus sacramenti, et a Christo instituta: porrectio vero instrumentorum videtur esse accidentalis, et ab ecclesia introducta. Concilium enim Florentinum in instructione Armenorum solum meminit materiæ accidentalis, quæ ab ecclesia fuit instituta; non autem substantialis, quam Christus præscripsit, quia hæc ex scripturis et antiquis patribus erat satis cognita, non autem illa. Addo, si hoc argumentum valeret, posset ita optime retorqueri: Antiqua concilia non assignat aliam materiam nisi manuum impositionem.' Contra quæ postrema Becani verba, quia proferri possent canones ordinationum concilii IV. Carthaginensis, in quibus porrectionis instrumentorum fit aliqua mentio; monendus est lector, primo fieri mentionem solius manuum impositionis in trium ordinum hierarchicarum, episcopi, presbyteri, et diaconi consecratione: porrectionis vero calicis et aliorum instrumentorum in aliorum ordinatione. Secundo, canones illos primos non esse concilii Carthaginensis, nec

others question the authority of that very council, and reckon all its canons spurious. But that only by the way.

SECT. XIV.—*Ordinations concluded with the Kiss of Peace.*

When the ceremony of consecration was ended, it was usual for the clergy then present to salute the person newly ordained with the kiss of peace^p. And so being conducted to his proper station belonging to his office, if he was a bishop or a presbyter, he made his first sermon to the people. But of this, as it relates to bishops, I have given an account before; as it relates to presbyters in the Greek Church, where it was more usual for presbyters to preach, the reader may find examples of such sermons among those of Chrysostom^q and Gregory Nyssen^r, which they preached upon the day of their ordination.

SECT. XV.—*The Anniversary Day of a Bishop's Ordination kept a Festival.*

I cannot omit to mention one thing more, which should have been mentioned in another place, because it was an honour peculiarly paid to the order of bishops; which was, that in many places, the day of their ordination was solemnly kept among the anniversary festivals of the Church. On these days they had Church-assemblies, and sermons, and all the other solemnities of a festival. Which appears from St. Austin's sermons, two of which were preached upon the anniversary of

temporis illius; sed ex libris ritualibus posterioris sæculi illuc transpositos, ut alibi plenius ostenditur.

^p Dionys. Hierarch. Eccles. c. v. p. 367. (p. 364. edit. Antwerp.) Ἐκάστῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ σταυροειδὴς ἐνσημαίνεται πρὸς τοῦ τελοῦντος ἱεράρχου σφραγίς, καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀνάρρησις ἱερὰ γίνεται, καὶ τελειωτικὸς ἀσπασμὸς, ἀσπαζομένου παντὸς ἱερατικοῦ παρόντος ἀνδρὸς, καὶ τοῦ τελέσαντος ἱεράρχου τὸν πρὸς τῶν εἰρημένων ἱερατικῶν ταγμάτων ἀποτελεσθέντα.—Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. v. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 463. A 2.) Μετὰ τὴν προσευχὴν, εἰς τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἀναφέρετω τὴν θυσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ χειροτονηθέντος· καὶ τῇ ἑωθεν ἐνθρονίζεσθω εἰς τὸν αὐτῷ διαφέροντα τόπον παρὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπισκόπων, πάντων αὐτὸν φιλησάντων τῷ ἐν Κυρίῳ φιλήματι.

^q Chrysostom. Homil. quum presbyter esset designatus, tom. iv. p. 953.

^r Gregor. Nyssen. Hom. in suam Ordinatio. tom. ii. p. 40.

his own ordination^s; and in another published by Sirmondus^t, he also mentions the day under the same title of his own Anniversary. In a fourth, he speaks also of the Anniversary of Aurelius^u, bishop of Carthage, inviting the people to come and keep the festival in Basilica Fausti, which was a noted Church in Carthage. Among the homilies also of Leo bishop of Rome, the three first are upon the anniversary-day of his assumption to the pontificate. And a late learned critic^v has observed, that in St. Jerome's and some other ancient martyrologies there sometimes occur such festivals, under the titles of 'Ordinatio Episcopi, et Natale Episcopatus N.,' that is, the ordination or birth-day of such or such a bishop. Which doubtless at first were the anniversaries of their ordination; which they themselves kept in their life-time, and which were continued in memory of them after death. By which means they came to be inserted into the martyrologies as standing festivals, denoting there neither the day of their natural birth, nor their death, (as some mistake,) but the day of their ordination or advancement to the episcopal throne. But of this more when we come to speak of the festivals of the Church.

^s Aug. Homil. xxiv. et xxv. ex Quinquaginta. (tom. x. p. 472, 473, seq. edit. Basil. 1569.)

^t Id. Hom. xxxix. edit. a Sirmond. tom. xiii. p. 841.

^u Id. Hom. xxxii. de Verb. Domini: Dies anniversarius ordinationis Domni [Domini] senis Aurelii crastinus illucescit, rogat et admonet per humilitatem meam Caritatem vestram, ut ad basilicam Fausti devotissime convenire dignemini. (Bened. vol. v. p. 393. B 2.)

^v Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. lxvii. n. xiv. (n. xviii. edit. Antverp.) In martyrologio Hieronymiano, etc. See note (r) p. 520.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CASE OF FORCED ORDINATIONS AND RE-ORDINATIONS
CONSIDERED.SECT. I.—*Forced Ordinations very frequent in the Primitive Church.*

FOR the close of this Book, I shall add something concerning forced ordinations, and re-ordinations, which were things that very often happened in the primitive Church. For anciently, while popular elections were indulged, there was nothing more common than for the people to take men by force, and have them ordained even against their wills. For though, as Sulpicius Severus complains, many men were too ambitious in courting the preferments of the Church; yet there were some who ran as eagerly from them as others ran to them; and nothing but force could bring such men to submit to an ordination. We have seen an instance or two of this already in the cases of St. Austin^x and Paulinus; and ecclesiastical history affords us many others: for, not to mention such as only fled or absconded to avoid ordination, such as Cyprian^a, and Gregory Thaumaturgus^b, and Athanasius^c, and Evagrius^d,

^x See before, chap. ii. § viii. p. 447.

^a Pont. Vit. Cyprian. (Oxon. 1682. p. 3.) *Judicio Dei et plebis favore, ad officium sacerdotii et episcopatus gradum adhuc neophytus, et, ut putabatur, novellus, electus est: . . . cum in dilectionem ejus et honorem totus populus adspirante Domino prosiliret, humiliter ille secessit, antiquioribus cedens, et indignum se titulo tanti honoris existimans, etc.*

^b Gregor. Nyssen. Vit. Gregor. Thaumaturg. tom. iii. p. 544. See chap. vi. § xi. note (e) p. 523.

^c Sozom. lib. ii. c. xvii. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 379. C 6.) *Τόνγε Ἀθανάσιον φασὶν ἀποφυγεῖν πειραθῆναι, καὶ ἄκοντα βιασθῆναι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ὑποδέξασθαι.*

^d Socrat. lib. iv. c. xxiii. (p. 195. A 11.) *Ἐπειδὴ δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον καὶ Εὐάγριος ὑπὸ*

and St. Ambrose^e, there were some who were plainly ordained against their wills; as Nepotian, of whom St. Jerome says, that when his uncle Heliodore ordained him presbyter, he wept and lamented his condition^f, and could not forbear expressing his anger against his ordainer, though that was the only time ever he had occasion to do it. St. Martin, bishop of Tours, was so averse from taking the bishopric, that he was forced to be drawn out of his cell by craft, and carried under a guard to his ordination, as the sacred historian informs us^g. And the ordination of Macedonius the anchorite, by Flavian bishop of Antioch, was so much against his will, that they durst not let him know what they were about, till the ceremony was over; and when he came to understand that he was ordained presbyter, he broke forth into a rage against Flavian and all that were concerned in the action, as thinking that his ordination would have obliged him to another sort of life, and deprived him of his retirement and return to the mountains. So Theodoret, in his lives of the eastern anchorites^h, relates the story. And that this was a very common practice in those times, appears from what Epiphaniusⁱ says of the custom in Cyprus, that it was usual in that province for persons, that fled to avoid ordination by their own bishop, to be seized by any other bishop,

Θεοφίλου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς ἐπισκοπὴν συλληφθεὶς ἀπέφυγεν, κ. τ. λ.

^e Paulin. Vit. Ambros. (Paris. 1836. vol. i. p. iii.) Ille quum videret nihil intentionem suam posse proficere, fugam paravit: egressusque noctis medio civitatem, tum Ticinum se pergere putaret, mane ad portam civitatis Mediolanensis, quæ Romana dicitur, invenitur..... Qui inventus cum custodiretur a populo, missa relatio est ad clementissimum imperatorem Valentinianum Pendente ratione, iterum fugam paravit, atque in possessione cujusdam Leontii clarissimi viri aliquamdiu delituit. etc.

^f Hieron. Epist. iii. epitaph. Nepotian. (Venet. Vallars. vol. i. p. 337. E 2.) Presbyter ordinatur. Jesu bone, qui gemitus, qui ejulatus, quæ cibi interdictio, quæ fuga oculorum omnium! Tunc primum et solum avunculo iratus est.

^g Sulpic. Sever. Vit. S. Martin. lib. i. p. 224. (c. ix. p. 312, edit. Lips.) Dispositis in itinere civium turbis, sub quadam custodia ad civitatem usque deducitur, etc.

^h Theod. Histor. Relig. c. xiii. See note (m) p. 512.

ⁱ Epiphan. Epist. ad Joan. Hierosol. (Colon. 1682. vol. ii. p. 313. C 3.) Multi episcopi communionis nostræ et presbyteros in nostra ordinaverunt provincia, quos nos comprehendere non poteramus, et miserunt ad nos diaconos et hypodiatonos, quos suscepimus cum gratia.

and to be ordained by them, and then be returned to the bishop from whom they were fled. Which argues, that forced ordinations in those times were both practised and allowed.

SECT. II.—*No excuse admitted in that Case, except a Man protested upon Oath that he would not be ordained.*

Nor was it any kind of remonstrance or solicitation whatsoever, which the party could make, that would prevent his ordination in such cases, except he chanced to protest solemnly upon oath against ordination. For in that case he was to be set at liberty, and not to be ordained against so solemn a protestation. This is evident from one of the canons of St. Basil, which says, that they who swear they will not^k be ordained are not to be compelled to forswear themselves by being ordained. And this, I think, also may be collected from the account which Epiphanius gives of his own transaction with Paulinianus, St. Jerome's brother, upon such an occasion. Paulinianus, he says, was one of those who fled from their bishop for fear of ordination; but providentially coming^l where Epiphanius was, he caused him to be seized by his deacons, not dreaming or suspecting any thing of ordination; and when he came to it, he caused them to hold his mouth, for fear he should have adjured him by the name of Christ to set him free. Thus he ordained him deacon first, and presbyter some time after, in the very same manner. Which seems to imply, that if he had suffered him to have made his protestation in the name of Christ, he could not have proceeded to his ordination: but it seems nothing else but such an adjuration was available to set him free. And that is a further argument that, in those

^k Basil. Ep. Canon. ad Amphiloeh. c. x. (Paris. 1638. tom. ii. Conc. p. 1728.) Οἱ ὁμνύοντες μὴ καταδέχεσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν, ἐξομνύμενοι, μὴ ἀναγκαζέσθωσαν ἐπιορκεῖν.

^l Epiph. Epist. ad Joann. Hierosol. (Colon. 1682. vol. ii. p. 312. C 5.) Quum igitur celebraretur collecta in ecclesia villæ, quæ est juxta monasterium nostrum, ignorantem eum, et nullam penitus habentem suspicionem, per multos diaconos apprehendi jussimus, et teneri os ejus, ne forte liberari se cupiens adjuraret nos per nomen Christi, et primum diaconum ordinavimus, proponentes ei timorem Dei, et compellentes ut ministraret. . . . Quum ministraret in sanctis sacrificiis, rursus eum ingenti difficultate tento ore ejus, ordinavimus presbyterum, &c.

times, men might be ordained against their wills, and yet their ordination stand good, and be accounted as valid as any others.

SECT. III.—*This Practice afterward prohibited by the Imperial Laws, and Canons of the Church.*

But in the next age this practice was prohibited, because of several inconveniences that were found to attend it. The emperors Leo and Majorian made a law, with sanctions and penalties, to prevent it. For they decreed, that no one should be ordained^m against his will. And whereas some bishops did impose the burden of orders upon men against their consent, they granted liberty in that case, either to the party himself, or any other accuser, to bring an action at law against the archdeacon, who was liable to be fined ten pounds of gold, to be paid to the injured party, or to the informers, or to the states of the city; the bishop also was to be censured by his superiors, and the party ordained to be set at liberty, as if he had never been ordained. Pursuant to this law, John, bishop of Ravenna, for a transgression of this kind, was threatened to be deprived of the power of ordination by Simpliciusⁿ, bishop of Rome, an. 482. And the third Council of Orleans^o, an. 538,

^m Leo, Novel. ii. in Append. Cod. Theodos. (Lugdun. 1665. vol. vi. p. 34.) Ad suscipiendum clericatus officium unicuique nos optionem dedisse, non legem: quia quamlibet sanctum onus, ut volentibus patimur imponi, ita ab invitis jubemus arceri. Nonnullorum enim persuasio sacerdotum reluctantibus onus istud imponit, ut improvidas mentes, violentiæ intercedentis offensa, ad odium piæ religionis instituat. Eo ergo licentiam hujus præsumptionis excludimus, ut si quispiam probatus fuerit, vi coactus, sub contumelia publica clericatus officia suscepisse, spontaneis accusationibus, vel si ipse voluerit adlegare perpessa, licentiam commodemus apud judices competentes hujusmodi admissa damnare: ut si inter leges objecta constiterint decem libras auri archidiaconus cogatur inferre ei, qui pertulerit exsolvendæ: dehinc si ille desistit, accusatoris censibus et civitatis ordini profuturas. Illo suæ reddito voluntati, qui coactus non potuit consecrari. Et quia ab ejusmodi ausu nec episcopum a verecundia esse convenit alienum, ad apostolicæ sedis devocetur antistitem. In illa reverendissima sede notam illicitæ præsumptionis incurrat.

ⁿ Simplic. Ep. ii. ad Joan. Ravennat. (Labbe, vol. iv. Concil. p. 1069. C 3.) Denuntiamus, quod si posthac quidquam tale præsumseris, et aliquem seu episcopum, seu presbyterum, seu diaconum, invitum facere forte credideris, ordinationes tibi Ravennatis ecclesiæ vel Æmiliensis noveris auferendas.

^o Conc. Aurel. III. c. vii. (tom. v. Concil. p. 297. E.) Episcopus, qui invitum

made a decree for the French Churches, that if any bishop ordained a clerk against his will, he should do penance for the fact a whole year, and remain suspended from his office till that term was expired. So great an alteration was there made, in one age, in the rules and practice of the Church, from what they had been in the former.

SECT. IV.—*Yet a Bishop ordained against his Will, had not the Privilege to relinquish.*

But I must note, that after this correction was made, there was still some difference to be observed between the forced ordination of a bishop, and that of an inferior clerk, presbyter, deacon, or any other. For, though the forementioned imperial law gave liberty to all inferiors so ordained, to relinquish their office that was forced upon them, if they pleased, and betake themselves to a secular life again; yet it peremptorily denied^p this privilege to bishops, decreeing that their ordination should stand good; and that no action, brought against their ordainers, should be of force to evacuate or disannul their consecration. Which seems to be grounded upon that ancient rule of the Church, mentioned in the Council of Antioch^q, and confirmed in the Council of Chalcedon^r, that if any bishop was ordained to a church, to which he refused to go, he should be excommunicated till he complied, or something were determined in his case by a provincial synod. Which seems to authorize the

aut reclamantem præsumerit ordinare, annuali poenitentiae subditus missas facere non præsumat.

^p Leo, Novel. ii. ibid. Si qui sane episcopus invitus fuerit ordinatus, hanc consecrationem nulla violari accusatione permittimus. See note (m).

^q Conc. Antioch. c. xvii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 569.) Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος χειροθεσίαν ἐπισκόπου λαβὼν, καὶ ὀρισθεὶς προεστάναι λαοῦ, μὴ καταδέξοιτο τὴν λειτουργίαν, μηδὲ πείθοιτο ἀπιέναι εἰς τὴν ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ἐκκλησίαν, τοῦτον εἶναι ἀκοινωνήτον, ἔστ' ἂν ἀναγκασθεὶς καταδέξοιτο, ἢ ὀρίσῃ τι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἡ τελεία σύνοδος τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπων.

^r Concil. Chalced. act. xi. (tom. iv. Concil. p. 691.) Si quis episcopus, accepta ordinatione et manuum impositione episcopi, et populo præsese jussus, munus non suscepit, nec ut ad sibi concreditam ecclesiam proficiscatur, persuaderi possit, is sit excommunicatus, donec coactus suscipiat, vel perfecta synodus episcoporum provincialium de ipso aliquid decernat.—N.B. This Latin version differs in words, not in sense, from Labbe's edition, vol. iv. p. 692. C 8: the original Greek is the same as what is quoted, from the Council of Antioch, in the preceding note (q).

using a sort of violence in compelling men to undergo the burden of the episcopal function; agreeably to that other law of Leo and Anthemius in the Justinian Code^s, which puts this among other qualifications of a bishop, that he shall be so far from ambition, as to be one rather that must be sought for, and compelled to take a bishopric. Such were anciently the laws of Church and state, relating to forced ordinations.

* SECT. V.—*Re-ordinations generally condemned.*

As to re-ordinations, before we can answer to the question about them, we must distinguish between the orders that were given regularly and canonically by persons rightly qualified in the Church, and such as were given irregularly by persons unqualified, or by heretics and schismatics out of the Church. As to such orders as were given regularly in the Church, they were supposed, like baptism, to impress a sort of indelible character, so as that there was no necessity upon any occasion to repeat them: but, on the contrary, it was deemed a criminal act so to do. The third Council of Carthage, following the steps of the plenary Council of Capua, or Capsa, decreed, that it was equally unlawful^t to re-baptize and re-ordain. And those called the Apostolical Canons^u make it deposition both for the ordainer and ordained, to give or receive a second ordination. St. Austin^v says, it was not the custom of the Catholic

^s Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. de Episcop. leg. xxxi. (Amstel. 1663. p. 14.) Tantum ab ambitu debet esse sepositus, ut quærat^rur cogendus, rogatus recedat, invitatus effugiat: sola illi suffragetur necessitas excusandi.

^t Concil. Carth. III. c. xxxviii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1172. C.) Illud suggerimus, mandatum nobis, quod etiam in Capuensi [Capsensi] plenaria synodo videtur statutum: non liceat fieri rebaptizationes et re-ordinationes, vel translationes episcoporum.

^u Can. Apost. lxvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 39.) Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος δευτέραν χειροτονίαν δέξεται παρὰ τινος, καθαιρείσθω καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ ὁ χειροτονήσας· εἰ μήγε ἄρα συσταίῃ, ὅτι παρὰ αἱρετικῶν ἔχει τὴν χειροτονίαν. Τοὺς γὰρ παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων βαπτισθέντας ἢ χειροτονηθέντας, οὔτε πιστοὺς, οὔτε κληρικοὺς εἶναι δυνατόν.

^v Aug. cont. Parmen. lib. ii. c. xiii. (Bened. 1700. vol. ix. p. 29. C 12.) (tom. vii. p. 41, edit. Basil. 1569.) Nulla ostenditur causa, cur ille qui ipsum baptismum amittere non potest, jus dandi possit amittere. Utrumque enim sacramentum est: et quadam consecratione utrumque homini datur, illud cum baptizatur, istud cum ordinatur: ideoque in catholica utrumque non licet iterari.

Church to repeat either orders or baptism: for men did not lose their orders^x, as to the internal character and virtue, though they were suspended from the execution of their office for some misdemeanour. Optatus^y testifies the same, telling us, that Donatus was condemned in the Council of Rome under Melchiades, for re-ordaining such bishops as had lapsed in time of persecution; which was contrary to the custom of the Catholic Church. And others^z accuse the Arians upon the same account, for re-ordaining such of the Catholic clergy as went over to their party.

SECT. VI.—*The Proposal made by Cæcilian to the Donatists examined.*

There is indeed a passage in Optatus concerning Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage, which at first view seems to import, as if Cæcilian had been willing to have submitted to a re-ordination: for Optatus^a says, Cæcilian sent this message to the Donatist bishops, that if Felix had given him no true ordination, as they

^x Id. de Bon. Conjug. c. xxiv. (ibid. vol. vi. p. 247. A 4.) Manet in illis ordinatis sacramentum ordinationis; et si aliqua culpa quisquam ab officio removeatur, sacramento Domini semel imposito non carebit, etc.

^y Optat. lib. i. (Paris. 1702. p. 23.) (p. 27, edit. Paris. 1679.) (p. 44, edit. Paris. 1631.) In Donatum sunt hæ sententiæ latæ: quod confessus sit rebaptizasse, et episcopis lapsis manum imposuisse: quod ab ecclesia alienum est.

^z Vide Vales. not. in Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxvi. (1700. p. 114.) Ariani non solum rebaptizabant catholicos, sed etiam clericos eorum ad se venientes iterum ordinabant. Cujus rei insigne exemplum habemus in Libello Precum Marcellini presbyteri, p. 81, sub finem: 'Hic est egregius et sanctissimus ille episcopus, qui cum fuisset primum a catholicis episcopis ordinatus episcopus, postea ab impio Georgio in laicorum numerum redactus, nihilominus ab ipso Georgio episcopus ordinatus est, in vexatione fidelium;' et paulo post: 'Nisi quia atrocius gessit Theodorus, cum de episcopo catholico fit laicus, piam damnans fidem, et subscribens Arianæ impietati, ut ab hæretico iterum episcopus ordinetur.' Idem quoque testatur Hieronymus in Chronico, de Cyrillo Hierosolymitano loquens. 'Cyrillus,' inquit, 'cum a Maximo fuisset presbyter ordinatus, et post mortem ejus ita ei ab Acacio episcopo Cæsariensi et cæteris Arianis episcopatus promitteretur, si ordinationem Maximi repudiasset, diaconus in ecclesia ministravit.' In quo Ariani Donatistas videntur imitati, qui utrumque factitarunt.

^a Optat. lib. i. (Paris. 1702. p. 18.) A Cæciliano mandatum est, ut si Felix in se, sicut illi arbitrabantur, nihil contulisset, ipsi tamquam adhuc diaconum ordinarent Cæcilianum.

pretended, they should ordain him again, as if he were still only a deacon. But St. Austin, who perhaps best understood Cæcilian's meaning, says ^b he only spoke this ironically to deride them; not that he intended to submit to a second ordination, but because he was certain that Felix and the rest of his ordainers were no traditors, as they accused them. So that we have no instance of re-ordaining such as were regularly ordained in the Catholic Church: it being esteemed unlawful, as Theodoret ^c words it, to give any man the same ordination twice. Whence neither in the translation of bishops from one Church to another do we ever read of a new ordination, but only of enthronization or instalment, as of a new matriculation of presbyters and deacons, when they were taken out of one Church to be settled in another. Cyprian, speaking of his admission of Numidicus into his own Church from another, where he was presbyter before, does not say he gave him a new ordination, but only ^d a name and a seat among the presbyters of Carthage. And this was the constant practice of the Church in all such cases, for any thing that appears to the contrary.

SECT. VII.—*Schismatics sometimes re-ordained.*

As to such as were ordained out of the Church by schismatical or heretical bishops, the case was a little different. For the Church did not always allow of their ordinations, but sometimes for discipline-sake, and to put a mark of infamy upon their errors, made them take a new ordination. This was decreed by the great Council of Nice, in the case of those bishops and presbyters whom Meletius the schismatic ordained in Egypt, after he had been deposed by his metropolitan of

^b August. Brevic. Collat. die iii. c. xvi. (tom. vii. p. 748, edit. Basil. 1569.) (Bened. 1700. vol. ix. p. 388. D.) *Dixerunt etiam scripsisse Optatum, quod Cæcilianus dixerit, 'Si traditores sunt qui me ordinauerunt, ipsi veniant, et ordinent me.'* Quod quidem si dictum est, ideo dici potuit ad illos deridendos, quibus hoc mandasse perhibetur, quoniam certus erat ordinatores suos non esse traditores. Non enim ait, quia traditores sunt; sed, 'si traditores sunt,' etc.

^c Theod. Histor. Relig. c. xiii. See note (m) p. 512.

^d Cyprian. Ep. xxxv. al. xl. (Oxon. 1682. p. 78.) *Admonitos nos et instructos sciatis dignatione divina, ut Numidicus presbyter adscribatur presbyterorum Carthaginiensium numero, et nobiscum sedeat in clero.*

Alexandria: they were not to be admitted to serve in the Catholic Church, till they were first authorized by a more sacred^e ordination, as that Council words it in her synodical epistle, or directions to the Church of Alexandria. In pursuance of this decree, Theodore, bishop of Oxyrinchus, re-ordained the Meletian presbyters, upon their return to the Church, as Valesius^f shows out of Marcellinus and Faustinus's petition to the Emperor Theodosius: and other learned men^g are of the same opinion. Yet in some cases, the Church consented to receive schismatical bishops and presbyters without obliging them to take a new ordination; as in Afric, St. Austin^h assures us, it was the custom to allow of the ordinations of

^e Ep. Synod. ap. Socrat. lib. i. c. ix. (Vales. Amstel. 1700. p. 24. B 7.) *Τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασταθέντας, μυστικωτέρᾳ χειροτονίᾳ βεβαιωθέντας κοινωνῆσαι ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἔχειν μὲν αὐτοὺς τὴν τιμὴν καὶ λειτουργίαν, δευτέρους δὲ εἶναι ἐξάπαντος πάντων τῶν ἐν ἐκάστῃ παροικίᾳ τε καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξεταζομένων, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου προκεχειρισμένων.* Vide etiam Theodoret. lib. i. c. ix.

^f Vales. Not. in Theodor. lib. i. c. ix. (p. 11. A 5.) Falsum est, quod adserunt viri doctissimi, ecclesiam illis temporibus non probasse reordinationes episcoporum et presbyterorum. Certe Marcellinus presbyter in Libello Precum, quem obtulit Theodosio imperatori, diserte testatur Theodorum catholicum episcopum urbis Oxyrinchi reordinasse presbyteros partis Meletii. Sic enim scribit p. 83: 'Sane hinc vult se catholicum videri, quod et ipse quosdam nunc presbyteros seu diaconos Apollonii facit suasu quodam laicos, et eos iterum ordinat, ut videatur turpissimæ istius ordinationis vicem referre, quam passus est.' Theodorus igitur catholicus cum Meletianos presbyteros iterum ordinavit, in eo sequutus videtur decretum synodi Nicænæ.

^g Du Pin, Biblioth. Cent. iv. p. 251, Lond. 1692. (tom. ii. p. 557. not. 1. edit. Paris. 1692.)

^h August. contr. Parmen. lib. ii. c. xiii. (Bened. 1700. vol. ix. p. 19. D 5.) (tom. vii. p. 41, edit. Basil. 1569.) Si visum est opus esse ut eadem officia gererent quæ gerebant, non sunt rursum ordinati; sed sicut baptismus in eis, ita ordinatio mansit integra, etc.—Vide contr. Crescon. lib. ii. c. xi. (Bened. 1700. vol. ix. p. 282. D 9.) (tom. vii. p. 226, cit. edit.) Quamvis cum apud vos ordinantur, non super eos invocetur nomen Donati sed Dei: tamen ita suscipiuntur, ut videtur paci et utilitati ecclesiæ convenire.—It. Epist. l. p. 87. See note (l) p. 537.—Ep. clxii. p. 279. (p. 767, edit. Altdorf. p. 732, edit. Basil.) (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 72. C 9.) Qualis ipsius beati Melchiadis ultima est prolata sententia, quam innocens, quam integra, quam provida atque pacifica, qua neque collegas, in quibus nihil constiterat, de collegio suo ausus est remove, et Donato solo, quem totius mali principem invenerat, maxime culpato, sanitatis recuperandæ optionem liberam cæteris fecit, paratus communicatorias litteras mittere etiam iis, quos a Majorino ordinatos esse constaret: &c.

the Donatists, and to admit them to officiate in whatever station they served before their return to the unity of the Church, without repeating their ordination any more than their baptism. He repeats this in several parts of his writings: and that it was so, appears both from the canons of the Africanⁱ Councils, and the concessions made^k in the Collation of Carthage, where the proposal was, that the Donatist bishops should enjoy their honours and dignities, if they would return to the unity of the Catholic Church. This had before been determined in the Roman Council under Melchiades, where the Donatists had their first hearing: for there, as St. Austin informs us^l, it was also decreed, that only Donatus, the author of the schism, should be cashiered; but for all the rest, though they were ordained out of the Church, they should be received, upon their repentance, in the very same offices and quality which they enjoyed before. So that the rigour of Church-discipline was quickened or abated in this respect, according as the benefit or necessities of the Church seemed to require.

SECT. VIII.—*And Heretics also upon their Return to the Church, in some places.*

And the treatment of persons, ordained by heretics, was much of the same nature. Some canons require all such, without exception, to be re-ordained. It was so in the Greek Church, at the time when those called the Apostolical Canons were made: for the same canon that condemns re-ordinations in the Church^m, makes an exception in the case of such, as were ordained by heretics; pronouncing their ordination void, and

ⁱ Cod. Can. Afric. c. lxviii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1092. A 10.) Δι' αὐτῶν τῶν Δονατιστῶν, οἵτινες δῆποτε κληρικοὶ διορθουμένης τῆς βουλῆς πρὸς τὴν καθολικὴν ἐνότητά μετελθεῖν θελήσουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις τιμαῖς αὐτοὺς ἀναδεχθῆναι, κ. τ. λ.

^k Collat. Carth. die i. c. xvi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1352. C 12.) Sic [ecclesiæ] nobiscum teneant unitatem, ut non solum viam salutis inveniant, sed nec honorem episcopatus amittant.

^l Aug. Ep. i. ad Bonifac. p. 87. (Bened. 1700. vol. ii. p. 503. E 4.) (p. 228, edit. Basil. 1569.) (p. 233, edit. Altdorf.) Damnato uno quodam Donato, qui auctor schismatis fuisse manifestatus est, cæteros correctos, etiamsi extra ecclesiam ordinati essent, in suis honoribus suscipiendos esse censuerunt.

^m Can. Apost. c. lxvii. See note (u) pag. 533.

requiring them to be ordained again. And this was generally the practice of all those Churches in the third century, which denied the validity of heretical baptism: for by much stronger reason they denied their ordinations. Therefore Firmilian, who was of this opinion, tells us also, that the Council of Iconiumⁿ, an. 256, decreed, that heretics had no power to minister either baptism, or confirmation, or ordination; nay, some of those who allowed the baptism of heretics, yet still continued to condemn their ordinations; as Innocent bishop of Rome, who determines against such as were ordained by the Arians^o, and such other heretics, that they were not to be admitted with their honours in the Catholic Church, though their baptism might stand good, being administered in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. In another place he says^p, it was the ancient rule of the Church of Rome to cancel and disannul all such ordinations; though in some places, he owns, they were allowed: for Anisius bishop of Thessalonica, with a council of his provincial bishops, agreed to receive those whom Bonosus, an heretical bishop of Macedonia, had ordained; that they might not continue to strengthen his party, and thereby bring no small damage upon the Church. Liberius not only admitted the Macedonian bishops to communion, but also allowed them to continue in their office, upon their subscription to the Nicene Creed, and

ⁿ Firmilian. Ep. lxxv. ap. Cyprian. (Oxon. 1682. p. 221.) (edit. Paris. 1666. p. 146. it. tom. i. Concil. p. 754. b.) *Hæretico sicut ordinare non licet, nec manum imponere; ita nec baptizare.*

^o Innoc. Ep. xviii. ad Alexandr. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1269.) *Arianos cæterasque hujusmodi pestes, quia eorum laicos conversos ad Dominum, sub imagine pœnitentiæ ac Sancti Spiritus sanctificatione per manus impositionem suscipimus, non videtur clericos eorum cum sacerdotii aut ministerii cujuspiam suscipi debere dignitate: quoniam quibus solum baptismata ratum esse permittimus, quod utique in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti perficitur, nec Spiritum Sanctum eos habere ex illo baptismo illisque mysteriis arbitramur: quoniam cum a catholica fide eorum auctores desciscerent, perfectionem Spiritus quam acceperant, amiserunt.*

^p Id. Ep. xxii. ad Episc. Maced. c. v. (ibid. p. 1274. C 7.) *Anisii quondam fratris nostri, aliorumque consacerdotum summa deliberatio hæc fuit, ut quos Bonosus ordinaverat, ne cum eodem remanerent, ac fieret non mediocre scandalum [ecclesiæ], ordinati reciperentur... Jam ergo, quod pro remedio ac necessitate temporis statutum est, constat primitus non fuisse.*

abjuration of their former heresy; as Socrates^a, and Sozomen^r, and St. Basil^s, and others testify. In France the custom was, in the time of Clodoveus, to give a new imposition of hands to the Arian clergy that returned to the Catholic faith, as appears from the first Council of Orleans^t, which made a decree about it: but that, perhaps, does not mean a new ordination, but only such a reconciliatory imposition of hands as was used to be given to penitents in absolution. But if otherwise, it proves that the Church had different methods of proceeding in this case, as she judged it most expedient and beneficial for her service; sometimes reversing and disannulling the ordinations of heretics for discipline-sake, and to show her resentments of their errors; and sometimes allowing them to stand good for her own sake, to prevent greater scandals, and to encourage the straying people to return with their leaders to the unity of the Catholic faith. Upon which account, the general Council of Ephesus^u made an order concerning the Messalian heretics, otherwise called Euchites and Enthusiasts, that if any of their clergy would return to the Church, and in writing anathematize their former errors, they should continue in the same station they

^a Socrat. lib. iv. c. xii. p. 180.

^r Sozom. vi. c. x. (1700. p. 528, at bottom.) Ἀποκηρύττουσι πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν ἐναντιουμένην τῇ πίστει τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου . . ὥς δὲ τούτων ἔγγραφον ὁμολογίαν αὐτῶν ἔλαβε Λιβέριος, ἐκοινώνησεν αὐτοῖς.

^s Basil. Ep. lxxiv. ad Episcopos Occident. (Basil. 1638. tom. iii. p. 125. c.) Οὕτως ἀπελαθεῖς τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, διὰ τὸ ἐν Μελιτινῇ προκαθηρῆσθαι, ὁδὸν ἑαυτῷ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως ἐπενόησε, τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἄφιξιν· καὶ τίνα μὲν ἔστιν, ἃ προετάρθη αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Λιβερίου· τίνα δὲ, ἃ αὐτὸς συνέθετο, ἀγνοοῦμεν· πλὴν ὅτι ἐπιστολὴν ἐκόμισεν ἀποκαθιστῶσαν αὐτὸν, ἣν ἐπιδείξας τῇ κατὰ Τύανα συνόδῳ, ἀποκατέστη τῷ τόπῳ.

^t Conc. Aurel. I. c. x. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1406.) De hæreticis clericis, qui ad fidem catholicam plena fide ac voluntate venerint . . id censuimus observari, ut si clerici fideliter convertuntur, et fidem catholicam integre confitentur, vel ita dignam vitam morum et actuum probitate custodiunt, officium, quo eos episcopus dignos esse censuerit, cum impositæ manus benedictione suscipiant.

^u Conc. Ephes. Act. vii. Decret. Contra Messalianit. (Labbe, vol. iii. Conc. p. 809. B 12.) Placuit, ut omnes, qui per universam provinciam hæretici Messaliani vel Enthusiastæ sunt, vel de ejus hæreseos morbo suspecti, sive clerici sive laici sint, convenientur: et si quidem anathematizaverint, juxta ea quæ in prædicta synodo scripto pronuntiata sunt, in scriptis; si clerici fuerint, maneat clerici; si laici, ad communionem admittantur. Quod si renuerint anathematizare, si presbyteri vel diaconi fuerint, vel in alio quopiam gradu ecclesiæ, excidant et a clero, et a gradu, et a communione: laici vero anathematizentur.

were in before ; otherwise they should be degraded, and enjoy neither clerical promotion nor communion in the Church. The Council of Nice is thought to have made the like decree ^v in favour of the Novatian clergy, only giving them a reconciliatory imposition of hands by way of absolution, not re-ordination. And there is nothing more certain than that the African fathers so treated the Donatists ; particularly St. Austin in all his writings pleads as much for the validity of heretical ordinations, as heretical baptism ; and says ^x further, that when the Church judged it expedient not to suffer the Donatist bishops to officiate upon their return to the Church, she did not thereby intend to deny the reality or validity of their ordination, but supposed that to remain still perfect and entire in them. And this is what St. Austin meant by ‘ the sacrament of ordination,’ as he words it, or the indelible character which was thereby imprinted ; that though a man turned apostate, or was suspended or deprived for any crime, yet if, upon his repentance and satisfaction, the Church thought fit to admit him to officiate again, there was no necessity of giving him a new ordination, no more than a new baptism ; for the character of both remained entire. This was the doctrine and practice of the African Church, and most others, in the time of St. Austin.

^v Concil. Nicæen. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 32.) *Περὶ τῶν ὀνομαζόντων μὲν ἑαυτοὺς Καθαροὺς ποτε, προσερχομένων δὲ τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ, ὥστε χειροθετούμενους αὐτοὺς, μένειν οὕτως ἐν τῇ κλήρῳ.*

^x Aug. contr. Parmen. lib. ii. c. xiii. (Bened. 1700. vol. ix. p. 29. D 10.) Cum expedire hoc judicatur ecclesiæ, ut præpositi eorum venientes ad catholicam societatem, honores suos ibi non administrent ; non eis tamen ipsa ordinationis sacramenta detrahuntur, sed manent super eos.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

GILBERT & RIVINGTON, Printers, St. John's Square, London.



Bingham, Joseph,

Origines Ecclesiasticae; or the antiquities of the Christian Church and
other works of Joseph Bingham in nine volumes

Bd.: 1

London (1843)

H.eccl. 131 b-1

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10023488-9